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THE CULTS  
OF  
THE GREEK STATES

BY  
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## PREFACE

WITH the publication of this volume the self-imposed task that has occupied my intervals of leisure throughout twenty years is at last completed. But the fulfilment of the promise of the title is incomplete; for it has happened, according to the anticipation expressed in the preface to my third volume, that no room could be found for a full account of hero-worship and the cults of the dead and of the various ideas thereto attaching. I hope to be able subsequently to publish in a different setting the various materials I have gathered under this head and the conclusions that I have drawn from them. Apart from this omission, a work of the present compass, carried on through so long a period of one's life, is scarcely likely in its final form to satisfy either the writer or his readers. I may hope, however, to have shown myself amenable to the influence of all criticism that was meant to be helpful, and of the newer theories that in recent years have presented the problems of ancient religion in a new light. Though it has absorbed more time than I had supposed it would demand, I rejoice to have chosen and pursued this theme, for I at least, if no one else, have derived from it both mental profit and pleasure. And I feel now the better fitted to labour in a somewhat wider field, as the Greek

religion, reflecting so vividly as it does both the higher and the lower workings of the religious sense, serves perhaps as the best point of departure for wider study of Comparative Religion.

The title of this treatise is an answer to the criticism that only a portion of Greek religion in its widest sense has been presented, the public and official part; this limitation, which has excluded the discussion of the philosophic speculations and of the private mystic religion of the later centuries, appeared necessary from practical considerations of space; and even as it stands the work may be regarded as too voluminous. Much of higher Greek thought and aspiration is indeed revealed in the study of the state-mysteries of Eleusis, which occupies a large part of the third volume. And for the rest I plead in defence of my choice of subject that the state-cults represent throughout a long period what was strongest and most attractive in the popular religion. No doubt in Greek polytheism there was a struggle in the crowd of personalities, and a survival of the fittest; certain weaker forms of divinity perished or lingered only as faded figures of myth. But what the people strongly clung to was taken up and organized by the community; and in the sphere of religious life and practice there was for many centuries little divorce between the individual and the state. Therefore the history of the state-cults is the main exposition of Greek religion and reflects in clear light the life of the Greek people, their migrations and settlements, their institutions of the countryside and village, of the family and clan and pre-eminently of the Polis, and



finally their growth and achievements in law, morality, and art.

After much hesitation at the outset as to the most practical method of exposition, I have adopted that which most writers on polytheism have followed, the method of the separate treatment of each cult according to the personality and the divine name. Nor, though it has certain inconveniences, do I repent of my decision. For Greek religion, being eminently personal and anthropomorphic, was a galaxy of more or less clear personalities; and the divine names were words of power which attracted certain organic ideas. Also, the leading personalities of this religion were of long enduring life; and a more thoughtful review of the facts, especially of those which recently discovered inscriptions present, may save us from the error, to which certain writers and scholars seem prone, of antedating their decay and their extinction.

I feel, what every reader must, I fear, also feel, that a work of this length, so preoccupied with detail, ought to be concluded and clarified by a succinct summary of the main features and general phenomena of Greek polytheism; and it was my intention to have added one. But I was obliged to relinquish it, as the last volume has come to be disproportionately long. But I can refer the reader to my general article on 'Greek Religion' in the new edition of the *Times' Encyclopaedia*, and to my published Inaugural Lecture which I delivered in the earlier part of this year as Wilde Lecturer.

Finally, I render my grateful thanks to many friends

and scholars who have helped me readily with their advice and discussion on many points of difficulty, and especially to Mr. Frost, of Brasenose College, for undertaking the laborious task of preparing the index.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

*September, 1909.*

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\* This work is not now to be found in the Conservatore Palace, where I saw it some years ago, and I have been therefore unable to give a plate of it.



# THE CULTS OF THE GREEK STATES

## CHAPTER I

### THE CULTS OF HERMES

THIS divinity, although probably recognized by every Greek community, plays only a subordinate rôle in Greek life in comparison with the higher divinities of the state, nor does his cult appear to have taken deep root anywhere except in Arcadia and, as numismatic evidence leads us to suspect, at Ainos in Thrace and Eresos in Lesbos. His figure is not prominent among the coin-types of Greece, save in the last-mentioned city, nor his name among the genealogies of clans or communities; only Arcadia claimed him as divine ancestor. Yet some of the details of his worship are of interest for the comparative study of religion and for the history of certain social usages.

In the Homeric and much of classical literature the god appears to us as a Hellene of the Hellenes, the embodiment of the leading characteristics of the race; yet we have reason to suspect that he may have been a surviving figure of a pre-Hellenic religion. The question could only be settled if we could interpret the name *Ἑρμῆς*, which appears under the form *Ἑρμειος* in Boeotia and *Ἑρμῶν* in Laconia and Arcadia; but none of the etymological theories that have been put forward can be regarded as satisfactory; for though the name has the air of being Hellenic, we do not know to what stratum of language it belongs.

On the other hand, it is equally true that no region outside Greece has any plausible claim to be considered as the cradle of the Hermes-cult. It has been supposed that he may

have come down from Thrace; chiefly because of Herodotus' statement that the kings of Thrace honoured him as their chief divinity and as their ancestor<sup>a</sup>. But this is merely a statement parallel to his other, that the Thracians worshipped Hera, or to Tacitus' observation that the ancient Germans worshipped Mercury. There is no reason for supposing that the Thracians had ever heard of Hermes till the Greeks taught them the name and the cult. Nor is there any sure clue by which we could discover the source of this cult in Asia Minor. But we can regard it as one of the proved conclusions of modern ethnographic study that the Anatolian peoples had their congeners in many districts of Greece before the arrival of the Hellenes; and the worship of Hermes may have been taken over from some one of these earlier stocks. If any district could put forward a strong claim to be regarded as the source of this cult, it would be Arcadia. Nowhere else do we find its hold on the popular faith so powerful, and it is here associated with local legends that relatively to our knowledge may be called aboriginal. His earliest and most prevalent local epithet, one that was known to the Homeric world, was *Κυλλήνιος*, and this name and the legend of his birth on Mount Kyllene in the north-east of Arcadia, made familiar to the Greek world through the Homeric hymn, become the commonplaces of later classical literature. Pindar speaks of the ritual on the mountain, and, though Pausanias found the temple there in ruins, we gather that the sacrifice was maintained down to late times; concerning which we are told a miraculous legend, that the priests who ascended to make offerings once a year on the mountain-top, always found there the remains of last year's oblations undisturbed by winds and rain<sup>b</sup>.

From this region it is probable that the cult travelled along the route that led westward by Psophis into Elis, and finally established itself at the settlement on the coast that was also known as Kyllene<sup>c</sup>. We have also abundant evidence

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. 'Euxine and Thrace.'

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Arcadia-Kyllene.

<sup>c</sup> Immerwahr, on insufficient grounds which I have noticed elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* 1896), would regard the Elean and

here of a primitive worship of Hermes Φάλλης<sup>18</sup>, and of the fetichistic use of the φαλλός in ritual, which probably belonged to the original Arcadian tradition. Nor is Kyllene the only Arcadian district with which the god was closely associated; a birth-legend and prominence in the public worship are attested for him in Pheneos, where the year was dated by the name of his priest, and we have proofs of his cult at Phigaleia, Stymphalos, Tegea, and other localities<sup>a</sup>; while far down in the south-west the place Akakesion<sup>b</sup>, which also claimed to be the spot where Hermes was nurtured, derived its name from his Homeric epithet ἀκάκητα, the meaning of which will be afterwards considered. And it may be from this quarter that he penetrated into the mysteries of Andania, which is spoken of as the home of Hermes<sup>c</sup>.

Again, it is only the Arcadian genealogies that are closely attached to the name of Hermes. Aipytos is a primitive Arcadian ancestor of an earlier population that resisted the intrusion of the worshippers of Poseidon<sup>d</sup>; his name was cherished in various localities and in various mythic kindreds, and it penetrated the royal legends of Messenia, but it was most nearly associated with Kyllene, where Homer was aware of the tomb of Aipytos, to which was probably attached an ancient ancestor cult; and at Tegea he was actually identified with Hermes in a common worship, as Agamemnon with Zeus in Laconia or Erechtheus with Poseidon in Attica<sup>e</sup>. Other

Messenian Hermes-cult as anterior to the Arcadian and as the sources of it, vide *Kulte u. Mythen Arkadiens*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Arcadia.

<sup>b</sup> The learned world in antiquity disputed whether the name of the god—ἀκάκητα—was derived from the town or vice versa: if the two are really connected, Ἀκακήσιον is obviously the derivative. Pausanias derives both from a mythic founder Ἀκακος, the fosterer of Hermes.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 209. Demeter, R. 246.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Poseidon-chapter, vol. 4, p. 44.

<sup>e</sup> Immerwahr, op. cit. p. 85, regards Aipytos as another form of Hermes: but the legend does not support the theory, which is not necessary to explain the Tegean cult of Hermes-Aipytos. If the identification were correct, the tomb of Aipytos would suggest that Hermes was occasionally regarded as a buried god. Deities of the earth were sometimes believed to die at certain seasons, but there is no sign that this idea was ever current in regard to Hermes; when Clemens—*Recog.* 10. 10, 24—speaks of the sepulchre of Hermes at Hermopolis he is thinking of the Egyptian city and cult.

Arcadian heroes are affiliated to Hermes: Myrtilos, the charioteer of Pelops, whose grave was shown behind the temple of Hermes at Pheneos<sup>89</sup> <sup>d</sup>, and to whom the Pheneates brought nightly offerings each year; Euandros, the hero of Pallantion, who led the Arcadian colony to Italy<sup>a</sup>. According to Aeschylus, he was worshipped as ancestor in the district about Stymphalos<sup>b</sup>; and one of the coin-types of Pheneos shows Hermes bearing in his arms the infant Arkas, the eponymous ancestor of the Arcadians, perhaps in allusion to the legend that the babe born to Kallisto was sent by Zeus to Maia to be nurtured<sup>c</sup>.

We should expect that so powerful a cult-figure would influence other parts of Arcadian religion. We do not find that Hermes was associated with Zeus Lykaios; but at an early period he was regarded as the father of Pan<sup>d</sup>, the divinity specially characteristic of Arcadia, and he was adopted into the impressive worship of the Despoinai on the Messenian border<sup>e</sup>; while it was probably in Arcadia that the close companionship between Hermes and the incoming Apollo arose, which was usually recognized by the Greek world<sup>f</sup>.

When we survey the other areas of the Hermes-cult, we find it nowhere else so prominent. In Elis the worship at Kyllene bears the marks of great antiquity, but there is reason for regarding this as a derivative from Arcadia. In Messenia he was received into the 'Karnasion' grove; in Achaia the records are somewhat fuller concerning him, while in Argos they are very scanty, though he may have belonged here to the same stratum of legend as Perseus, who himself derives certain traits from the god. In Laconia his cult was neither prominent nor, as it seems, important; it is significant that, in Herodotus' account of the maltreatment of the Persian ambassadors at Sparta, the violation of the herald's sanctity aroused the resentment, not of Hermes, but of Talthybios. We may conclude then, as regards the

<sup>a</sup> Paus. 8. 43, 2.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Arcadia.

<sup>c</sup> Apollod. 3. 8, 2; Head, *Hist. Num.*

<sup>d</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Arcadia-Kyllene.

<sup>e</sup> Demeter, R. 119<sup>b</sup>, vol. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Vide infra, p. 20.

Peloponnesian legend and worship, it was mainly in Arcadia that his name had vitality and power.

In Sikyon and on the Isthmus he seems to have occupied a very subordinate position, and we find but scanty traces of him in Thessalian legend and public cult, though the coinage of Ainos and Eresos prove that he was prominent in certain Aeolic communities; and elsewhere in North Greece the only region where the records concerning him are of interest and importance is Boeotia. We gather from Pausanias that both Thebes and Tanagra advanced rival claims against Arcadia to be the place of Hermes' birth or nurture<sup>a</sup>; and he appears to have been revered in certain parts of Boeotia as a powerful divinity of the nether world.

Finally, we must consider Attica as a district where the cult possessed a certain vitality, perhaps from very early times. On the Acropolis in the temple of Athena Polias, stood a very ancient wooden agalma of Hermes, said to have been a dedication by Kekrops, and as its form was almost invisible beneath the myrtle-boughs that were twined around it, we may regard it as descending from the semi-iconic period. The god was remembered in the ancient formula of prayer uttered in the Thesmophoria<sup>b</sup>, in the ritual of the Anthesteria on the day of the *Xύτροι*<sup>c</sup>, and in the preliminary sacrifices of the Eleusinia<sup>d</sup>. Yet the Athenians do not appear to have claimed him as one of their leading aboriginal deities, nor as one of their divine ancestors, nor did he enter into the phratric system<sup>e</sup>.

With these facts before us, we are justified in regarding Arcadia, not necessarily as the birthplace and cradle of the cult, whence it spread into other communities, but at least as the country most likely to give a clue to the solution of the ethnographic question, whether Hermes is *ab origine* a Hellenic or pre-Hellenic deity. The race-problem is specially

<sup>a</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s.v. Arcadia and Boeotia; cf. R. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Demeter, R. 75<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Dionysos, R. 124<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Demeter, R. 176.

<sup>e</sup> The pretence of the Kerykes to be

descended from Hermes was disputed in Attica, and probably only arose from their feeling that the sacred family of 'Heralds' should be descended from the herald-god.

complicated as regards ancient Arcadia. The Hellenic strains are mixed, as we have noted in studying the Arcadian cults of Demeter, Poseidon, and Apollo; and we may discover traces of more than one pre-Hellenic stratum in the population<sup>a</sup>. Now we have no trace or hint in any legend of any Hellenic migration into Arcadia that would have been likely to have brought in Hermes as a predominant god. And the Elean dogma that Pausanias gives us, that the founder of the Peloponnesian cult of Hermes was Pelops, does not help us; for it may mean no more than that in this region the cult was very old and would therefore naturally attach itself to the name of the ancient kings, as at Athens it attached itself to the name of Kekrops; and even if we trusted it and found reason for closely associating Hermes with the family of the Pelopidai<sup>b</sup>, this would not advance us, while it remains uncertain whether 'Pelops' is the name-symbol of an early Hellenic or of an Anatolian stock<sup>c</sup>.

*A priori*, it may appear more likely that the cult we are considering belonged originally to a pre-Hellenic stock, for the hypothesis of Hellenic origin would not explain why it was so prominent in Arcadia and prominent nowhere else; but, to attain a reasonable judgement on the question, we want more direct evidence. The philology of Arcadian place-names, recently considered with great insight by Fick, reveals pre-Hellenic associations of Arcadia with Crete and the Anatolian shore; but it does not reveal the answer to our question. Kyllene, the place to which the Hermes-cult is rooted, may be a Hellenic or a Carian name<sup>d</sup>. Again, his mother Maia has been identified with the Cappadocian and Bithynian goddess Mâ, 'the Mother,' and this has been urged as a proof that Hermes belongs to an Anatolian stock; but such an argument carries no conviction, for the name

<sup>a</sup> Vide Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, pp. 92-95.

<sup>b</sup> The Pelopidai attach themselves more nearly to Zeus, and though according to a doubtful statement of the Scholiast L. Hom. B. 104 Hermes is the father of Pelops, yet the legend of

Myrtilos suggests that the god is really hostile.

<sup>c</sup> Vide a good article on 'Pelops' by Bloch in Roscher's *Lexikon*; cf. Fick, *op. cit.* p. 160.

<sup>d</sup> Fick, *op. cit.* p. 93.

'Maia,' of the divine Mother, may be a genuinely Hellenic parallel to Mâ, not a derivative from it.

Perhaps we can gain a clearer view from certain facts of archaeology and comparative religion. The earliest emblems of this cult belong to the aniconic period, and this coincides on the whole with the earlier Mycenaean. The Ἑρμαιοὺς λόφος above the city of Ithaca, mentioned by Homer, is the subject of some interesting commentary by the Scholiast<sup>32</sup>, who informs us that the Roman milestones were called Ἑρμαιοὺς λόφοι, and that the custom had long been prevalent in Hellas of honouring Hermes, the god of ways, by piling up a heap of stones called a Ἑρμαιοὺς λόφος, and then throwing stones at it; Cornutus merely says that each passer-by added one to the heap<sup>32</sup>. Out of this ritual a very naïve aetiological legend arose which is preserved for us in a statement attributed to Xanthos, the historian of the fifth century B.C.<sup>32</sup>: when Hermes was tried in court for the slaying of Argos and was acquitted, the gods in anger at his acquittal threw their voting-stones at him. The legend and the custom belong to an aniconic pillar-cult, and the pile of stones seems regarded both as the agalma of the god and as the god himself<sup>a</sup>. Another primitive cult-object associated with Hermes is the φαλλός, the symbol of the divinity at the Elean Kyllene<sup>18</sup>.

We may conclude that in the earliest Arcadian period his worship was aniconic; and hence the Arcadians long clung to the semi-iconic form of the pillar-statue known as the Herme, which Pausanias erroneously believes to have been borrowed by them from the Athenians<sup>20</sup>, though he himself tells us that this was a form in which the Arcadians specially delighted<sup>b</sup>. But the question whether his personality is Hellenic in origin or pre-Hellenic is not decided by the fact that it emerged in the period before iconism; for it is certain that Hellenic deities had settled in the land at a time when the ritual was still mainly aniconic.

But the facts of phallic worship seem to give us better

<sup>a</sup> We note the same double view of the ἀγυαίης column of Apollo, vide vol. 4, p. 149.

<sup>b</sup> 8. 48, 6.

data for a decision. For we cannot ignore Herodotus' statement that the Athenians adopted the phallos-emblem of Hermes from the Pelasgians<sup>18 e</sup>. If this is a scientific observation<sup>a</sup>, based on the historian's critical observance of existing Pelasgic ritual and a wide comparison of them with the purely Hellenic, 'cadit quaestio'; we must believe that the Hermes-cult is originally Pelasgic and non-Hellenic. But Herodotus is not usually so critical and careful in his judgements concerning matters of comparative religion. A comprehensive survey of the facts of phallic worship in the Mediterranean area and elsewhere would be necessary before we could use them as an ethnographic criterion: and this would involve too long a digression here, and would be probably premature before the 'Minoan' religious world is more fully revealed to us, in which at present no phallic element has been discovered. Meantime, we must admit that Herodotus' opinion seems to receive a general support from the fact that the other best-known cults in which the phallos was a prominent cult-object, namely, those of Dionysos, Priapos, and the Samothracian mysteries, are of non-Hellenic origin. But we cannot be certain that it was unknown to the original Hellenes, for we have found indications of the use of it in Demeter ritual<sup>b</sup>, and to conclude that therefore Demeter was Pelasgic is to argue in a circle; and it has figured in the ritual of other Aryan races, Phrygians, Vedic Indians, Russians, and even English<sup>c</sup>.

Still it may be felt that the facts hitherto examined engender a reasonable suspicion that the personality of Hermes belongs to the pre-Hellenic period. But the best and clearest evidence that this is the true view is supplied by a record of a Cretan festival preserved by Athenaeus<sup>89 f</sup>, namely, that in the *Ἔρμια* of this island, the slaves and the masters changed their parts,

<sup>a</sup> It is accepted by Fick without hesitation, *op. cit.* p. 145, and made the key-note of his account of 'Pelasgic' religion; but his work is throughout uncritical in dealing with religious phenomena.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 3, pp. 46, 89.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 155; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 416, 417, 469, 521. There appear to be traces of it in the old Scandinavian religion, vide Craigie, *Religion of Ancient Scandinavia*, p. 36.



the slaves making merry and the masters waiting upon them. We have a few other examples of similar privileges of slaves in Mediterranean ritual; and we are justified in such cases in believing that the worship belonged originally to a more primitive population, who were conquered by later immigrants. We have good reason for the conviction that one of the pre-Hellenic stocks in Crete was akin to one in Arcadia, and we may believe that stock, whether Pelasgian or Anatolian, to have been the primitive Hermes-worshippers, from whom the later Achaeans and other Hellenic tribes received it; and perhaps it is from their vocabulary that the mysterious epithet *ἑδᾶς* has come down, which was attached to him at Gortys<sup>a</sup>. And possibly the same people handed down the personality and name of Hermes Kadmilos, who penetrated the mysteries of the Kabeiroi, and was revered in Lemnos, Samothrace, and Imbros<sup>b</sup>: in Samothrace, the phallic cult of Hermes reminds us of Arcadia<sup>18 e</sup>, and in all these islands the presence of a pre-Hellenic Pelasgic population is well attested<sup>c</sup>.

This hypothesis of his non-Hellenic origin may be found to explain certain features in his character and worship, of which it now remains to give a systematic account<sup>d</sup>. The general view of Hermes, his qualities and functions, presented in the exordium of the Homeric hymn<sup>1</sup>, and in the Latin inscription on the bust of Hermes in the Villa Albani<sup>2</sup>, corresponds fairly with the various ideas that are found to attach to him in the public cults; and most of these are in agreement also with Homer's conception of him.

As Arcadia has been from time immemorial the great pasture-ground of Greece, so probably the most primitive character in which Hermes appeared, and which he never

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Crete.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsn.* p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> I have not discussed in this chapter the theory about Hermes put forward by Roscher in his article in his *Ausführliches Lexikon*, vol. I, and in a separate treatise, *Hermes der Windgott*, that he

was originally the god of the wind and that all his functions can be deduced from this idea. This method of evolving a complex divine personality from a single physical concept is now discredited; and the wind appears to be one of the natural phenomena with which Hermes has no recorded connexion at all.

abandoned, was the pastoral. He is the lord of the herds, ἐπιμήλιος<sup>5</sup> and κριοφόρος<sup>6</sup>, who leads them to the sweet waters, and bears the tired ram or lamb on his shoulders, and assists them with the shepherd's crook, the kerykeion. Those whose wealth was derived from pasture owed their fortune to Hermes<sup>7</sup>, and probably this was the significance of his ancient and in Homer almost stereotyped epithet ἐριόυμιος, 'the bringer of blessing.' Springs and the Naiads were sometimes associated with him<sup>10, 12</sup>, and he was frequently grouped in cult with Pan and the Nymphs and other deities of vegetation<sup>10, 11, 12</sup>. At the sacrifice of Eumaios in the *Odyssey*, Hermes and the Nymphs receives a common portion<sup>85 c</sup>; according to Simonides, the Nymphs and Hermes are the natural protectors of shepherds<sup>9</sup>; and the lyric prayer of Aristophanes, 'I pray to Hermes the pasture-god, to Pan and the Nymphs beloved, with fain heart to smile upon our choral dances,' can be illustrated by many records of actual cult in Attica. Inscriptions and dedications found on the south slope of the Acropolis point to this cult-association on the banks of the Ilissos<sup>10</sup>; and we find him in company with Pan and the Nymphs on the recently discovered relief of the fourth century B.C. found in a cave on Parnes<sup>a</sup>. This cave-worship, from which he acquired the epithet Σπηλαιότης in the neighbourhood of Laodikeia<sup>4</sup>, belongs to his primitive pastoral character, which was always prominent in him; and it is noteworthy that this god of the Arcadian pastures never becomes an agricultural deity: the animals associated with him both in sacrifice and in art are not those which were used for ploughing, but sheep, goats, and swine. We may suspect that there was a close communion between the god and this animal world, and that the ram which he bore on his shoulders was sometimes regarded as instinct with his power; for in a Tanagran festival the lamb that was carried round on the shoulders of a boy, in imitation—it was said—of Hermes who bore a ram round the walls to avert a plague, was evidently supposed to exercise a magical

<sup>a</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s.v. Attica. Cf. ib. s.v. Cilicia, worship of Pan and Hermes in the Corycian cave.

prophylactic effect<sup>6a</sup>. Yet the theriomorphic stage of religion has not left any imprint at all upon this divinity; which is somewhat surprising, for its traces were rife in Arcadia down to a late period.

Nor has Hermes any obvious connexion with the fruits of the earth, or with trees, though the doubtful epithet *Κραναῖος* which was attached to him in Crete<sup>a</sup>, might be an incorrect form of *κρανέϊνος* and be intended to associate him with the cornel-tree; and we have a temple-legend from Tanagra that he was born there under a tree called the *ἄνδραχνος*, a remnant of which was preserved in the local shrine. But here the sanctity of the tree may be the prior fact, and the legend may have been invented to explain it. An inscription found in Lesbos refers to a statue of Hermes in a vineyard there<sup>15</sup>, probably dedicated to the god of fertility, but perhaps merely to guard the boundary.

So far the facts examined reveal Hermes as a subordinate and strictly anthropomorphic personality. He is not as the ancient Artemis or Aphrodite or Dionysos, a mysterious power of birth, life, and death, working in the world of plants, animals, and men; nothing touches him that belongs to a more grandiose imagination or pantheistic thought. And the historic facts of Greek cult do not even justify the somewhat larger account of him given in a passage of the Homeric hymn, which speaks of him as if he were lord of the animal world, still less the phantastic speculation of the later Hermetic literature.

Yet we have reason to suppose that in the earliest period of the religion his physical functions were not limited to the rôle of the protecting daimon of pastures and flocks; but that he was once conceived as of larger nature, as one of the 'Chthonians' or earth-divinities of vegetation and the underground world. His name *Φάλλης* at Kyllene<sup>18a</sup> was derived from the *φαλλός*, the ancient symbol of fertility and life, the prevalence of which in the ritual of certain cults shows that in the more naïve religion of the older age there

<sup>a</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s.v. Crete. The name appears sometimes wrongly as *κρανέϊνος*. *Κραναῖος* might also be a local derivative from a place *Κράναι*.

was not yet that divorce between the physical and moral world which the spiritual law of modern religion has made. And the epithet *Τύχων*, while it was applied to Hermes in the general sense as the deity of luck or prosperity, had also a special application, and sometimes designated him as the god who brought to the lover the fulfilment of his desires; and seems also at times to have been used as an equivalent to *Φάλλης*, for *Τύχων* was occasionally identified with phallic powers such as Priapos<sup>80</sup>. In this connexion the frequent association of Hermes and Aphrodite must be noted<sup>10</sup>. According to Plutarch the two were continually 'consecrated together by the ancients<sup>a</sup>,' often we may suppose for the merely light and superficial reason that the lover needs luck and address to win his mistress; this would explain the association of Hermes with 'the persuasive' Aphrodite in Lesbos<sup>b</sup>, with Aphrodite 'the crafty' at Megalopolis<sup>c</sup>, and the love-whispers of youth and maiden suggested such a trio as 'Hermes, Eros, Aphrodite, the whisperers<sup>d</sup>.' But deeper and more ancient than this was the concept of a union between the male and female powers of life and generation, and this is what we may believe was underlying the association at Argos of the prehistoric wooden images of Hermes and Aphrodite<sup>e</sup>, and that the words of Plutarch point back to this. Regarded, then, as one of the lords of life, he was also, probably in the oldest period, lord of death, the two ideas being so frequently interlinked in Hellenic thought. Hence survived in many places the cult of Hermes *χθόνιος*<sup>10</sup>: at Athens, for example, on the day of the *Χύτροι* or *Χόες* in the Anthesteria, sacrifice was offered to the god under this name, as also at Plataia, when in the feast of Eleutheria offerings were made to the spirits of the Greeks that had fallen in the battle. In Thessaly we find frequent examples of the consecration of graves to him<sup>19 c</sup>, for instance at Lebadeia, where he was closely associated with that local form of the nether-god, Trophonios<sup>19 h</sup>; and we gather that

<sup>a</sup> Aphrodite, R. 110<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. R. 73<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. R. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. R. 119<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. R. 22.

the same custom was prevalent in Attica, as a sumptuary law was passed forbidding the erection of Hermes-statues on tombs<sup>19 i</sup>. Again, the curse-formulae or magic spells against the lives of one's enemies seem to have found no name more potent than 'Ερμῆς χθόνιος or 'Ερμῆς κάτοχος, the god who can get the souls of the living in his power<sup>19 d, 88 a</sup>.

And thus Hermes came into association with the other chthonian powers, but usually as a subordinate personage; with Hekate, for example, in Arcadia and Athens<sup>a</sup>, with Demeter and Despoina on the Messenian border<sup>b</sup>, with the two goddesses and Plouton at Knidos<sup>c</sup> and perhaps at Athens<sup>d</sup>, and with Trophonios as the minister of his mysteries at Lebadeia, where the boy-priests who prepared the catechumens were themselves called Hermai<sup>19 b</sup>. At times, indeed, in the utterances of the poets, even in the public cult, he appears exalted to the place of the great god of the dead, to be identified in fact with Hades-Plouton<sup>d</sup>. The chorus in the *Persai* of Aeschylus pray that the spirit of Darius may return to them, 'Ye holy powers of the lower world, Earth, Hermes, and thou King of the dead, send us back a soul to the light of day.' And in the opening words of the *Choephoroi* a still more striking phrase is used of Hermes, which however has been variously interpreted from the time of Aristophanes<sup>19</sup>: 'Oh Hermes of the nether world, administering a power given thee of thy father, be my saviour and my helper at my prayer<sup>e</sup>.' Aristophanes inspired by Dionysos, or rather Dionysos by Aristophanes, interprets these words to mean that Hermes has acquired his lordship over the lower world—*τὰντα κράτη*—from his father Zeus: in other words, Zeus being *Χθόνιος* as well as *Ὀλύμπιος* has delegated this lower province to his son. Against much modern misunderstanding we may trust the interpretation of the best critic of the fifth century; and Hermes appears here to wield the power of Hades-Plouton. Yet this is exceptional, and can be explained by the excep-

<sup>a</sup> We hear that in Arcadia they offered sacrifice to Hermes and Hekate at the new moon (vol. 2, Hekate R. 13<sup>c</sup>, cf. ib. 15).

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Messene.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Knidos.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Hades, *Cult*, vol. 3, *s.v.* Attica.

<sup>e</sup> *Ran.* 1145.

tional circumstances of the case: prayer was rarely addressed to Hades, where some earthly activity was demanded of the divinity; and here, where petition must be made to the lower powers—for Orestes is kneeling at the tomb, and the work he has in hand was eminently their concern—he naturally appeals to Hermes *χθόνιος* rather than to Hades, all the more because the former was a god of strife and a way-god, and could help a man on a perilous way.

But in ordinary cult, of which the literature was sometimes a faithful reflection, it is clear that the Hellenic Hades-Plouton was not supplanted in his rule of the lower world by Hermes Chthonios; but the latter is given certain subordinate functions in this province, and in regard to the ritual of the dead. From the Homeric period onwards we have evidence proving the custom of offering libations to Hermes after the evening banquet, before retiring to rest<sup>88 b</sup>; and we may believe that such offerings aimed at securing happy sleep and freedom from ghostly terrors. The Scholiast on the *Odyssey*<sup>a</sup> quotes Apollodoros as witness to the prevalent Hellenic custom of erecting images of Hermes in the sleeping-chamber, and arranging the bed so as to look towards his countenance. As in all ages sleep and death have been regarded as closely akin, and the idea is widespread among primitive people that the soul can wander away from the body during sleep, so it was natural to conclude that the god who sent dreams and sleep should have for his special province the escort of souls. The earliest illustration of this idea is the well-known passage in the last book of the *Odyssey*: 'Then Hermes of Kyllene summoned forth the souls of the suitors, and he held in his hands the fair golden rod, wherewith he lulls to slumber the eyes of what men he chooses, and again rouses from slumber others.' The critics who follow Aristarchus in regarding this book as a late addition may be right; but the idea of Hermes *ψυχοπομπός* was probably familiar to the Homeric period<sup>b</sup>. The Anthesteria at Athens was partly

<sup>a</sup> ψ 198.

<sup>b</sup> It is attested also on the early rock-tombs of Phrygia, if Prof. Ramsay is

right in his interpretation of the figure on a relief published by him, *Hell. Journ.* 3, p. 9, fig. 3.

an All Souls' festival, and his participation in the ritual can hardly have been a late innovation. The Argives on the thirtieth day after a funeral, made first a purificatory sacrifice to Apollo, and then sacrificed to Hermes, no doubt as the leader of the departing soul<sup>88 a</sup>. The Rhodians and Athenians are specially said to have called him *Kαταβάτης*<sup>19 a</sup>, 'the god who descends.' The author of the Homeric hymn is therefore probably reproducing an old tradition, when he concludes his account of Hermes with the partly ironical words<sup>7</sup>: 'And he only has the privilege to go a messenger of full power to Hades, who even without a bribe will give (men) a gift by no means the least of gifts,' the gift of release from life. Hence the Pythagoreans adopted Hermes as the guardian of souls, the watcher of the portal of life<sup>19 e</sup>; and in later periods those who were anxious about the salvation of their souls seem to have trusted not a little to the potency of his name, if certain tomb-inscriptions attest a genuine belief, in which a conception of Paradise sometimes emerges that is scarcely consistent with older Hellenic ideas<sup>19 f, g</sup>. Possibly the worship of Hermes Soter, 'the Saviour,' at Amorgos<sup>70</sup> belongs to the same range of ideas. But the great Greek mysteries that cherished the hopes of a happy immortality did not admit Hermes to a prominent place in the system; the convoyer of souls, he is after all only the minister of the High God of the dead.

This subordination of his is probably not aboriginal, but the result of religious systematization, such for instance as would be likely to happen when a newer system of divinities with new names imposed itself on an older. In old Arcadia it is probable that Hermes was once himself a high god of life and death. The chthonian functions then that he still retains in the historic period may be regarded only as the shorn heritage of his original power and place as lord of the lower world.

Or is it more credible that they are a late acquisition accruing to him merely by a natural expansion of the idea that he was a god of ways, who guarded ways and therefore the way to death? This theory may seem to gain some

support from the fact that the Pythagoreans are said to have attached a 'chthonian' significance to the epithet *πυλαῖος*<sup>19 e</sup>; but philosophic interpretation is apt to be symbolic and unreal, and this theory does not explain the facts as naturally as the former hypothesis; nor would it explain his character as a deity of fertility, *Ἐριούνιος* or *Χαριδότης*<sup>88 d</sup>. In early Mediterranean religion, a god or goddess of fertility is almost inevitably an under-world divinity; and the chthonian sense attached by Aristophanes to *ἐριούνιος*<sup>17</sup> is probably part of its early connotation: we have evidence elsewhere of *ἐριούνιοι θεοί*, who demanded human sacrifice, a common craving of the powers of the lower world<sup>a</sup>.

Such a deity as we have described would be likely to attract to himself a mystery-cult; but nowhere in the centres of genuine Greek worship have we proof of any mysteries of Hermes. Evidently the great Andanian rite was not established for him, though he was admitted there; and he stood only in the outer circle of the Eleusinian. There seem somewhere to have existed certain mysteries of 'the Mother,' in which he played a part as *κριοφόρος*, but the sentence in Pausanias is entirely vague, and throws no light on their locality or his position in regard to them<sup>o c</sup>. A certain *τελετή* or mystic initiation was consecrated to the Charites on the Acropolis of Athens; and the figure of Hermes stood by them at the approach to the Propylaea. Yet he would seem to have had no share in these mysteries, for according to Hesychios, the Hermes on the Acropolis was popularly called *ἀμήτος*<sup>21</sup>. But we cannot be sure of the allusion in this popular sobriquet, which was probably intended as some kind of joke<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, we have noted his presence in the Kabiroi-mysteries of the islands of the north Aegean, and here he appears in the inner circle, though not generally recognized as the chief deity, but worshipped as Hermes Kadmilos by the side of Axiokersos. It would be here

<sup>a</sup> Vide Apollo, R. 193.

<sup>b</sup> Clemens, *Protrept.* p. 81 P, mentions it without explanation: a proverb appears to have arisen out of it, *Ἐρμῆς*

*ἀμήτος* (Anglicé, 'teach your grandmother'), vide *Prov. Diog.* 4, 63 (*Paroemiogr. Graec.* Gaisford, p. 188).



out of place to discuss the intricate problems that arise concerning the Samothracian worship; amidst much that is doubtful, we can discern clearly that in the personal figures and symbolism of these mysteries the two ideas of life-power and death-power were conjoined, as we have seen reason to suppose that they were in the aboriginal conception of Hermes.

Again, the earth-power is very commonly regarded as the source of oracles, but though Cicero may identify Hermes with Trophonios<sup>19 h</sup>, we have only one example of the god playing the prophet in Greece, at the Achaean city of Pharaï<sup>35 d</sup>: by the side of his statue in the market-place stood a hearth-altar (*ἑστία*) with bronze lamps attached to it: the consultant came in the evening, kindled the lamps, and having put a piece of money on the altar, whispered into the ear of the statue what he wished to know: closing his own ears with his hands he then departed, and whatever speech he heard first when he withdrew his hands he took for a sign. This is the mode of divination *διὰ κληδόνων*, which has been considered in a former chapter<sup>a</sup>. It is no more 'chthonian' than the art of 'divination by counters,' which he was supposed to have learned from Apollo<sup>34 d</sup>.

Looking now at the other aspects of the god, we find that in the popular religion he was pre-eminent as a god of ways; and it seems that this was part of the primitive idea of him, and from it other derivative ideas of some importance may naturally have arisen. It is possible that he came to take charge of the highways in consequence of an ancient and wide-spread superstition about the cross-roads, which, as has been noted in the chapter on Hekate<sup>b</sup>, have been very generally believed to be haunted by ghosts. To avert these, an agalma of Hermes would be erected there, at first probably aniconic, or at most a pillar with an indication of the *φαλλός*, then with the human head added, doubled, tripled, or quadrupled, so that the benignant lord of the ghosts might gaze down the various ways that met at the spot. Hence we hear of a Hermes *τρικέφαλος* or *τετρακέφαλος* at

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 4, p. 221.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 2, p. 515: cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedisches Ritual*, p. 177.

Athens<sup>31</sup>. Then when, at a later period, the goddess Hekate had established herself in many Greek communities, she shared this function with him, and we find the two divinities associated in Attic and Arcadian cult. We note too that the title *ἐνόδιος* or *ὄδιος*, a very common appellative of the goddess, is attached to Hermes as well<sup>28, 29</sup>. His protection, however, is in no way confined to the cross-roads, but extends along the whole route. The custom already mentioned of heaping up stones at certain intervals along the way, and consecrating them to Hermes, may well be of immemorial antiquity in Greece: these came to be called *Ἑρμαιοὶ λόφοι*, a name which was also applied to the Roman milestones<sup>32</sup>. Different opinions have been held as to the original meaning of these<sup>a</sup>; the most probable is that which was first suggested by Welcker, that they were originally way-marks set up by the travellers before there was any well-defined road, just like our heaps of chalk-stones along the coastguards' track round our coasts. While serving thus a secular purpose, they could be put under a religious *ταφὴ* by consecration to the way-god, and could be regarded as a thank-offering to him on the part of the traveller; also the latter could establish communion between himself and the god by throwing his stone upon the pile<sup>b</sup>. The heaps thus become charged with the power of the god, just as in the aniconic age the pillar was full of the divinity; and therefore they could be regarded as objects of worship<sup>c</sup>. Hence in later times the belief might arise that Hermes was the first road-maker<sup>32</sup>; and if the explanation just given of the *Ἑρμαιοὶ λόφοι* is correct,

<sup>a</sup> For a statement of these vide De Visser, *De Graecorum Deis non reverentibus speciem humanam*, p. 82: some of them take no account of the important fact that these stone-heaps were at regular intervals along the road. De Visser expresses no definite opinion of his own, but rightly distinguishes between these wayside heaps (which have become the modern milestone), and were called *ἔρμακες* or *Ἑρμαιοὶ λόφοι* from the *λίθοι λιπαροί* at the cross-roads.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Haddon, *Magic and Fetichism*, p. 8, has noticed the practice of throwing sticks and stones at cairns, and regards it as an act of ceremonial union with the immanent spirit: vide *Anthrop. Journ.* 1907, p. 265.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the Sibylline oracle quoted by De Visser, op. cit. p. 81 *κἂν παρόδοισι λίθων συγχώματα ταῦτα σέβασθε*: the human statue was occasionally set near them, R. 31<sup>add</sup>.

this primitive cult aided material progress in an important point.

Again, we may connect with the earliest period of his worship the fashion of setting up the agalma of the god on the boundaries of land: the presence of the earth-god, or way-god, which is thus secured, sanctifies the rights of public as of private ownership, establishing a *tapu* that secures the place from violation<sup>a</sup>. Thus the borders of Megalopolis were guarded by Hermes at two places, and the men of Lampsakos maintained what they regarded as their frontier-rights against Paros by the erection of a Hermaion<sup>30</sup>. We are also told by Pausanias that Hermai were erected on the borders of Argolis, Tegea, and Laconia<sup>b</sup>. The examples are not numerous, but our record is probably deficient, for we gather from Hesychios that ἐπιτέρμιος, 'the god at the boundaries,' a Greek equivalent of the Latin 'Terminus,' was in vogue as a title of Hermes<sup>30</sup>. Nevertheless, we are inclined to believe that this sacred charge in Greece, so important for the development of international law, was borne rather by Zeus Ὀριος, the High God, who was also a chthonian power<sup>c</sup>.

Another interesting type of cult that may have arisen from the same idea as those just mentioned is that of Hermes Πυλαῖος<sup>20</sup> or Προπύλαιος<sup>21</sup>, Πύλιος<sup>22</sup>, Θυραῖος<sup>23</sup>, Στροφαῖος (Στροφεύς<sup>25</sup>), the god who stood by the gate of the house, or by the socket of the door, sometimes before the entrance to the temple as Πρόναος<sup>24</sup>, guarding ingress and egress. The way-god might be naturally desired to take up his place here, so as to protect the wayfaring of the householder; and it is thus that we must explain the Apollo Ἀγνιεύς at the entrance. But in the case of Hermes the practice might also have arisen from his power over the ghostly world; for we know that the primitive Greek was troubled by the fear

<sup>a</sup> The custom of safeguarding boundaries by religion probably prevailed all over the Mediterranean area, as well as in the North of Europe: we have evidence from Italy and from Mesopotamia; in savage society the same end is sometimes secured by the power of

the fetish, vide *Anthr. Journ.* 1905, p. 411.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Argolis.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 1, p. 55: the people of Hermione, on the other hand, put their boundaries under the charge of Apollo, vide Apollo, vol. 4, R. 143.

of ghosts entering his house, and used spell-words—*μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν*—and other magic devices to prevent it; and a statue of Hermes at the entrance would be a natural religious prophylactic<sup>a</sup>.

We may conjecture that this identity in function of Hermes, the way-god who stood by the door, and Apollo Agyieus, was one of the underlying causes why they were so closely associated in legend, an association that was also prompted by their common pastoral character; and as the Homeric hymn to Hermes shows a deep impress of Arcadian myth, it may have been first in Arcadia that the two were brought into intimate companionship.

From this primitive faith in a god that guarded the ways developed the early conception of the sanctity of heralds before the period of Homer, for it is reflected in his poems. The best protection in dangerous times down dangerous ways is to make oneself 'sacro-sanct,' and this could be done by bearing some badge of the deity, which by mystic contact communicated sanctity to one's own person. The arrow of Apollo may have had this significance in the Hyperborean legend of Abaris; and as Hermes came to be generally regarded as the way-god, his *kerykeion*, originally a shepherd's crook<sup>b</sup>, came to be adopted by the heralds who served as ambassadors between the early communities. Hence he became specially their tutelary divinity and the guardian of such morality as attached to Hellenic diplomacy; so that Plato in his *Laws* condemns the fraudulent ambassador as guilty of impiety against Hermes and Zeus<sup>53</sup>.

We have here another salient example of the assistance that ancient polytheism, penetrating the various activities of life, could render to the development of human morality

<sup>a</sup> It might also be sometimes regarded as a protection against thieves, which is Suidas' view of it<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> There is no need to derive this simple implement, as some have done, from Phoenicia or, as Sir William Ramsay derives it, from Phrygia: the latter has published an interesting relief from a Phrygian Necropolis, showing

a rude figure of Hermes with the *kerykeion*, *Hell. Journ.* vol. 3, p. 9, fig. 3. We may regard this relief as an early indication of Hellenic influence in that country, unless the occurrence of the shepherd's staff in Phrygian religious art may be supposed to be a mere coincidence.

and law. We note too that as the deity who controls a certain human department must be himself a practitioner in it, so the god of heralds serves himself as the herald of the gods, a rôle which has already been given him in the Homeric period, and which suited the subordinate position assigned to him under the Olympian system. This conception of him is no mere mythologic fiction, but it entered into the popular folk-lore, if not into the state-cults. We hear of a mountain near Ephesos<sup>a</sup>, called τὸ Κηρύκιον, 'the Herald's Mountain,' the name having been given it—so it was said—because Hermes had proclaimed from that mountain the great event of the birth of Artemis; while another mountain of the same name near Tanagra was connected with the legend of the god's own birth<sup>b</sup>. Of any corresponding cult we have no clear proof: Hesychios attests of Hermes the interesting title *Εὐάγγελος*, expressive of the god who 'brings glad tidings'; and within the last few years this has been found in a Parian inscription of the first century B. C.<sup>33</sup>; but this belongs to a private dedication, not to public worship. As it associates him with the *Θεοὶ Μεγάλοι*, the Samothracian divinities who were established in Paros, Rubensohn, who published it, interprets the term reasonably as alluding to the glad tidings of the Samothracian mysteries, the first example in the pre-Christian period of a word, so important for Christian terminology, bearing this connotation of 'salvation<sup>c</sup>.' As regards the famous Attic gens of the Kerykes, they indeed traced their descent to Hermes, and supplied to the state a priest 'of the ancestral Hermes of the Kerykes<sup>d</sup>,' yet they were not organized for this worship, but for the Eleusinian mysteries.

From this function of Hermes as the messenger of God an idea of value for religious thought might have arisen. The divinity who proclaimed to men the will of the High God might also convey to him the prayers and aspirations

<sup>a</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Ephesos.

Apollo at Branchidai, vide vol. 4, p. 228.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Tanagra.

<sup>c</sup> We have found a divine being named *Εὐάγγελος* in the following of

<sup>d</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Attica.

of men, might become like Mithras, ὁ μεσίτης, the mediator. But, though the inscription on the bust of Hermes in the Villa Albani addresses him as the 'Iovis nuntius et precum minister'<sup>2</sup>, I can find no proof from the Greek sources that Hermes rose to the height of this position in the popular imagination or in the public worship. It is only Aeschylus who dignifies in solemn words the divine part of the messenger, and speaks of him as in some sort our intermediary with the other world, in the prayer Electra utters: 'O mightiest messenger of the gods of the upper and the lower world, Hermes of the dark realm, aid me by heralding my prayers, that the powers below the earth may hear them'<sup>33</sup>.

In the Roman Imperial period we find mention in some inscriptions of Asia Minor of a cult of 'the divine and good messenger,' Θεῖος Ἀγαθὸς Ἄγγελος, attached to 'Zeus Most High'<sup>a</sup>. This being is certainly not Hermes, but one of those semi-personal emanations that, attaching themselves to anthropomorphic polytheism, seem to reflect a more abstract religious thought.

Arising from the simple idea of the way-god, other conceptions came to attach to him. He becomes the 'Leader of Men,' Ἀγῆτωρ at Megalopolis<sup>27</sup>—a title which Zeus and Apollo enjoyed in Argolis and Laconia—and Ἡγεμόνιος in Athens<sup>28</sup>. The former title attached to those other gods possessed a military significance; and though Hermes Ἀγῆτωρ at Megalopolis might have been vaguely interpreted as the God who 'leads us on our journey,' or perhaps in the same sense as Hermes Ψυχοπομπός, the Escorter of Souls, yet at Athens Ἡγεμόνιος must have once meant 'the Leader of the host' to war: for two Attic inscriptions, one of the period of the Lycurgean administration, prove that it was the Strategē who sacrificed to the god under this title<sup>28</sup>. But though pre-eminent in athletics, Hermes was not usually worshipped as a god of war: the title Πρόμαχος attached to him at Tanagra<sup>78</sup> is a unique exception and explained by a peculiar legend, to the effect that Hermes, armed with the athlete's 'strigil,' led a band of the ephebi to the rescue of

<sup>a</sup> Vide Zeus, R. 15<sup>a</sup> [at Stratonikeia].

the land when it was attacked by an Eretrian fleet. We suspect that he was not originally the deity of the later conquering races who possessed Hellas.

As travelling exposes one to all kinds of luck, the god of the wayfarer becomes also the god of luck and gain<sup>a</sup>; and if a man found a lucky thing by the way he put it down to the credit of Hermes. Even a fisherman might suppose that he owed his luck to him, though the god has no natural connexion with the sea; for an epigram in the Anthology describes a fisherman's dedication of his worn-out nets to Hermes<sup>b</sup>. Hence he is styled *Κερδῶος*, 'the gainful,' in literature if not in worship<sup>39</sup>, and *Τύχων*<sup>80</sup>, which might connote success in trade, in the competition of the artist, or in love. As the ways of gain are not always the ways of honesty and straightforwardness, he obtains a bad character and an immoral cult as *Δόλιος*, the god of craft and deceit, by which title he was actually worshipped at Pellene<sup>41</sup>. Here is a fact that gives us pause and reflection. How did Hermes become the patron-god of thieves, liars, and defrauders? And how did the more advanced Greek religion tolerate this view of him? Is it a late accretion, the accidental result of his prominence in the Hellenic market-place, where cheating would be an immemorial custom? This cannot be the explanation, for other deities were equally '*Ἀγοραῖοι*, divinities of the market, and their character did not suffer. Again, this characteristic of Hermes was not a late development but recognized frankly in the *Odyssey*; it is he who gives to his beloved Autolykos his unique capacity for perjury and treachery, and the author of the Homeric hymn does worshipful homage to the celestial trickster, 'the shifty one, the deceiver, the lifter of cattle,' and we must admit that he is able to depict the humorous side of thieving. We may find a clue for the answer to the first of the questions posed above. As a god of the road he could not avoid being appealed to by those who take to the road for

<sup>a</sup> We have in the Vedic mythology a similar conception of a Leader-God (*Deva Netr*) who is invoked two or

three times in one hymn as a guide to prosperity in life.

<sup>b</sup> *Anthol. Anathem.* 6, 23.

their living: even in communities living under Roman Catholicism thieves have needed and found a patron saint. Again, a god inevitably shares the vices of a conquered people, and among these are apt to be trickiness and deceit. At least these are generally imputed to them by the conquering race, and what the Scandinavians believed of the Finns and Lapps and the Teutons of the Welsh, the Hellenes appear to have believed of the Pelasgi. And if the hypothesis—for which reason has been shown—be true, that Hermes was the divinity of some such pre-Hellenic people, we shall the better understand why the old way-god came to acquire this doubtful character.

The second question asked above presents no real difficulty. A complex polytheism like the Greek is sure to be full of many contradictions, partly owing to the different strata of which it is composed representing different moral levels. And though parts of it had attained a high morality and perjury was regarded as a sin against the divinity no less clearly than in the Hebraic religion, yet parts of it remained unmoralized: and a deity of a lower type who occasionally patronized perjury and deceit might be tolerated within it. One would wish to know how far this lower view of this god's character affected public ritual and prayer. Did the Achæan state sacrifice to Hermes *Δόλιος* when it was engaged in a business of dubious morality? Private Greek prayer might be occasionally immoral, as Lucian satirically notes; but we have no evidence that the prayers of the state were ever of such a character, nor can we believe that Hermes *Ἀγοραῖος* stood in the market-place to encourage dishonest trading. Like his fellow-deities who were gathered there, he stood to preserve the public peace of the place; and the magistrates of the market of Olbia made offerings to him to secure such respectable objects as 'the welfare and health of the city and themselves<sup>35 g.</sup>' Let us observe also that Hermes appears to have been called 'the Just' at Argos<sup>42</sup>. But a singular ritual custom should be noted that prevailed at Samos, according to Plutarch<sup>88 d.</sup>: 'when the Samians offer sacrifice to Hermes *Χαριδότης*, every one who wishes has leave to steal and to



pick pockets.' Was this remarkable rule instituted from a desire in the community to show as much sympathy as possible with the god of thieves? Or is Plutarch's phrase merely a vague description of that rule of licence that has prevailed in very many communities on a certain carnival-day, sometimes in connexion with the harvest, or before a long period of fasting? The latter view is suggested by the epithet *Χαριδότης*, which is also applied to Bacchus and to Zeus<sup>a</sup>, and in their case appears to mean 'the giver of the fruits of the earth.' If we assume that it had the same meaning in the Samian cult, we may believe that the ritual was part of a harvest-festival, of which the usual licence included some merry form of picking one's neighbour's pocket.

The old rustic god of the highways came at an early period into the cities, to play an important part in certain spheres of the civic life and training. Here also he appears prominently a god of luck and of fertility; the mutilation of the phallic *Hermai* of Athens produced and was intended to produce in the Athenians the despondent sense that the luck of the state was gone and the divine power of fertilization impaired. Nevertheless he fails to achieve the first rank among the political divinities. He is no city-builder, and only two unimportant Hellenic cities, Hermopolis in Arcadia and in Kos<sup>37</sup>, are called after his name; Amasia in Pontus acknowledged him for its founder in the time of Septimius Severus, as a coin-inscription shows<sup>37</sup>, but we have no proof that this city was Hellenic in origin, and in considering the later coin-types of the Asia Minor states, among which the figure of Hermes occurs with some frequency, we must reckon with the influence of the Roman cult of Mercury. The 'Hermai' stood in the street, by the door of the house, even perhaps by the bridal-chamber<sup>b</sup>, to safeguard the life of the householder or the married couple from evil influences, and to assist fertility; and it seems that he was worshipped somewhere as *Αὐξίδημος*, 'the god who increased the people'<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Zeus, 103<sup>g</sup>, where it occurs in the same context with *ἐπικάρπιος*.

<sup>b</sup> He was called *Ἐπιθαλαμίτης* in

Euboea<sup>26</sup>, probably because of his image by the door of the *θάλαμος*.

The old Attic custom<sup>35 b</sup>, also, of inscribing the names of state-benefactors on the 'Hermai' may have spread the belief that the god was interested in the general welfare of the city; but in most of its special departments he had no function. He was not concerned with the organization of clans<sup>a</sup> or with the duties of kinship; nor was he the divinity of the city-hall or the state-council, nor usually the leader of men to war or to new settlements. His sole political title<sup>b</sup>, which expresses his importance for the πόλις, was 'Ἀγοραῖος, 'the god of the market-place.' This was evidently a very prevalent appellative, and the ἀγορανόμοι or market-officials who existed probably in every Greek state were under his patronage. While many other deities were also ἀγοραῖοι, Hermes was the market-god *par excellence*, Ἐμπολαῖος, the special divinity of trade, to whom Diodorus ascribes the invention of weights and measures, as also the wrongful use of them<sup>35, 36</sup>. How did he win his supremacy in this department? Was it merely through the fact that his agalma or statue always stood in the market-place, for the same purpose as that for which it was set up in the streets and before the doors? This suggestion would not explain the fact in question, for the 'agora' contained the images of other divinities as well. It is probable that the way-god is here again asserting his immemorial rights, acquired before the development of cities, when trade was conducted by travelling merchants, who needed the help of the deity of the road, and whose safest market was perhaps on the borderland between two communities, where a boundary-pillar of Hermes would preserve the neutrality and guard the sanctity of the spot<sup>c</sup>.

One of the problems of early society is how to bring men together without fighting. Religion here lends its aid, and

<sup>a</sup> As far as I am aware, there is only one example of a tribe named after him, Ἐρμηῖς, at Magnesia on the Maiander, vide Geogr. Reg. s. v.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπιπολαῖος, a title which he is recorded to have possessed at Rhodes<sup>38</sup>, is somewhat doubtful: it may refer to some local dedication of Hermes near

the city.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Anthrop. Journ.* 1905, p. 408, 'Notes on the ethnography of the Ba-'Mbala,' 'Markets are sometimes established on the neutral ground between several villages, where an important chief has buried his *K'issi* or fetish.'

the 'agora' was originally a sacred place, where other things were done besides bartering. The earliest assemblies and debates were conducted there; it was therefore the cradle of Hellenic oratory, and it was this fact that gave to Hermes *'Αγοραῖος* his chance of developing into a divinity of the higher culture. Hellenic oratory was a Homeric or pre-Homeric art; and in the famous trial scene depicted on the shield of Achilles<sup>a</sup>, the old men, who sit as judges in the agora 'on polished stones within a holy circle, hold in their hands the sceptres of clear-voiced heralds': that is to say, when they rise and speak, no one must assault or insult them, being sacrosanct while they hold in their hands the 'herald's sceptre,' the badge of Hermes. Hence arose the association between Hermes and the art of oratory, a commonplace of the later literature<sup>b</sup>, but only expressed in public cult by the title *'Αγοραῖος*, and possibly *Πεισίνουος*, the 'persuader of the mind,' which he may have enjoyed at Knidos<sup>43</sup>. We are told by Plutarch that the ancients frequently grouped Hermes with the Charites<sup>c</sup> because oratory demands grace and winningness; but if this association of divinities was really old and prevalent, we may suspect that the idea that suggested it was their common interest in fertility and vegetation, rather than in grace of speech<sup>81</sup>.

Arcadia was a musical land, and the old god of the country was certain to have an interest in music; hence we have the Arcadian stories of Hermes' invention of the lyre. Though in this sphere he was overshadowed by Apollo, yet these legends had a certain influence upon the popular imagination and religious art. Pausanias saw in the temple of Aphrodite at Argos<sup>82b</sup> a statue of Hermes with the tortoise-shell, which he interpreted as alluding to the fabrication of the lyre; and on Helikon a bronze group of Apollo and Hermes fighting for its possession<sup>82a</sup>. At Megalopolis, he shared a temple

<sup>a</sup> Il. 18, 504.

<sup>b</sup> Demosthenes is called by Aristides 'the embodiment of Hermes λόγιος'; and Iamblichus declares that it was Hermes who invented dialectic, and seriously adds that the two serpents on

the Kerykeion whose two heads were set facing each other were a symbol of this art<sup>81</sup>. We have no proof that λόγιος was ever a cult-title.

<sup>c</sup> The examples we can quote are but few<sup>81</sup>: cf. Aphrodite, R. 94.

with the Muses and Apollo<sup>a</sup>; and we find him admitted to the same company in the sacrifices and worship of the artists of Dionysos, in the later period the chief musical and dramatic association of Greece<sup>b</sup>. In the public worship the idea may have received but scanty expression; however, state-cults generally lag behind individual beliefs; and we have the right to suppose that something like a real belief in Hermes as the patron of art and literature may have prevailed; at least, we may remember Lucian's statement about the man who offered a thank-offering to the god, because a new book that he read aloud in the festival of the Diasia won the prize in the competition<sup>c</sup>; and we have Arrian's grave assurance that those who worked at the higher culture offered sacrifice of thanksgiving to Apollo, the Muses, and Hermes<sup>d</sup>. We may note, finally, that the appellative *Τύχων*, borne by Hermes as the bringer of luck, might be applied to him who gives victory in the artistic contests<sup>80</sup>.

But in the developed period of Greek civilization, the department of Hellenic culture with which the god was most specially concerned was the palaestra, the training of the athletic youth; and the records that have come down to us present this aspect of the deity most vividly. The appellatives, *ἀγώνιος*, *ἐναγώνιος*, which he enjoyed at Sparta<sup>46</sup>, Athens<sup>47 a</sup>, Olympia<sup>47 b</sup>, and elsewhere, have always a reference to the athletic or musical contests, not to the law-courts nor to the battle-field. Pindar tells us that the Spartans gave to Hermes, together with the Dioskouroi and Herakles, the presidency of their games<sup>52</sup>, and this is confirmed by an inscription<sup>46</sup>. At Athens there was a gymnasium of Hermes' near the Kerameikos<sup>51</sup>, and each tribe had its gymnasiarch<sup>47 a</sup>. His altar at Olympia stood near that of Kairos, another agonistic power, near the entrance to the stadion<sup>47 b</sup>. And the records are plentiful from various quarters of dedications to him on the part of the ephebi<sup>51, 60</sup> and the gymnasiarchs<sup>48-50, 57, 58</sup>. Some of these, which the latter dedicated, were costly erections; at Melos, above the grotto where the

<sup>a</sup> Vide Apollo, R. 230.

<sup>b</sup> Dionysos, 104 f.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Zeus, 135<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Apollo R. 228.

Venus of Milo was found, an inscription came to light commemorating the 'exedra' and statue which the under-gymnasiarch dedicated to Hermes and Herakles<sup>64</sup>; and the munificence of the gymnasiarch at Thisbe was greater still<sup>49</sup>. The relation between the members of the palaistra and their patron-deity appear to have been close and affectionate, and resting on a genuine faith. The ephebi of the Boeotian Orchomenos<sup>48</sup> gratefully dedicate a statue of their gymnasiarch to Hermes and their ancestor Minyas<sup>a</sup>, and a *παιδονόμος* of Astypalaia makes offering and prayer to Hermes in behalf of the good behaviour of his boys<sup>67</sup>. From this interest of his the god was called *παιδοκόρος*, 'he who cares for boys,' at Metaponton in Italy<sup>b</sup>; and it appears to have been not uncommon for statues of Eros to be grouped with his and those of Herakles as the symbol of the loving relations that should govern the palaistra<sup>77</sup>.

How it came to pass that Hermes acquired this pre-eminence in the athletic sphere is a question hard to answer with certainty. It does not obviously connect itself with those of his characteristics that we may call primitive; and we have no data to inform us at what period it arose. The Homeric hymns are silent about it; but it was certainly recognized generally before the time of Pindar. We hear of an archaic statue of Hermes standing by the gymnasium at Las in Laconia<sup>53</sup>, and we may suppose that when these buildings began to arise in Greece it was usual to place in them or by them a prophylactic image of this god, for the same reason as dictated the erection of the Hermai in the streets of the city; and thus his patronage of athletics may have arisen, as it were, accidentally. He may have also become specially interested in the ephebi from his close friendship with Apollo. But we must always bear in mind that the special characteristics of a god depend on those of his most devoted worshippers. In the case of Hermes, these were the Arcadians, who at an early period were famous athletes, and had much to do with the rise of Olympia into predominance; they may have borne their deity, an athlete like themselves, to the Altis,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. epigram from Tenos<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s.v. Italy.

whence this conception of him may have spread over the Hellenic world.

It was the games-passion which prevailed throughout the Hellenic world that helped to preserve the worship of Hermes in some prestige and prominence throughout the later periods of paganism. The cult never exerted any great spiritual force, but had contributed something to the development of social and international law.

#### NOTE ON THE RITUAL, R. 85-88.

The ritual of this worship illustrates, as is usual in Hellenic religion, the main ideas entertained about the god. Certain points have already been considered; but one or two interesting facts in the record still claim attention. The sacrifices, as usual, take the two different forms, animal-oblations or cereal and vegetarian, including milk and honey, the latter being perhaps the earlier. The blood-offering was evidently common in the Homeric period, the bloodless probably more usual in the chthonian rites, such as the *χύρποι* in the Anthesteria. A noticeable feature in the former was the consecration of the tongue of the victim to Hermes, which the scholiast on Aristophanes describes as a common practice, but which we must suppose was merely occasional<sup>85f</sup>. Athenaeus, in a confused passage, speaks as if it were a practice of the Homeric heroes, though we find it nowhere mentioned in Homer<sup>85b</sup>. Whenever it came into vogue, we must connect it with the idea of Hermes as the herald-god; for another authority declares that the tongue at the sacrifice was the special perquisite of the heralds<sup>85f</sup>. Such an offering would be one of the acts of sympathetic magic common in all ritual<sup>a</sup>.

We have already noted many examples of the old idea that the chthonian worships demanded at times a human sacrifice. In regard to Hermes, we have only one record attesting this, which is of all the greater interest as it is also the sole evidence of an interesting cult<sup>88</sup>. Tzetzes informs us that when the men of Tanagra were at war with Eretria they were advised by an oracle to sacrifice a boy and a girl. They complied, and in consequence established the

<sup>a</sup> We find it also awarded to the *ἀρχηγέτης*, probably the hero-founder of the colony, in an Attic-Chalcidic in-

scription of the fifth century. Vide *Class. Rev.* 1906, p. 29.

worship of the 'White Hermes.' It is probable that there is a lacuna in this statement, which we may fill up with the help of a passage in Pausanias<sup>a</sup> concerning a certain shrine of the Eumenides near Megalopolis: we gather that these goddesses were worshipped there under two aspects, as Black Powers and White Powers, and that to the Black chthonian and piacular offerings and a gloomy ritual were consecrated, while sacrifices were made to the White as to the upper divinities: and the story is connected with the madness and the recovery of Orestes. Now on this analogy we may suppose that at Tanagra there was a Black, i.e. a chthonian and gloomy Hermes, by whom as a nether power piacular offerings, even human beings, might be demanded, and that when his wrath was averted he became the appeased or 'White' divinity.

Festivals called the 'Hermaia' seem to have been fairly common in Greece, but we know nothing of their date in the calendar; all that we are informed on this point is that the fourth day of the month was consecrated to this god<sup>87</sup>. From a few references in Pindar it would appear that the Hermaia at Pellene in Achaia was the most celebrated<sup>89e</sup>; it was also called the *Θεοξένια*, as if Hermes were the host of the other deities on this occasion. We hear only of athletic contests on these occasions; there is no record of artistic or musical competitions.

<sup>a</sup> 8. 34, 3: the significance of the passage has been noted by Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 58.

## CHAPTER II

### CULT-MONUMENTS OF HERMES

BEING an eminently popular god of varied functions, Hermes becomes a frequent figure of Greek art in its various branches. But the surviving representations of him that can be shown to be derived from the public worship are not numerous. The records of the aniconic period, to which his earliest history goes back, have already been discussed, and they have given us reason to believe that such mere fetich-things as the phallos or the pile of stones by the wayside were once erected as his emblems or as objects in which he was immanent. But the monuments that have come down to us do not exemplify this earliest era of his cult, but rather the next, which was advancing towards eikonism; and we have many examples surviving of the 'terminal' type, the bearded head of Hermes above a four-square shaft, in the centre of which a phallos is carved, as the mark of his fertilizing power originally, but later also as an 'apotropaion' intended to ward off the evil eye. The same type may have occasionally occurred in other worships, such as those of Dionysos and Priapos<sup>a</sup>; but in the absence of any special feature which prevents us, we may safely interpret these as Hermes-columns; and their association with this god is often made clearer still by the 'kerykeion,' or herald's-rod, carved up one of the sides of the shaft<sup>b</sup>. Now some of these 'Hermai' appear in the centre of actual ritual-scenes on vases<sup>c</sup>; worshippers are

<sup>a</sup> The ithyphallic herme of a white-haired bearded deity wearing a 'kalathos,' to whom a female is offering a sacrificial basket, on a vase published by Lenormant, *Él. Cér.* 3 Pl. LXXXII, is probably Priapos, certainly not

Hermes.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. LXIV-LXVI.

<sup>c</sup> e.g. Conze, *Heroen u. Göttergestalten*, Taf. 69. 2.



approaching them with offerings and adoration. But all these seem merely to be scenes of private or family ritual. The only representation of this type, so far as I know, that we can safely regard as a monument of state-worship, occurs on a fourth-century coin of Ainos<sup>a</sup>, in the Thracian Chersonnese, showing us a terminal figure of Hermes standing on a throne and reminding us of the Amyklaean statue of Apollo [Coin Pl. no. 1]. We may also with probability regard the coin-type of Sestos, struck about the middle of the fourth century B.C., representing Demeter seated on a low column, holding an ear of corn before a phallic term, as alluding to a state-cult of Hermes to which this agalma belonged<sup>b</sup>. Occasionally the terminal figure was represented, not as ithyphallic, but as partly covered with drapery, as was the case with the Hermes-statue in the gymnasium at Phigaleia<sup>55</sup>, which is reproduced on a coin of Septimius Severus<sup>c</sup>.

Of much greater religious interest and artistic significance is the art-type of Hermes with the ram. The motive was treated with great variety in the various branches of plastic, glyptic, and painting<sup>d</sup>; the god is sometimes carrying the ram on his shoulders with the four feet held together on his chest, or he is holding it under his arm or standing by its side with his hand resting on its head, or, more rarely, is represented riding on its back. The motive is pastoral and often charming, expressive of the communion between the god and the feeding flocks and of his care for the shepherd's life: it has this further interest for the history of European art that it is undoubtedly the ancestor, direct or indirect, of the early Christian type of the Good Shepherd. But we must be on our guard against the over-hasty assumption that every figure carrying a ram or a lamb in any representation of Greek art is Hermes; it is possible that Apollo may have been so represented, or in the later secular art a mere shepherd<sup>e</sup>. But many can be recognized with certainty as

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Thrace.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, Pl. V, 12, p. 106.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Veyries, Les figures criophores

dans l'art grec (1884).

<sup>e</sup> The Berlin bronze-figure of developed archaic style of a youth with a lamb on his shoulders is considered by Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plast.*<sup>3</sup>

embodying the idea of Hermes *Κριοφόρος*, and a few can be regarded as monuments of actual cult. Two coins of the autonomous period of Tanagra show a type of the god bearing the ram which has been recognized<sup>a</sup> as a free reproduction of the statue wrought by Kalamis for one of his temples in the city<sup>6a</sup>: the rendering of the forms appears much the same in both specimens, but on one (Coin Pl. no. 2) the animal is resting on his shoulders, the forefeet being grasped in the left hand, the hind-feet in the right, and this accords with the account given of the statue; on the other the god is holding it under his right arm, as Onatas, the contemporary of Kalamis, represented him at Olympia for the dedication of the men of Pheneos<sup>6b</sup>. The type which the Aeginetan sculptor selected to follow appears to have been the older, for we find it in an interesting sixth-century bronze from Andritzena in Arcadia<sup>b</sup>; and before it was used for religious purposes it had perhaps a purely secular meaning as a very early motive of Cretan art. But the form which Kalamis gave to his Hermes *Κριοφόρος* appears better adapted for plastic effect, and seems to have prevailed in the larger works of sculpture; even Aegina, the home of Onatas, may have preferred it, for it occurs on an Aeginetan coin of the late Roman period<sup>6d</sup>.

The animal that he bears on his shoulders is also that which he specially desires as a sacrificial victim; and therefore he is represented on a gem as holding a dish with a ram's head upon it over an altar<sup>c</sup>; in a late Greek bronze<sup>d</sup>, as standing with a ram's horn in his hand (Pl. I); and, on a third-century coin of the Mamertini, as holding a winged caduceus and a libation-cup with a ram at his feet gazing upwards<sup>e</sup>. We have noticed already the mythic fancy, working in a certain artistic groove, tending to imagine the divinities as riding

I, p. 188, Fig. 43, 1) to be an Apollo because it is beardless; but a beardless face might be given to Hermes at this period, vide infra, p. 46. The archaic statue of the deity with the bull-calf on his shoulders (Overbeck, *ibid.* Fig. 25) may be called Apollo with slightly more probability than Hermes, who is rarely associated with this animal, vide R. 85°.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, X, XI, XII, p. 115.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 44.

<sup>c</sup> Müller-Wieseler, *D. A. K.* 2, 29, 321.

<sup>d</sup> Published by Conze in *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1887, Taf. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Sicily.

PLATE I

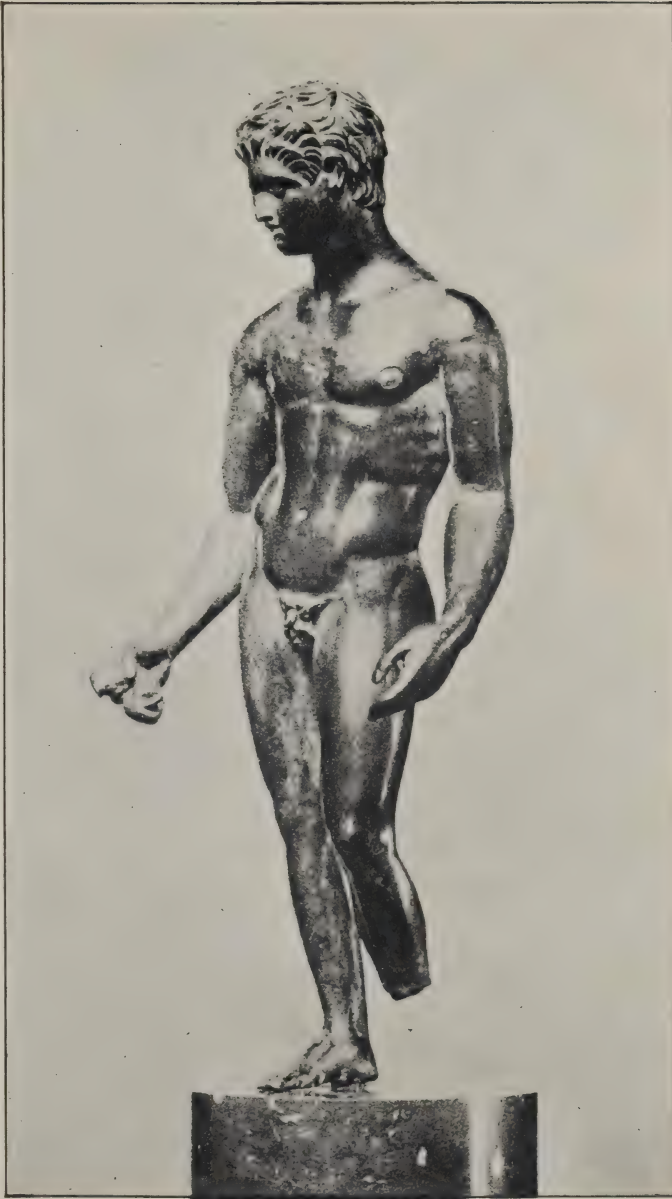




PLATE II



PLATE III

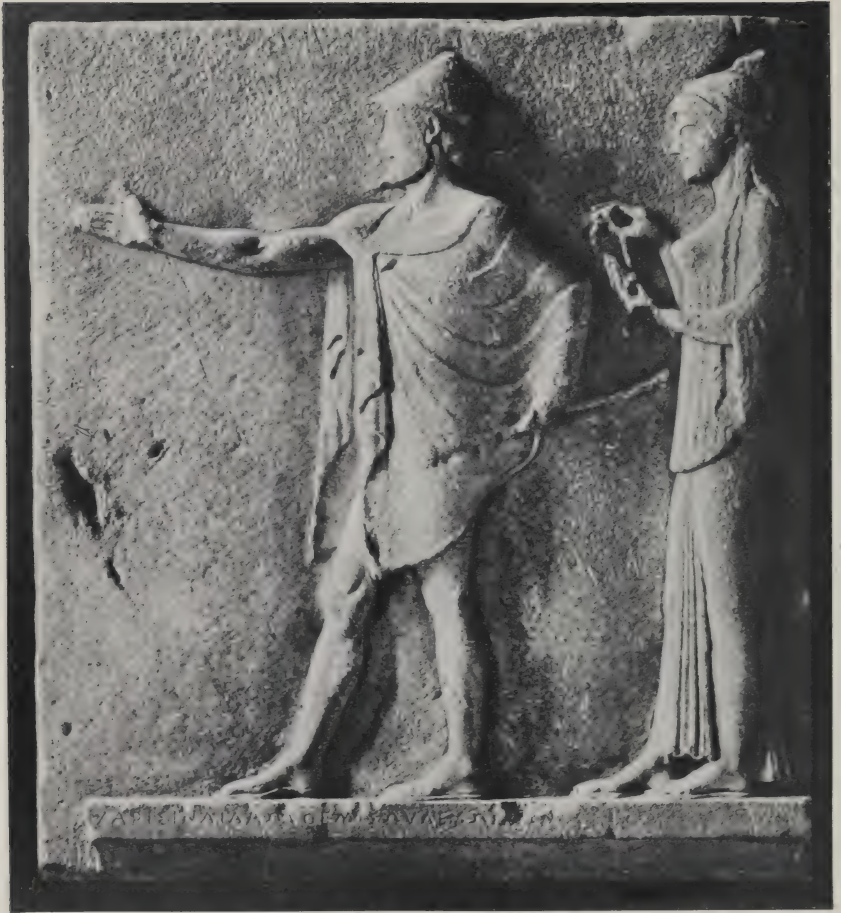










PLATE V



on their favourite animals of sacrifice: and so Hermes was occasionally figured riding on the ram, for instance on a fifth-century vase <sup>a</sup> where we find him crowned with ivy and holding a flower and caduceus in company with Dionysos (Pl. II). The folk-lorist who is aware of the causative connexion between Greek art and Greek myth may consider whether this type gave the cue to the story of the golden ram that bore Phrixos over the sea <sup>b</sup>.

The pastoral deity might be represented as himself a shepherd driving his flock; and the same pastoral conception underlies the interesting group of monuments that associate Hermes with the Nymphs, the divinities of the springs, the streams, the woodland. A monument of equal importance for Greek art as for religion is the late archaic relief of Thasos, on which Hermes is seen in the function of 'Nymphagetes' leading the Nymphs to Apollo (Pl. III); and on an Attic relief in Berlin <sup>c</sup>, of the second part of the fifth century, found some years ago, we see him in the company of the Nymphs, with worshippers approaching (Pl. IV); on the right is the river-god Acheloös, in the form of a bull with human head, while above him we can discern the goat-legs of a crouching Pan. The work illustrates the Attic worship of the river-god, with which Hermes was associated; and it is the earliest and best example of an interesting type of relief, recently found among the dedications in a cave on Parnes, which appears to have served as a wild shrine of this cult, and for which the Berlin relief may have been intended. One of these <sup>d</sup> is reproduced on Pl. V, being a work of the fourth century and of very inferior style to the former, but evidently belonging to the same family.

<sup>a</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI, Tav. LXVII.

<sup>b</sup> That Phrixos was ever himself identified with Hermes is unproved, and, in view of the legends about him, improbable. Gerhard's article 'Phrixos der Herold' in his *Akademische Abhandlungen*, 2, p. 506 is unsound; his Pl. LXXXI reproduces a vase with a picture of a youth riding on a ram across the sea; we may interpret this as Phrixos,

but whether the spear-headed shaft which he holds in his hand is furnished at its other end with the emblem of the kerykeion appears doubtful; and if this was the intention of the artist, it is difficult to say what precise mythic-religious idea he had in mind.

<sup>c</sup> *Arch. Anzeig.* 1890, p. 87.

<sup>d</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1905, p. 102.

These three reliefs are also examples of a characteristic type which Greek art invented for the expression of the idea of Hermes 'the Leader.' The god marching before, with three female divinities following him, is a motive used by very early Greek vase-painting, perhaps at first without any mythic significance whatever, while afterwards it might be adapted to such scenes as the representation of the Judgment of Paris<sup>a</sup>. Where there is no myth, as in the case of the reliefs mentioned above, the scene is probably hieratic: the herald-god is leading the divinities to the sacrifice which their worshippers are preparing. For there are certain monuments which reveal a function of Hermes, about which the literature is almost silent, the function of the divine sacrificer. We should naturally expect him to occupy this position in the religious circle of Samothrace, into which he was admitted as *Καδμῖλος*, 'the Minister'; and we find him by the side of Cybele, with a *πρόχους* or libation-pitcher in his hand, ready for her ministrations<sup>b</sup>. And we may suppose that the general popular belief regarded him as fulfilling the same function for the higher Hellenic divinities; for on vases of the earlier and middle period he is represented standing by a flaming altar holding a sacrificial basket or pouring a libation, and two of these refer clearly to the worship of Dionysos<sup>c</sup>. That one god should minister the sacrifices to the others is an idea found in some polytheistic religions; in the Vedic ritual it is Agni the fire-god who wafts the savour of the offerings to heaven. In the Hellenic system, the divinities of fire, Hestia and Hephaistos, have no such function, but it is attached to Hermes, because—as we may suppose—of the

<sup>a</sup> Vide the exposition in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*, pp. 292-300: there are reasons against her suggestion that the art-motive itself, by misunderstanding, created the myth of the Judgment.

<sup>b</sup> Vide reliefs published by Conze, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1880, Taf. 1-4, showing Hermes in attendance on Kybele.

<sup>c</sup> These are put together by Lenormant, *Él. Céram.*, iii, Pl. LXXVI, Hermes holding sacrificial basket over

flaming altar; Pl. LXXXVIII, Hermes with *κάνιστρον* dragging ram to sacrifice, on right female holding kalathos before altar, on left Dionysos half-revealed (good style of fifth century); Pl. XCI, Hermes standing before half-opened door of temple, on right Bacchante with thyrsos holding up chaplet; Pl. XCII, Hermes standing by one altar with sword, spear and kerykeion, female with thyrsos holding offerings over another.

associations of the word Κήρυξ; for already in the Homeric poems the Κήρυκες are concerned with the preparation of the sacrifice, and the gentile name of the Attic Kerykes, and the title of the public officials known in the Greek states as the Ἴεροκήρυκες preserve the ritualistic connotation of the name. Hence we may understand the motive of the narrative in the Homeric hymn <sup>a</sup>, which makes Hermes, immediately after the theft of the oxen, slaughter two of them as if for sacrifice and divide them into twelve portions as if for the twelve deities.

Where Hermes is represented standing alone, not by any altar or any beast of sacrifice, merely pouring from a sacrificial cup, as on a red-figured vase published by Lenormant <sup>b</sup>, we may doubt whether the intention was to depict the divine sacrificer or the god who dispenses blessing, the giver of good things, as every higher Greek divinity might be conceived and was therefore represented with the cup of blessing in the hand. At any rate, the art-language found a clear mode of rendering the idea of the Θεὸς ἐπιούριος: the most speaking emblem of fertility and good fortune was the cornucopia, and the later art set this not infrequently into the hands of Hermes <sup>c</sup>.

As regards the functions of the god as a power of the lower world, we cannot say that any of our surviving monuments is a direct heritage from any state-cult expressing these. Nor in the symbols and attributes usually attached to him by Greek art can we discover any clear allusion to this aspect of him; it is true that in the later type of the kerykeion the serpent-form begins to be common, but it is probable that this was suggested by no religious, but merely decorative, reasons. However, if we ever find the serpent combined with the figure of Hermes in any significant way, we shall have to regard the work as a monument of Hermes Χθόνιος; for the serpent was specially the emblem of the chthonian powers, and is said by Ioannes Lydus, though in a context which

<sup>a</sup> ll. 121-129.

<sup>b</sup> *Él. Cér.* iii, Pl. LXXIII.

<sup>c</sup> e. g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, Taf. 2, 4, cf. *Schöne, Griech. Rel.*, No. 118 (Hermes with cornucopia approaching Acheloös);

on coin of Eresos, Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaie Grecque*, p. 278; cf. Roman gem, Müller-Wieseler, *D. A. K.*, 2, 306<sup>d</sup>, Mercury armed, standing on a ball, holding kerykeion and cornucopia.

throws suspicion on the statement, to have been a symbol of Hermes *Ψυχοπομπός*, 'the guide of souls'.<sup>a</sup> There is only one example of this among our present stock of Greek monuments, the famous 'Hermes' of Andros in the Central Museum of Athens<sup>b</sup>; for a serpent is entwined around the tree-trunk that is carved as a support by his side (Pl. VI). Much controversy has gathered round the interpretation of this statue, and it concerns us here to consider the facts that bear on the question of its meaning. The statue is of an interesting type that was created for the representation of Hermes; for the 'Antinoos' statue in the Vatican, and the Farnese 'Hermes' in the British Museum, are replicas of it; and the personality of the last-mentioned work is put beyond a doubt by the kerykeion held in the left hand. Therefore, in the absence of other evidence, we should conclude that the same name belongs to the other statues also. But another fact of importance is that the 'Hermes' of Andros was found near a grave, and in the same place was found the ideal portrait statue of a woman. It has been therefore concluded by Milchöfer and Friederichs that the statue was not really intended for the god but for the deceased who was deified in his form<sup>c</sup>. Now it is certain that representations of Hermes, usually in the form of the Herme-pillar, were placed on graves or in sepulchral niches, or were carved in relief on the sepulchral slab: the object being no doubt to commit the deceased to the care of Hermes *Χθόνιος*<sup>d</sup>. It also appears that these Hermai in the later period reproduced sometimes the features of the deceased. That such practice is a proof of any real religious belief or mystic hope that the god might

<sup>a</sup> *De Mens.* 1, 20.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Milchöfer, *Museen von Athen*, p. 13; Müller-Wieseler, *D. A. K.* 2, p. 237; Waldstein in *Hell. Journ.* 1886, pp. 241-246; Scherer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2415; Friederichs, *Gypsabgüsse antik. Bildw.* 1220 (with citation of older literature).

<sup>c</sup> Milchöfer, op. cit. p. 13, no. 2.

<sup>d</sup> The evidence for the sepulchral dedication of these Herme-figures is

stated and considered by Pfuhl in *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1905, p. 76-82. On the sepulchral relief of Leukaios in the Ashmolean Museum the terminal figure is ithyphallic (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 588), perhaps to express the idea that the god of death is also the giver of life. Hence the *φαλλός* itself might at times be used for a sepulchral monument, as the legend of Prosymnos shows.

PLATE VI







take the departed soul to himself, or that the mortal might be absorbed in the divine, is more than we can affirm; for the Herme-pillar by this time was by no means exclusively used for Hermes, and might be employed for ordinary iconic purposes. The matter stands differently with the statue belonging to Sir Charles Nicholson's Collection, which Prof. Waldstein has described and published<sup>a</sup>; here the form is that of Hermes, and the statue is of the same type as the Andrian and the Farnese, but the head is undoubtedly iconic; and Prof. Waldstein rightly includes in the same series a statue discovered in Delos by the French excavations, dedicated to a certain Caius Ofellius<sup>b</sup>. These monuments, half-iconic, half-divine, are not known to have been sepulchral; if they were, they might point to something more than idle flattery; but the question as to their real significance would belong to another chapter in Greek religious history.

But none of these analogies suggests that the Andrian figure was intended to represent the deceased individual in the form of the god; for here there is no touch of human individuality, no hint of portraiture, in the face. As, then, the statue has the countenance as well as the form of Hermes, we had better call it Hermes. And this interpretation agrees quite as well as the other with the situation in which it was found; for it was agreeable to the popular religious sentiment that a monument of Hermes *Xθόvιος* should be placed on the sepulchre or in the sepulchral chapel; and it might naturally occur to the artist that the emblem of the snake, which had such close associations with the cult of the dead, would naturally indicate the character and functions of the divinity. His work may have been inspired by some image of public worship; but we nowhere hear of any temple of Hermes *Xθόvιος*, who belongs to the popular religion rather than to the state.

Another interesting work belonging to the same religious circle, though not to public cult, is a grave-relief in the Museum of Verona<sup>c</sup>, on which Hermes is represented holding

<sup>a</sup> Loc. cit. Pl. LXXI, 1.

p. 390.

<sup>b</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, Pl. 12,

<sup>c</sup> *D. A. K.* 2, 329, p. 250; Dütschke,

out a libation-cup to Ge, who is seated amply draped on a rock; the simplest interpretation is that the god who conducts the souls of the deceased is making a solemn offering to the goddess of the lower world in behalf of the departed. There is no reason to suppose that any deification of the deceased in the form of either divinity is intended. The monument is of special interest as being the only certain illustration that Greek art has left us of that association of these two divinities, conceived as nether powers, which we find in the Persai of Aeschylus<sup>19 a</sup>.

The beliefs and the legends attaching to Hermes *Χθόνιος*, although the state-cults of Greece may have bequeathed to us no monument that embodies them, are variously illustrated by a sufficiently large series of surviving works, which prove the attraction of his personality for popular religious thought. He appears in various scenes as the power that leads the soul from life to death, and again, perhaps, from death to life<sup>a</sup>; on Attic lekythi of the fifth century he is depicted bringing the departed spirit to Charon, or releasing them by his magic rod from the sepulchral jar<sup>b</sup>; and it may be that we see him on certain gems evoking the unborn soul from the lower world<sup>c</sup>; he enters into the drama of Orpheus and Eurydike, as we see it represented on reliefs that descend from fifth-century Attic art; and into the story of the resurrection of Alkestis, if this is what is carved on the Ephesian column in the British Museum. More than once on vases of early and mature style he is seen weighing the souls of the warriors in the scale according to the Homeric and cyclic legends, to determine their destiny of life or death<sup>d</sup>. But

*Ant. Bildw. Ober-Ital.* vol. 4, no. 416, p. 178, doubts the genuineness of the inscription, and suppose that the work is a grave-relief, on which the deceased is personified as Hermes.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Furtwängler, *Antik. Gemm.* vol. 3, p. 202, Hermes evoking souls on Etruscan gems.

<sup>b</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1900, p. 101, Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 43; I see no

*vraisemblance* in her theory that associates this vase with the Attic *παιδίγια*.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Müller-Wieseler, *D. A. K.* 2, nos. 331-333, p. 252; all these are of doubtful interpretation.

<sup>d</sup> e.g. *Mon. d. Inst.* 2, 10<sup>b</sup>; cf. Roscher, *Lexikon* 2, p. 1142, Abb. I, 2. Christian art came to borrow this motive for its Archangel in scenes of the Last Judgment.

the detailed examination of this group of monuments is not the concern of the present treatise.

As regards the political cult of the god of the market-place, it is clear that Greek art did not attempt to create, or did not succeed in creating, any type specially expressive of Hermes Ἄγοραῖος. He might be represented as a terminal figure as at Pharai in Achaia<sup>35 a</sup>, or as a shapely youth of ideal form as at Athens<sup>35 b</sup>, or in some special action that had nothing to do with the local idea, as at Sparta we hear of a Hermes Ἄγοραῖος carrying the infant Dionysos<sup>a</sup>, a work which is reproduced on coins of the Roman Imperial period<sup>b</sup>. We may, however, regard the purse, which commonly belongs to the equipment of Hermes, as an emblem intended to denote the god of the market-place. But nearly all the existing monuments in which it is found belong to the Roman period, and it has been supposed that the earlier Greek art was innocent of this *bourgeois* trait; but a coin of Ainos of the third century B. C., on which Hermes is depicted enthroned and holding purse and caduceus<sup>c</sup>, proves that at times it was capable of deifying the power of the money-bag (Coin Pl. no. 3). Many coins of the Roman period portray him with this attribute; and some of these may reproduce earlier cult-monuments of the market-god: such, for instance, as the coins of Gythion, of Trajan's mint, representing him near an altar holding purse and caduceus<sup>d</sup>. The statue carved by Eucheir, the son of Euboulides, for the men of Pheneos, in which the same emblems were attached to him, if we can trust the evidence of a later coin, must have belonged to the first century B. C.<sup>e</sup>

Though one of the political deities of Greece, we have no public monument revealing him as a war-god; even the Hermes Πρόμαχος of Tanagra<sup>f</sup>, where alone a definitely war-

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Laconia.

<sup>b</sup> Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, op. cit. Pl. N, V, VI; cf. the coin of Pheneos, Hermes carrying Arkas, mentioned supra, p. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 214: this evidence is ignored by Scherer in his

account of the Hermes-monuments in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 2426.

<sup>d</sup> Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, op. cit. p. 62.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. Pl. T, no. vi, p. 97.

<sup>f</sup> Vide supra, p. 22.

like appellative was attached to him, was represented as armed only with the athlete's strigil; for the late coin-type described by Prof. Gardner seems to reproduce an original statue of the fifth century<sup>a</sup>. In the representations of secular art he might appear occasionally carrying arms, and he plays a part like the other divinities in the scenes of the gigantomachy: but why he should be depicted with sword and spear in such a sacrificial scene as that painted on a vase published by Lenormant<sup>b</sup> is impossible to explain with certainty<sup>c</sup>.

We have noted the prominence of the idea of the herald and ambassador in the whole political character of Hermes; but apart from his constant badge, the kerykeion, it is doubtful if we can find it specially impressed upon any of the existing works of Greek art. We see him, indeed, on a gem published some time ago, but at present untraced<sup>d</sup>, bearing an olive-spray and the herald's staff, and approaching a goddess who wears a mural crown; and there could be no more speaking way of expressing the idea of the divine ambassador; but even known gems are witnesses that have to be carefully tested, and the evidence of those that are now unknown is almost valueless.

Finally, the association of Hermes with the arts, which we may occasionally note in private cult and in the dedications and decrees of the 'artists of Dionysos<sup>80</sup>,' now and then suggested a motive to painting and even to religious sculpture<sup>e</sup>. Pausanias saw a statue in Argos of Hermes 'raising a tortoise aloft,' and he supposed it to allude to the fabrication of the lyre<sup>f</sup>; the description of the work would well apply to such a representation—possibly inspired by the Argive statue—as we see on the gem published by Müller<sup>g</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Op. cit. Pl. X, no. xiii.

<sup>b</sup> *Él. Cér.* Pl. XCII.

<sup>c</sup> Perdrizet, in *B. C. H.* 1903, p. 303, would apply the title of *πρόμαχος* to the small bronze representing Hermes (?) holding the ram's head in his left hand in a threatening attitude, published by Beulé in *Rev. Archéol.* 1862, Pl. 8,

fig. 1, who states that it was sold to him in Arcadia; but its genuineness may be open to question.

<sup>d</sup> Müller-Wieseler, *D. A. K.* 2, 316<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Vide supra, p. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Vide supra, p. 27.

<sup>g</sup> *D. A. K.* 2, 327<sup>a</sup>.

PLATE VII



PLATE VIII



where he stands leaning on a pillar holding aloft the tortoise on a plate; but, as has been well pointed out by Wieseler<sup>a</sup>, in this and in similar works, the tortoise is a mere attribute, the animal being regarded as the familiar companion of Hermes, the shepherd-god of Kyllene<sup>b</sup>, nor must we see here an allusion to the story of the lyre; and it is possible that Pausanias was deceived in his interpretation. But other monuments are clear in their representation of the god as a patron of art and a creator in the sphere of music. On a bronze diskos of the British Museum (Pl. VII) we see him seated on a rock with a lyre in front of him, and a kithara resting on his knee; and his attitude suggests the craftsman who is reposing after the completion of his task: the sphinx on the column in front of him may symbolize the wisdom required for the solution of the perplexing problems of art. Another interesting type of the Arcadian god of music is given us by a fifth-century vase<sup>c</sup>, which shows us the bearded Hermes running over the mountains with the lyre in his hands (Pl. VIII): we need see no mythic allusion in this, but only the genial conception of the god rejoicing in his new-found treasure.

<sup>a</sup> *D. A. K.* p. 249.

<sup>b</sup> The tortoise was sacred to Pan on Mount Parthenion (Paus. 8. 54, 5); and

occasionally to Aphrodite.

<sup>c</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* 4, 33 and in *Él. Céram.* 3, 89.

## CHAPTER III

### THE IDEAL OF HERMES

As this god was so popular a figure of Greek polytheism and art, we are able to answer without difficulty the question before us now, under what forms was Hermes conceived by the Hellenic imagination from the first period onward? For the series of monuments is practically unbroken, from the uncouth aniconic or phallic emblem onwards and upwards, to the masterpiece of Greek sculpture that the fortune of our times has revealed to us.

We may suppose that the Homeric world may have sometimes imagined him as a young and beautiful god: at least, when he walks among men, he is said to be 'like to a youth, before the hair has grown on his cheek, whose young prime is then most lovely.' But it was not till long after Homer that the artists came to represent him thus<sup>a</sup>.

Among the earliest iconic types may be quoted a very archaic bronze from Perugia of Hermes carrying the kerykeion, and wearing a peaked cap (Pl. IX). With this we may compare one of the earliest monuments of Arcadia, a bronze statuette from Andritzena, in the Central Museum of Athens<sup>b</sup>, a work of the sixth century, mentioned above as one of the earliest representations of Hermes the Ram-bearer (Pl. X). The forms are powerful, though stunted, and present the sturdy type of the shepherd-athlete, combined, perhaps intentionally, with a hint in the countenance of the genial malice characteristic of the god<sup>c</sup>. He is bearded, and wears the short tunic of the

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* 24, 347.

<sup>b</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, Pl. VII.

<sup>c</sup> This is Perdrizet's account, who has published the bronze, *op. cit.* p. 301: 'le dieu des bergers d'Arcadie dans sa

force et dans sa malice'; but what we may take for a malicious smile may be only a conventional form of treatment adopted by the primitive art without intention.



PLATE IX



PLATE X



swift courier, and the winged boots that are often given him in the earlier and later periods of art; what is unique is his strange hat, which is surmounted by a kind of plume. The work has a value, even a certain charm, for it seems a true presentment of the form in which the Arcadian shepherd imagined his pastoral god striding through the flocks on his native hills.

The earliest vase-paintings are fairly prolific in their representations of Hermes, but none of them have left us any type so important for characteristic as that which has just been described. His most frequent distinctive mark is the kerykeion, and the travelling-hat which varies in form; the winged boots are less frequent, the winged hat is not found before the fifth century: once or twice we find wings on his shoulders as on a black-figured vase published by Lenormant<sup>a</sup>, and on a small fifth-century lekythos in Berlin; and this trait has been strangely supposed<sup>b</sup> to give archaeological support to the theory maintained by Roscher, that Hermes was originally a wind-god. Such reasoning is obviously fallacious; the artist was not likely to be thinking of anything aboriginal, but as he was depicting a swift divinity, and was aware that the god had winged boots and perhaps a winged hat, he thought it natural to add wings to his shoulders<sup>c</sup>. This simple device was fortunately rare in Greek representations of divinity, but it was occasionally used, even for such personages as Athena, Artemis, and Dionysos.

In the figures on the earliest vases we do not look for much expression of character. All that we can perhaps discover is an occasional intention to depict Hermes, in accordance with the popular idea which appears in the literature, as a humorous god with a certain touch of comicality in his person or action. This may appear on an Attic amphora of the older style in Berlin, representing the birth of Athena, where the grotesque face of Hermes, who proclaims himself

<sup>a</sup> *Él. Cér.* 3, 75.

<sup>b</sup> e. g. by Scherer in Roscher, *op. cit.* I, p. 2401.

<sup>c</sup> Professor Gardner interprets a figure with wings on his shoulders on a coin

of Pamphylia or Cilicia as Hermes, and supposes Oriental influences to have been at work, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 115, Pl. IV, 24.

Ἑρμῆς εἰμὶ Κυλεύνιος, may be no mere accident of an infantine art<sup>a</sup>. And there is a very clear burlesque intention in the late black-figured vase in the Louvre, published by Miss Harrison<sup>b</sup>, which represents the 'Judgment of Paris,' and Hermes with an irresistibly comic expression seizing Paris by the wrist, who is turning away to flee in a terror quite justified by the faces of the three goddesses. In fact, this divinity was, as we have seen, of a character that could easily lend itself to such treatment.

But after the sixth century, the higher and more serious art began to work upon the type and to ennoble it. An important change was the transformation of the older bearded god into the beardless youth. It should be observed, however, that the latter form was not unknown even at the beginning of the sixth century, for we must assign as early a date as this to the Melian vase in the Central Museum at Athens<sup>c</sup>, which represents him undoubtedly as beardless, confronting a goddess who is probably Maia (Pl. XI); and another example from a vase of the black-figured style can be quoted<sup>d</sup>. But these are isolated exceptions, and the new type only began to prevail in the early half of the fifth century, owing probably to the close association of Hermes with the epebi. And from this period we can quote examples of coins, terracottas, bronzes, perhaps works of marble sculpture, which preferred the youthful type. It must have been fairly prevalent in Boeotia after 490 B. C., especially for the representations of Hermes with the ram. Terracotta statuettes of a youthful Hermes Κριοφόρος have been found among the débris of the Kabeirion<sup>e</sup> at Thebes; and again at Tanagra, and two at least of the Tanagran figures are of importance for the development of the ideal. One shows us the deity holding

<sup>a</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* 9, 55.

<sup>b</sup> *Prolegomena*, Fig. 79, p. 295, and in *Hell. Journ.*, 1886, p. 203.

<sup>c</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1894, Πίν. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Lenormant, *Él. Céram.* 3, 85: the small bronze in Berlin of the middle archaic style, representing a divinity with a lamb on his shoulders, is often

regarded as Apollo because of the youthful face, but may with more reason be regarded as an early example of a youthful Hermes Κριοφόρος (Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plast.*<sup>3</sup> vol. I, p. 188, Fig. 43, 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Athen. Mitth.* 1890, p. 359.

PLATE XI











PLATE XIII



PLATE XIV





PLATE XV



a small ram under his arm in accordance with the ancient art-motive<sup>a</sup>; the other, which is in the collection at Berlin, represents him standing in front of the ram, and resting his hand on its head (Pl. XII); the effect of the costume is much the same in both, only that the first wears the simple rider's cloak, the second what seems to be a double chiton, and in both we see the strong well-trained youth with a certain dignity in proportions and bearing. Closely akin to these is a figure of Hermes with the ram under his arm, published in the *Collection Piot*<sup>b</sup>, and apparently of Boeotian 'provenance'; the treatment of the face and the forms show the style of the period before Pheidias (Pl. XIII). Perhaps the most beautiful of this series is a terracotta from Thespiæ, belonging to the advanced period of fifth-century art, published by the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*<sup>c</sup>, showing the god in much the same costume carrying a small ram in his left arm; the treatment is very simple, but the youthful grace of the figure is combined with a certain solemnity (Pl. XIV).

Even the backward Arcadia had begun to admit the new type; for an interesting bronze statuette found recently on Mount Lykaion<sup>d</sup>, shows us the youthful shepherd-god, attired just like the Arcadian rustic, but distinguished by the kerykeion, which is now lost, and by the wings on his boots (Pl. XV); the forms are in some respects clumsy, and the treatment of the features is singularly coarse and uncouth, but the work nevertheless betrays the influence of the epoch-making changes that the great masters of the beginning of the fifth century introduced into the plastic tradition.

The new type, then, was gaining ground generally in the Greek world after 500 B. C.; and we even find it as far away as Cyprus<sup>e</sup>, on a coin of the early transitional manner, showing the figure of Hermes in full stride with the kerykeion (Coin Pl. no. 4). Nevertheless, down to the end of the fifth century, the bearded face was retained on the vases, and was preferred

<sup>a</sup> Figured in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 2395.

<sup>b</sup> ii, 1895, Pl. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. XXI, pp. 112-113.

<sup>d</sup> Published in *Eph. Arch.* 1904, Πίτ. 9, p. 195.

<sup>e</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v.

for the representations of Hermes *Ψυχοπομπός*, the escorter of souls, the god of the gloomy world.

Can we ascribe the transformation to the influence of any of the great sculptors who were active near the beginning of this period? One naturally thinks of Kalamis and Onatas, to whom alone among the transitional masters Hermes-statues of some celebrity are ascribed, both having dealt in a slightly different fashion, as we have seen, with the type of the Ram-bearer. As regards the work of Onatas, what we know of it is not much, and has already been mentioned. But a free reproduction of the statue of Kalamis probably appears on certain coins of Tanagra of the autonomous period<sup>a</sup>, and certainly the god appears to be beardless on these, and that Hermes *Κριοφόρος* in this city was popularly so imagined appears from the statement in Pausanias that in a certain yearly ritual a beautiful boy was chosen to impersonate him, bearing the ram on his shoulders round the walls<sup>6 a</sup>; and the legend about the other Hermes-idol in Tanagra, called *Πρόμαχος*, of unknown authorship, shows that it also was youthful<sup>b</sup>. Now we have reasons for thinking that Kalamis had a *penchant* for the youthful type in his representation of divinities; but the evidence of the works that have been described just above makes it impossible for us to assert positively that it was this sculptor who introduced the youthful Hermes-type into Boeotia. Probably the same tendency was making itself felt in different art-centres and in different branches of art simultaneously.

At Athens itself, a statue of the youthful god with the ram has not yet been found; but a striking bronze statue of Hermes *Ἀγοραῖος*, by some unknown sculptor, evidently of the transitional period, stood near the Poikilé Stoa, and may be supposed from Lucian's description to be of youthful form<sup>35 b</sup>; for the enthusiastic critic, who had a rare appreciation for works of the earlier period of the fifth century, praises it for the beauty of its lines and contour and the archaic arrangement of the hair, and finds in it the ideal

<sup>a</sup> Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, op. cit. Pl. X, nos. xi and xii.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 22.



PLATE XVI







PLATE XVII



image of the veritable god, 'thy own brother, O Hermes,' as Zeus says to the latter in Lucian's dialogue. The sculptor of this work might have been Kalamis himself, to whose style the description well corresponds. But of his Hermes *Κροφόρος* we have in fact no art-record save the Tanagran coins, and though they show something of the pose and preserve a reminiscence of the style, they give us no impression of the character they imparted to the face.

The two Tanagran terracottas described above show us a youthful type, independent of the work of Kalamis, but already perhaps embodied in some striking work of larger sculpture of the earlier half of the fifth century. For the Vatican statue, misnamed Phokion because of the helmeted head which does not belong to it<sup>a</sup>, undoubtedly presents a Hermes wrought after the same ideal as inspired the Boeotian coroplasts (Pl. XVI); and apart from their evidence the personality is proved by the gem of Dioskurides, reproduced by Helbig in his discussion of the statue<sup>b</sup>. The drapery is almost the same as on the first of the above-mentioned terracottas, but the simplicity, which is carefully retained, is combined with a certain decorous impressiveness. In the pose of the arms and legs and of the whole body the larger work shows its affinity with the smaller, and the reposeful dignity that stamps it suggests sculpture intended for temple-worship. The advance towards an ideal type marked by such a work can be best appreciated if we compare it with the figure of Hermes, draped in the same simple manner and leading the Nymphs, on the relief of Thasos, which may be dated about 500 B.C. (Pl. III).

Though we do not expect a mature embodiment of the ideal in the works of sculpture that have come down to us from the earlier part of the fifth century, we find some interesting types among them. One of the most striking is on the relief on a small altar in the National Museum at Athens, published by Overbeck, showing us a figure of Hermes *Κροφόρος* (Pl. XVII). The god is bearded, and there-

<sup>a</sup> Vide Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 713, Fig. 774.

<sup>b</sup> *Führer*, I, p. 253.

fore we cannot regard it, as he was inclined to, as a copy of the work of Kalamis. Nevertheless, it may well belong to the period of his zenith, and it shows some of the qualities of sculpture that the ancient record attests as characteristic of him. Some of the forms of archaism are still preserved, but the archaic hardness is relaxing into a softer delicacy of style with a softer expression of countenance; and the sweeping curve of the eyebrows, the broader surfaces of the cheeks, the warmer rendering of parts of the flesh, mark the style of the transition.

Another valuable work of the religious sculpture of this period is the terracotta relief mentioned in a former volume<sup>a</sup>, showing Hermes facing Aphrodite and Eros. It is the 'chthonian' god that is represented here, of the severe bearded type; and the solemn impressiveness of the scene accords with the severity of the styles and with the half-archaic forms.

The grouping of divinities assists the expression of character and function; and an interesting work of the transitional period is the group in the Louvre representing Hermes and Apollo, arm in arm, and between them a shaft on which a caduceus and a quiver are carved, so that we can recognize the former god on the right, the latter on the left. Much of the archaic style remains in the treatment of the forms; but the advance in the rendering of the features is clear, and the head of Hermes bears a resemblance to that of Harmodios in the group at Naples. The divinities are not distinguished by any specially characteristic expression, except that Apollo has the broader chaplet and is looking down; the type of the youthful athlete is severely given in both (Pl. XVIII).

We have, moreover, a few terminal busts of the bearded god, which show the earlier manner of the fifth century, but to which the name Hermes is not always applied: for instance, the head from the villa of Hadrian in the British Museum (No. 1612) is marked as a head of Dionysos, but is published in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* as a head of Hermes<sup>b</sup> (Pl. XIX).

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 2, Pl. 48. . . . . 2, 19; Scherer, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1,

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 1, Fig. 736; *Ancient Marbles*, p. 2398, calls it 'the Indian Dionysos,'

PLATE XIX





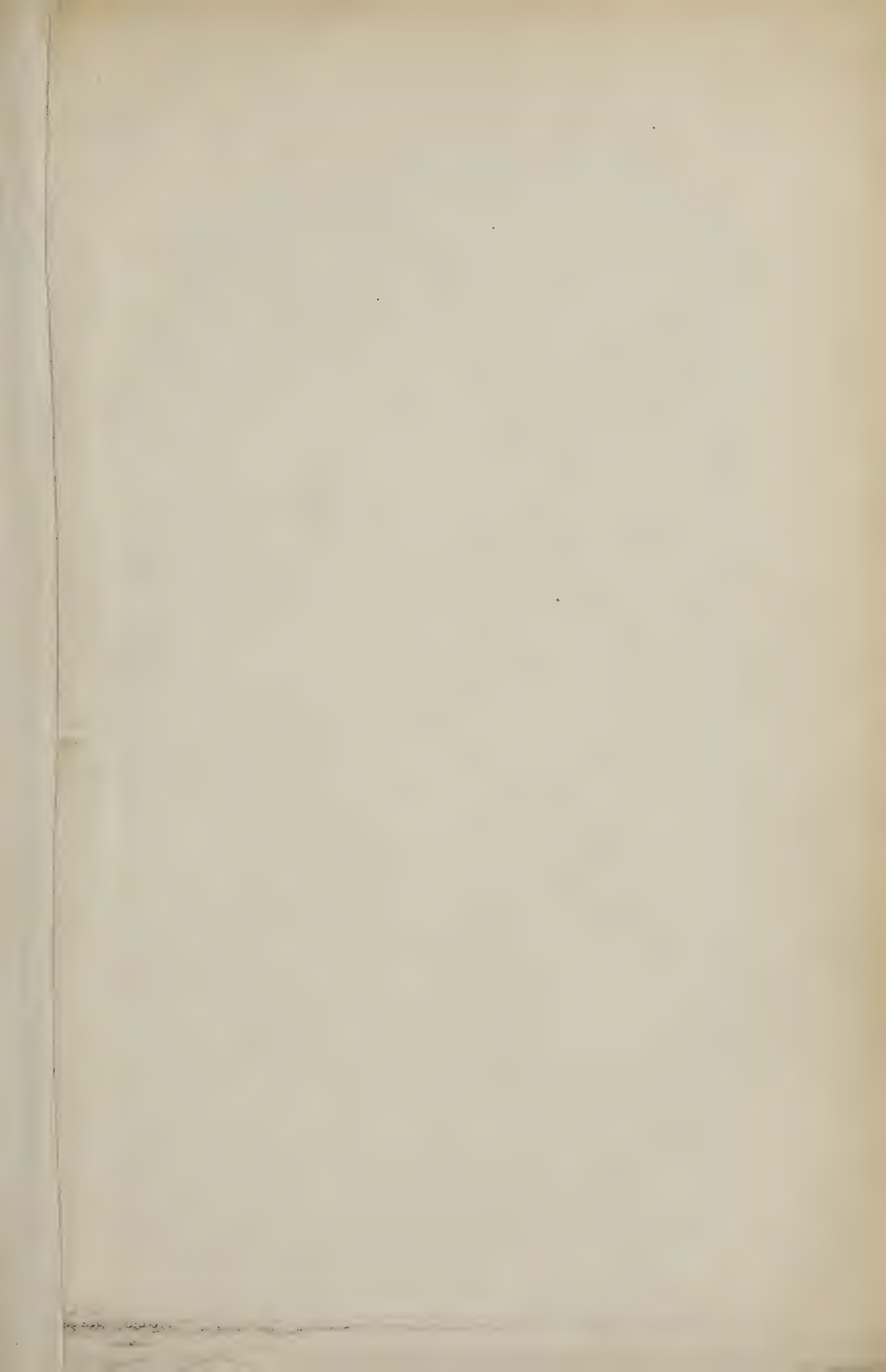


PLATE XX

a



b





The hair still shows traces of archaism, but is more luxuriantly treated than on the head of the Attic relief mentioned above, to which, however, it bears a sufficient generic resemblance to allow us to consider it as a possible Hermes. The benignity expressed in the treatment of the mouth would agree with the popular faith in the god Ἐριούνιος, the giver of blessing; and among the representations of Hermes, if we were sure that this were one, it could be quoted as the earliest example of a plastic work with a certain mental character proper to this divinity. What might help us to a decision would be the columnar shaft, if this were really antique; for though the 'Herme' was used for representations of Dionysos, yet it was far more frequently employed for Hermes himself; and if a bearded head is found above an ancient Hermecolumn, it ought not to be called Dionysos, unless it has unmistakable Dionysiac traits or attributes. Unfortunately, the shaft on which the head from Hadrian's villa is set is modern, and as the 'Herme'-form of the work is uncertain, the appellation is also uncertain, for the forms of the countenance and the expression would suit a Dionysos as well as a Hermes<sup>a</sup>.

When it was recently announced that the German excavators at Pergamon had discovered a columnar statue of Hermes which the inscription proved to be a copy of an original by Alkamenes, the great pupil and contemporary of Pheidias, the greatest interest was aroused; but so far as the work has been made known through photographic publication, it seems of comparatively little significance for the history of art, and does not contribute much to the development of the ideal of the god (Pl. XX<sup>a</sup>). There is a certain solemnity and power in some of the traits, but the older bearded type is adhered to, and some archaism survives in the rendering of the hair; nor can we speak of characteristic mental expression.

and says dogmatically that it has nothing to do with Hermes.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Thraemer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1, p. 1122, 'Hermen des bärtigen Dionysos.' Another head in the British

Museum, on a terminal shaft, from Baiae (no. 1608), bearded and with long hair and open lips, should be called Hermes rather than Dionysos. [Was the shaft originally ithyphallic?]

We may suspect that the commission to carve a 'Herme' did not always arouse the highest artistic ambition in a sculptor.

We may compare with this bust of Alkamenes a monument of the Jacobsen collection<sup>a</sup>, which is probably a head of Hermes of the early Pheidian period (Pl. XXI); he wears a conical cap with a flap behind, such as is seen in more than one representation of this deity; the hair hangs long behind, and the older style appears in the striated beard, the separate treatment of the moustache, and the double row of buckle-shaped curls above the forehead; the thick eyelids cast a shadow over the eyes, and the upper lid is longer than the lower, which is not, as has been supposed, a sign of late style. The sombre expression has suggested that the sculptor intended to depict the god of the lower world; but it appears in so many heads of this period that we may regard it as a convention of the contemporary style.

Finally may be mentioned, among the authentic and striking monuments of the transitional style, a head of Hermes carved on a coin of Ainos<sup>b</sup>, about 450 B. C. (Coin Pl. no. 5): the youthful god wears a close-fitting petasos; a strong and confident virility is the chief characteristic of the features, but in the treatment of the mouth and lips the artist intended perhaps an allusion to the merry guilefulness of the deity. And Greek glyptic art of the beginning of the fifth century has left us at least one remarkable representation of Hermes; on a gem in the Berlin collection, published by Furtwängler<sup>c</sup>, he is seen carved in the conventional half-kneeling attitude of the runner, naked and beardless, wearing a flat petasos and carrying the kerykeion; according to the editor, the face reveals something of the 'grace of the beautiful and cunning youth' (Pl. XX<sup>b</sup>).

So far then the art has evolved for this deity the type of the perfectly-trained ephebos, the patron-god of the palaistra, and here and there the countenance may have been touched with a certain characteristic expression.

<sup>a</sup> Pl. XII.

<sup>c</sup> *Antik. Gemm.* vol. I, Taf. 8, 37;

<sup>b</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 213, Fig. 156.

cf. Roscher, op. cit. i. p. 2406.

PLATE XXI







PLATE XXII



How far the ideal was further developed by Pheidias himself we have no direct means of judging. The literature and the monuments afford us no knowledge of his statue of Hermes *Πρόναος* at Thebes<sup>24</sup>, erected before the temple of Apollo Ismenios. But in the assemblage of the deities on the Parthenon frieze, we can recognize Hermes in the figure at the left extremity, sitting at ease with his chlamys negligently laid around his loins and his broad petasos on his lap; the form shows the simple and genial grace that marks all the figures of the frieze, but nothing specially distinctive of the god; and we cannot say how far the character was indicated in the countenance, for this is obliterated.

There is more character and more charm in another work, the famous group of Hermes Orpheus and Eurydike, which we may regard as a product of the Pheidian school, or at least of the best Attic art that in the latter part of the fifth century still drew its inspiration from him. The subject, executed in marble relief, was the meeting and the leave-taking of the two lovers, who are turning towards each other with their heads declined, while the light touch of Hermes' hand is recalling Eurydike to the shades. Of the three exemplars, in the Louvre, the Villa Albani, and the Museum of Naples, the last is the only one that might claim to be regarded as an original, for in this alone the flesh is wrought with that warmth and softness which distinguishes the best Attic work (Pl. XXII). In the treatment of the forms of the body and countenance, as well as in the arrangement of the drapery, the style is identical with that of the Parthenon frieze, and the figure of Hermes vividly recalls the type of the young Athenian knights. The face and drapery of Eurydike, in particular, is worthy of the great master's own hand, save that the treatment of the eye in relief is not wholly accurate. And the simple grandeur of the forms accord with the deep spirituality, the intense inner life, of the whole work. The subject is mythic, rather than directly religious. But no other mythic representation of Greek art deals with life and death so powerfully and yet so simply and tranquilly as this; so that the feelings it evokes attach them-

selves to the religious world, and the figure of Hermes belongs to religious sculpture because of the part that he plays in this drama of love and loss. The power that wafts the soul to the other world stands here full of compassion, and only the gentle touch of his hand signifies his function and the inevitable law. This is no god of the market-place, but Hermes Ψυχοπομπός, such as Plato himself might have conceived him.

Another work, inferior in artistic value but interesting as a religious monument and showing the impress of the Pheidian style, is the relief mentioned above showing Hermes leading the Nymphs, with Acheloos in the background, towards a worshipper<sup>a</sup>. The figure of Hermes and the faces of the nymphs show a reminiscence of the 'Parthenon' style, but the face of the young god is almost obliterated.

We may suppose also that Polykleitos contributed something to the ideal type of this divinity. We hear of his statue of Hermes that was afterwards dedicated at Lysimacheia<sup>b</sup>, and another is attributed to his pupil Naukydes. The well-known bronze statuette of Annécý<sup>c</sup> tells us something of the Polycleitean treatment of this subject (Pl. XXIII). The pose, the rendering of the body and the forms of the head, vividly remind us of the Doryphoros; and the god is presented as the divine athlete according to the Argive canon; yet something of intellectual characteristic is added through the gesture of the right hand, which suggests the orator, the Hermes of the assembly<sup>d</sup>.

Another work of equal importance with this, and attributed to the same school, is the statue of the boy-Hermes recently acquired by the Museum of Boston (Pl. XXIV). The forms and pose of the body strongly suggest a Polycleitan original of which this may be a good and accurate copy; the weight

<sup>a</sup> p. 35, Pl. IV.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. Thrace.

<sup>c</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* 10 Tav. 50.

<sup>d</sup> The statue of Hermes Δόγιος in the Villa Ludovisi, which shows the type from which the 'Germanicus' in the Louvre was derived, is regarded by

Helbig (*Führer*, vol. 2, p. 107) as belonging to an older Peloponnesian type: but others see an Attic character in its head (*Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 170; cf. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 86, Fig. 6, who conjectures an Ionic artist).



PLATE XXIV







PLATE XXV



is thrown markedly to the right and the right shoulder is drooping, and the impressive treatment of the chest, the emphatic rendering of the abdominal surfaces, of the hips, the muscles of the gluteus, show the characteristic style of the great Argive sculptor. But so far as I can judge from the cast, the face with its delicate boy-features, its refined expression of inner life, and its pensive sentiment, belongs rather to Attic than to Peloponnesian art. And one would see in the figure a perfectly trained and intellectually bred boy-athlete, resting and dreaming of his crown; but the small wings sprouting from the head make the name of Hermes certain. We know now, both from this statue and one to be mentioned immediately, that such treatment of the wings is no sign of the Graeco-Roman hand <sup>a</sup>. But what is specially striking in the Boston work is that it is one of the few monuments of fifth century art that present us with the type of the boy-god.

Another marble statue, hitherto little noticed, in the Musée Fol of Geneva, deserves mention in this context: the god is again recognized by the small wings in the hair which, though rarely found in the earlier period, might appear as natural to the Greek sculptor as the wings on the head of Hypnos. The Geneva monument appears to be a good Roman copy of a Greek original that may have been produced by the Peloponnesian school about 400 B. C.; the forms are severely treated and the expression is rather sombre (Pl. XXV).

Finally, on a coin of Pheneos, in the British Museum <sup>b</sup>, showing a seated Hermes on the obverse, the Polycleitean style is manifest in the square and massive treatment of the chest (Coin Pl. no. 6).

We have evidence sufficient, then, to show how far the fifth century idealized and ennobled the type of Hermes; but we cannot say that it was this age that produced the perfect and final embodiment of this many-sided god. Coins

<sup>a</sup> Furtwängler, who published the Boston statue, *Hell. Journ.* 1901, p. 215, notes that the earliest example occurs

on an Attic vase of the time of the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>b</sup> Hill, in *Hell. Journ.* 1897, p. 83.

of the perfected style of this period rarely present us with very striking representations of him; but the coin-type of Phokaia, with his youthful head of strong broad features, is a noticeable work (Coin Pl. no. 7); and more beautiful and impressive still is the coin of Ainos, struck near the end of this century, showing his countenance *en face*, of great vitality and intellectual power (Coin Pl. no. 8).

We should expect that the fourth century would deal lovingly with this theme, as an age of the highest oratorical culture and exaggerated enthusiasm for athletics; and it has left us some notable types, and one pre-eminent, of this divinity. The earliest of the great masters of this period who is recorded to have worked upon it is Skopas. In the Anthology a statue of Hermes proclaims itself thus: 'My friend, think not that I am one of the common Hermai, for I am Skopas' handiwork.' But among our surviving monuments we have not hitherto found any representation of the god that is markedly Scopaic. Something, however, of the style of this master may be discerned in the well-known Aberdeen head of the British Museum (Pl. XXVI). The extraordinary warmth and softness in the rendering of the marble convince us that it is a masterpiece of fourth-century work. The head is firmly, even massively, treated, with some breadth of cheek; and the rendering of the eyes and eyesockets, the fleshy protruberance at the corners of the eyebrow, the slightly pouting mouth, are characteristic of Scopaic style<sup>a</sup>. But a doubt has arisen whether it is a head of Hermes or Herakles. The chaplet that it once wore has disappeared; and it is only by the expression that we can judge the question. On the whole, this agrees best with the character of Hermes; for the vigorous athletic life that glows in the countenance is combined with a look of subtle intellectuality that is not in keeping with the type of Herakles.

We may also consider in this connexion the famous relief in the British Museum on the drum of the column from the Ephesian temple of Artemis. The only certain figure in this

<sup>a</sup> The theory of its Praxitelean origin in the British Museum Catalogue of has been rightly rejected by Mr. Smith Sculpture.

PLATE XXVI







PLATE XXVII





enigmatic scene is that of the youthful Hermes (Pl. XXVII). His form and features differ in certain marked respects from those of the personage on his left that has been called Thanatos; for the diaphragm of Hermes shows something of the severer treatment of the older style, though the legs have the 'Lysippean' slimness; the face shows broader and flatter surfaces, larger and fuller lips, the upper one arching noticeably. The face and the expression may be regarded as slightly 'Scopaic' in character; but the marks of style are not definite and peculiar enough to allow us to ascribe the relief with any certainty to any one of the three great masters of the fourth century. What is most important for our present purpose, namely, the presentation of divine character, is the striking fact of the upturned gaze of the god. Nothing in the scene mechanically accounts for it. He is not addressing a person on a higher plane or gazing at any object represented as above him. We may then naturally regard it as a typical trait, as expressive of some part of his essential character or function. Therefore, for this reason alone, we may consider the probability strong that the relief represents some drama of resurrection from the dead. And the theory Prof. Robert put forth many years ago that we have here depicted the scene of Alkestis' deliverance from Thanatos and the powers of the lower world, remains, in spite of many difficulties, the most probable that as yet has been offered. This Ephesian relief may easily have become widely known owing to the great celebrity of the shrine; and the figure with the upturned glance may have become a recognized type of Hermes 'the saviour.' An interesting replica—with some modifications—of the Ephesian Hermes is the 'emblema' of a silver cup now in the Louvre, found in North France<sup>a</sup>; the Greek silversmith, working probably in the Roman period, has been inspired by the Ephesian relief, has retained the upturned glance, and has given to the figure a semi-religious setting by the altar-like pillars which he has set on each side of him.

<sup>a</sup> Published by Professor Waldstein, *Hell. Journ.* vol. 3, Pl. XXII.

Among notable works of the fourth century in this theme the Paramythia bronze in the British Museum may be quoted (Pl. XXVIII). The chasing is fine and delicate, and the eyes inlaid with silver. The god is imagined as in the wild, seated on a rock, and though in repose the figure has the air of agile alertness. But a more subtle representation of the divine messenger at rest is the famous Naples bronze from Herculaneum (Pl. XXIX), a work which has suffered by the bad restoration of the upper part of the head, but is still remarkable among the products of Greek art for the skilfully devised and fascinating rhythm. There is a fugitive lightness in the pose, suggesting the swift flight from which he has just ceased and which he will resume immediately, while for a few moments he allows his muscles that relaxation and languor which recover them most quickly from an excessive strain. The work may be derived from the Lysippean school.

Another interesting type of the messenger-god, which may have originated within the Lysippean circle, but which has been modified by later Hellenistic tendencies, is that of Hermes fastening his sandal. There are four replicas of this original, in Lansdowne House (Pl. XXX), in the Louvre, in the Munich Glyptothek, and in the Vatican. The three latter correspond closely with the description of a bronze statue given by Christodoros in his *Ἐκφρασις*<sup>a</sup>: 'Hermes stands fastening with his right hand the bands of his sandals, yearning to speed on his way . . . while the glance of his eye is raised towards the heavens, as if hearkening to the behests of his sire.' The sculptor has skilfully selected a *genre* motive, which could be made expressive of the character of the god. The divine messenger, while buckling his sandal, is listening to his instructions, and the sinewy and straining limbs are at fret to start. The motive is a creation of the fourth century, for in a somewhat simpler form it appeared on the coinage of the Cretan Sybrita before 300 B. C. (Coin Pl. no. 9)<sup>b</sup>. But our statues show the drier anatomical style of the later period,

<sup>a</sup> l. 297.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Crete.

which produced such works as the Borghese warrior of Agasias<sup>a</sup>.

These are special types of the messenger-god. In range of expression, as in beauty of form and technique, the Olympian statue of Praxiteles transcends all these; and this is the single statue that we can take as the perfect embodiment of the later ideal of Hermes (Pl. XXXI). Its importance for the formal history of Greek sculpture is immeasurable; but what alone concerns us here is its significance as a work of religious sculpture. It was not indeed a monument of public worship, but was dedicated in the temple of Hera in the Altis, and we must suppose that Praxiteles was commissioned by the Elean state. We know nothing of the occasion of its dedication<sup>b</sup>, nor does the brief mention of it in Pausanias help to interpret its inner meaning. It was natural that the Eleans should desire to have in one of their chief temples a striking statue of the god of the palaistra, and, as they were very devoted to Dionysos, they were likely to be pleased with the motive which Praxiteles selected. It may have been suggested to him by the work of his father Kephissodotos, the statue which Pliny describes as 'Mercury fostering Liber Pater in infancy<sup>c</sup>.' If this description is accurately phrased, we should regard this work of the elder sculptor not as the representation of any current legend, but as a divine character-piece, illustrating the nature of the θεὸς κούροτρόφος, who charged himself with the nurture of the male child. And we may say the same of this masterpiece of his son's. To the interpretation and full appreciation of the 'Hermes of Praxiteles' we advance no nearer by thinking of such stories as that Hermes carried the infant Bacchos to the Nymphs

<sup>a</sup> Their style is well discussed by Michaelis in his *Ancient Marbles*, p. 465: in the Lansdowne figure alone does the head belong to the representation.

<sup>b</sup> Furtwängler's suggestion, *Meisterwerke*, S. 329, 331—which has been accepted by Collignon—*Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, vol. 2, p. 293—that the work had a political significance,

alluding to the alliance between Elis and Arcadia about 340 B. C., has little *vraisemblance*. Hermes could indeed stand for Arcadia, but there is no evidence that Dionysos ever was used as the emblem of Elis, and it is most unlikely that such a babe as this could impersonate a state.

<sup>c</sup> *N. H.* 34, 87.

of Nysa, or translated him to heaven, according to the representation on the throne of the Amyclæan Apollo<sup>a</sup>.

The Olympian statue does not appear to embody any mythic drama; the god is profoundly at rest, and need not be imagined as bearing the infant anywhere at all. The child, indeed, is restlessly moving in his arm, raising himself to some object which excites him in the god's uplifted right hand, probably a bunch of grapes<sup>b</sup>. But Hermes is sunk in contemplation, and is not gazing at his charge; his thoughts are travelling far away from him. And though the child with his exuberance of life enhances the charm of the whole, he is chiefly of interest as an adjunct, a symbol of the god's fostering kindness. It is the mature young divinity that arrests our attention and fascinates us with the astonishing blend of physical and mental qualities. The full-fleshed succulent frame is adequate to the conception of the athlete-god, but his strength and life appear to maintain themselves without effort, there being no sign of over-strain or over-training, for the bone-structure of the thorax is only shadowed beneath the warm flesh. The yellow lustre of the marble, enhanced by Praxiteles' own cunning process of *circumlitio*, suggests the transfiguration of the human body into the divine. And as the body displays the splendid perfection of physical life, so the countenance reveals the mastery of Praxiteles in the realm of spiritual art. It wears the expression, deeply imprinted upon it, known as the 'Attic look,' a strange blend of delicate refinement and intellectual consciousness, seen rarely on the human face. It is seen here without weakness or morbidity; for the profile of the mouth and forehead, viewed from the left, gives the impression

<sup>a</sup> Paus. 3, 18, II.

<sup>b</sup> Archaeological opinion is more and more inclining to this theory: vide Collignon, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 293, who publishes, *ib.* Fig. 150, a small late bronze found at Champdotre les Auxonnes, clearly derived from the Praxitelean work and holding a grape-cluster in the right hand. More important evidence than this, though not altogether

clinching, is afforded by the Pompeian wall-painting, the best and earliest copy of our group, where the artist has depicted a tall and youthful Satyr holding the infant Bakchos in the pose of our Hermes, and lifting a bunch of grapes in his right hand, and like Hermes he is gazing away from the child, *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.* 1887, Taf. 6.

of the virile will and the quick thought of the subtle deity, and there is strength and firmness in the bone-contour. Yet though the general and essential characteristics of the type are given, they are not presented in the Pheidian manner; the artist does not show us the divine life *sub specie aeternitatis*, but selects for the immediate presentation some transitory pensive mood, in which some subtle feeling flickers over the face in a half-smile. The god will arouse himself from this and go on his way; but we are glad that he had such moods at times, and that Praxiteles has shown us one of them.

As physical beauty and intellectual power were divine qualities in the Hellenic imagination of godhead, we must call the Hermes of Olympia a pre-eminent work of religious sculpture, the most perfect embodiment of the athletic and intellectual god. And its influence can be traced upon many later works, of which the Hermes of Andros, which has been mentioned above, is a notable example; but the monuments of the later period usually present one aspect of him only, showing him as the athlete or the god of gain <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> An admirable work of the early Hellenistic period is the bronze in Constantinople from the site of Antioch, representing Hermes wrestling and pressing his antagonist to the ground, *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.* 1898, Taf. 11, p. 179.

## REFERENCES FOR CHAPTERS I-III

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *Od.* 19, 395. (Αὐτόλυκον) ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέαστο  
κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκω τε· θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν  
'Ερμείας.

Hom. *Hymn Herm.* 1-15 :

'Ερμῆν ὕμναι, Μοῦσα, Διὸς καὶ Μαϊάδος υἱόν,  
Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδῆς πολυμήλου,  
ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούριον . . .

. . . . .  
πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην,  
ληϊστήρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὄνειρων,  
νυκτὸς ὀπωπῆτρα, πυλῆδόκου.

Cf. Hestii, R. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription on bust of Hermes in Villa Albani, *C. I. G.* 5953 :

Interpres Divom, coeli terraeque meator,  
Sermonem docui mortales, atque palaestram,

. . . . .  
Sermonis dator atque somniorum,  
Iovis nuntius et precum minister.

God of the wilds and pastures :

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 9. 22, 2 (Tanagra) Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῦ Προμάχου τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς ἀν-  
δράχου τὸ ὑπόλοιπον· τραφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δένδρῳ τὸν 'Ερμῆν τούτῳ νομίζουσιν.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ερμῆς σπηλαΐτης, vide Apollo, R. 3 (Themisonion near Laodikeia).

<sup>5</sup> 'Ερμῆς Ἐπιμήλιος in Koroneia : Paus. 9. 34, 3 Κορώνεια παρῆχετο  
μὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἐρμοῦ βωμὸν Ἐπιμηλίου, τὸν δὲ Ἀρέμων.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ερμῆς Κριοφόρος.

<sup>a</sup> At Tanagra : Paus. 9. 22, 2 Ἐς δὲ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ τὰ ἱερά τοῦ τε  
Κριοφόρου καὶ ὃν Πρόμαχον καλοῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπικλήσιν λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ  
'Ερμῆς σφίσιν ἀποτρέψαι νόσον λοιμώδη περὶ τὸ τείχος κριὸν περινεγκῶν, καὶ  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κάλαμις ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα Ἐρμοῦ φέροντα κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων· ὃς  
δ' ἂν εἶναι τῶν ἐφήβων προκριθῆ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστος, οὗτος ἐν τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ τῆ  
ἑορτῇ περιέισιν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους ἔχων ἄρνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων.

<sup>b</sup> In the Καρνάσιον ἄλσος of Messenia, *Apollo*, R. 27 ε.

<sup>c</sup> Dedication of the Pheneatai at Olympia, Paus. 5. 27, 8 Ὁ δὲ  
'Ερμῆς ὁ τὸν κριὸν φέρων ὑπὸ τῆ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνὴν καὶ  
χιτώνᾳ τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκὸς . . . ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ.  
'Ονάταν δὲ τὸν Αἰγινητὴν, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλῃν ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.

<sup>d</sup> Hermes Κριοφόρος on coins of Aigina : Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 334 ;  
of Corinth, id. p. 340 : cf. Paus. 2. 3, 4 (at Corinth) χαλκοῦς καθήμενός



ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός, ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ αὔξειν ποιίμνας . . . τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῷ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω. Cf. coin-type of Marc. Aurelius, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Corinth*, p. 77. Hermes, with chlamys and petasos, seated on rock holding caduceus and extending right hand over a ram.

<sup>7</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14. 490 :

Υἱὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα  
Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτήσιν ὄπασσε.

Cf. Hesiod., *Theog.* 444 (Hekate, R. 1). Hom. *Hymn. Herm.* 567 :

Ταῦτ' ἔχε, Μαϊάδος νιέ, καὶ ἀγραύλους ἔλικας βοῦς  
ἵππους τ' ἀμφιπόλευε καὶ ἡμίονους ταλαεργούς'  
καὶ χαροποῖσι λέουσι καὶ ἀργιόδοουσι σύεσσι  
καὶ κυσὶ καὶ μήλοισιν, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρέϊα χθών,  
πᾶσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν,  
οἷον δ' εἰς Ἀἴδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι,  
ὅς τ' ἄδοτός περ ἔων δώσει γέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.

Ἑρμῆς associated with the divinities of vegetation :

<sup>8</sup> Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 977 :

Ἑρμῆν τε Νόμιον ἄντομαι  
καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας  
ἐπιγελάσαι προθύμως  
ταῖς ἡμετέραισι  
χαρέντα χορείαίς.

*Il.* 295 Εὐχεσθε ταῖν Θεσμοφόροιν τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τῷ Πλούτῳ  
καὶ τῇ Καλλιγενεῖα καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ ταῖς Χάρισιν.

Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Attica.

<sup>9</sup> Simonides Amorg. *Frag.* 20 θύουσι Νύμφαις τῷ τε Μαϊάδος τόκῳ,  
οὔτοι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν αἴμ' (τέρμ' conj. Bergk) ἔχουσι ποιμένων.

<sup>10</sup> *C. I. A.* 2, 1671, inscr. on altar found on south slope of the  
Akropolis, Ἑρμοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Πανὸς Νυμφῶν Ἰσιδος (? first cent. B.C.); cf.  
1327, 1600. 3. 196 Ἑρμῆς . . . Ναιάδων συνοπάων. Aristid. 2, p. 708  
(Dind.) τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὡς χορηγὸν αἰεὶ προσαγορεύουσι τῶν Νυμφῶν (vide *Geogr.*  
*Reg. s.v.* Thasos).

<sup>11</sup> *C. I. G.* 4538<sup>b</sup> (at Caesarea Philippi) Πανὶ τε καὶ Νύμφαις Μαίης  
γόνον ἐνθ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἑρμείαν . . .

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 10. 12, 6 (in the temenos of Apollo Smintheus in the  
Troad) Ἑρμῆς λίθου τετραγώνου σχῆμα· ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ ὕδωρ τε κατερχό-  
μενον ἐς κρήνην καὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἔστι τὰ ἀγάλματα. Cf. 7. 22, 4 (at Pharaï  
in Achaia) ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἔστιν Ἑρμοῦ νᾶμα μὲν τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα, τοὺς δὲ  
ἰχθῦς οὐχ αἰροῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀνάθημα εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ νομίζοντες. Vide *Geogr.*  
*Reg. s.v.* Arcadia (Pheneos).

<sup>13</sup> Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon* 183 διάκτορον εἶσατο Νύμφαις Ἐρμῆν, on statue in the ἀγορά at Pergamon, which served as a water-conduit and a clepsydra. Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Crete.

<sup>14</sup> With Aphrodite, vide Aphrodite, R. 22, 27, 54, 73<sup>a</sup>, 94, 110<sup>m</sup>, 119<sup>i</sup>; *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Halikarnassos, Cilicia, Egypt, Italy.

<sup>15</sup> Kaibel, *Epigr.* 812 (Lesbos):

Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαιίας ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸν Ἐρμῆν  
 Εὐκάρπου στήσεν τόνδ' ἐπὶ φυταλιῆς  
 Βάκχων Ζωοῦς υἱός . . .

Cf. Apollo, R. 14, Hermes Ἐριφύλλιος.

Titles referring to the deity of fertility:

<sup>16</sup> Ἐρμῆς Ἀκάκητα: Hom. *Il.* 16. 185; *Od.* 24. 10 (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 614 ἀκάκητα Προμηθεύς as the friend of man). Vide *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Akakesion (Arcadia); cf. *Od.* 8. 335 δῶτορ ἑών.

<sup>17</sup> Ἐρμῆς Ἐριούνιος: Arist. *Ran.* 1144:

οὐ δῆτ' ἐκείνος (Ἐρμῆς δόλιος) ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἐριούνιον  
 Ἐρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε.

Cf. *Et. Mag.* 371. 51 Ἐριούνιος Ἐρμῆς καὶ χθόνιος καὶ ἐριχθόνιος.

Cf. *Ep. Arch.* 1903, p. 58, leaden tablet found in Attic grave inscribed with curse . . . καταδῶ τούτους ἅπαντας πρὸς τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὸν δόλιον καὶ τὸν κάτοχον· καὶ τὸν ἐριούνιον καὶ οὐκ ἀναλ[ύσω] circ. 400 B.C.

<sup>18</sup> Ἐρμῆς Φάλης.

<sup>a</sup> Lucian, *Zeus Trag.* 42 Κυλλήνιοι Φάλητι θύουσι.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. 6. 26, 5 (at Kyllene in Elis), vide Aphrodite, R. 34<sup>d</sup>. Hippol. *Ref. haer.*, p. 108 (Miller) ἔστηκε δὲ ἀγάλματα δύο ἐν τῷ Σαμοθράκων ἀνακτόρῳ ἀνθρώπων γυμνῶν ἄνω τεταμένας ἔχόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰς αἰσχύνας ἄνω ἐστραμμένας καθάπερ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ τὸ τοῦ Ἐρμού.

<sup>c</sup> Artemid. *Oneirokr.* 1. 45 εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ γενόμενος Ἐρμού ἀγάλμα οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ αἰδοῖον δεδημιουργημένον λόγῳ τινὶ φυσικῷ.

<sup>d</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 6. 20 (Kayser, 1, p. 234) Διονυσίῳν καὶ φαλλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ εἶδους.

<sup>e</sup> Herod. 2. 51 ὀρθὰ ὦν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἐρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποίησαντο. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρὸν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσιν ἐν Σαμοθρηκῇ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

<sup>f</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 226, Ithyphallic Hermes on coins of Imbros.

Hermes associated with the lower world and the tomb, vide Demeter, R. 51 (Athymbria in Caria), Demeter 52 (Knidos), Dionysos 124<sup>e</sup> (Athens), Demeter 246 (Andania).

Hom. *Od.* 24. 1 :

Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλείτο  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων· ἔχε δὲ βάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ  
 καλὴν χρυσεῖην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει  
 ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὐτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἀγείρει.

<sup>19</sup> Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος.

<sup>a</sup> At Athens: vide vol. 3, Hades; *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Athens; vol. 2, Hekate, R. 15. Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 649 Χθόνιος ὁ Ἑρμῆς καὶ καταιβάτης παρὰ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις.

Aesch. *Pers.* 628:

Ἄλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί,  
 Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων,  
 πεμψατ' ἔνερθε ψυχὴν εἰς φῶς.

Cf. *Choeph.* 1: Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε πατρῷ ἐποπτεύων κράτη.

<sup>b</sup> Plataia. Plut. *Arist.* 21 (at the feast of Eleutheria) τὸν ταῦρον εἰς τὴν πυρὰν σφάξας καὶ κατευξάμενος Διὶ καὶ Ἑρμῆ χθονίῳ παρακαλεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθανόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἰμοκουρίαν.

<sup>c</sup> Thessaly: grave reliefs with dedications. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1. 348 and 357 Ἑρμῆου χθονίου (Larissa): 362 (from Krannon, beneath relief-figure of Hermes on pedestal) Ἑρμῆου χθονίου: 455 [Lebadeia] Kaibel, *Epigr.* 505 (Triokka) Ἑρμῆου χθονίου.

<sup>d</sup> Ἑρμῆς χθόνιος common in the formula of the 'devotiones' [cf. R. 17]; e. g. from Pantikapaion, inscribed leaden tablet, *Arch. Anzeig.* 1907, p. 127 κατορύσσω Νευμήμιον . . . παρ' Ἑρμῶν χθόνιον καὶ Ἐκάταν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον καὶ παρὰ Λευκοθέαν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόναν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Ἀρτέμιδα Στροφαίαν. *C. I. G.* 538 (at Athens), cf. Ἑρμῆς κάτοχος 539 Ἑρμῆ κάτοχε κάτοχος ἴσθι τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων (Athens). Arcadia, vide vol. 2, Hekate, R. 130.

<sup>e</sup> Diog. Laert. 8. 1, 31 (Pythagoras) τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πομπέα λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαῖον καὶ χθόνιον, ἐπειδήπερ οὗτος εἰσπέμπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωματίων τὰς ψυχάς.

<sup>f</sup> *C. I. G.* 3398 (sepulchral inscr. from Smyrna: the dead man speaks: his soul goes direct to heaven) τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ σὺν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν | Ἑρμείῳ λόγῳ, ὃς μ' οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε χειρῶν | αὐτίκα τιμήσας καὶ μοι κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἔδωκεν.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *C. I. G.* 4284 (Patara in Lykia) τὸν δ' ὁ παλαιστροφύλαξ Ἀμμώνιος εἶσατο βωμὸν | αὐτὸς ἔτι ζωᾶς τὸ γλυκὺ φέγγος ὄρων· | ἥριον ὄφρα γένοιτο, τόν, ὃ Μαίᾳς κλυτὲ κοῦρε Ἑρμείῳ, πέμποις χῶρον ἐπ' εὐσεβέων.

<sup>h</sup> Cic. *De Deor. Nat.* 3. 22 Mercurius . . . is qui sub terris habetur idem Trophonius. Paus. 9. 39, 7 (in the mysteries of Trophonios) δύο παῖδες τῶν ἀσπῶν ἔτη τρία που καὶ δέκα γεγονότες, οὓς Ἑρμᾶς ἐπονομάζουσιν οὗτοι τὸν καταβαίνοντά εἰσιν οἱ λούοντες . . .

<sup>i</sup> Cic. *De Leg.* 2. 26, 65 (law of Solon's quoted) nec Hermas hos quos vocant licebat imponi (sepulcris); cf. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 108.

Hermes by the gate.

<sup>20</sup> Πυλαῖος, vide R. 19<sup>e</sup>. Cf. Paus. 4. 33, 3, at Messene Ἴόντι δὲ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Ἑρμῆς τέχνης τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνόν ἐστι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ ἄλλοι. Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 922 ἔσθ' οὐκ εἶχον Ἑρμᾶς ἰδρύνοντες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν καὶ ἄλλα τιὰ ἀγάλματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βραδύνειν τὴν ἀνάστασιν χύτραις ἀθάρας ἰδρῦεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν . . . ὅτε μὲν ταῖς χύτραις ὄσπρια ἤψων, ὅτε δὲ ἄλλο τι πολυτελέστερον ἱερεῖον καὶ οὕτως ἴδρυνον. καὶ πρὸς τὸ θυόμενον ἔλεγον βοῖ ἰδρῦεσθαι ἢ αἰγὶ ἢ προβάτῳ.

<sup>21</sup> Προπύλαιος.

<sup>a</sup> At Athens: Paus. 1. 22, 8 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσι. Cf. 9. 35, 3 παρὰ δὲ αὐταῖς (ταῖς Χάρισι) τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπόρητον. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑρμῆς ἀμύητος ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Cf. R. 80. Philochoros Fr. (Harpocrat. *s. v.* Ἑρμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι] . . . Φιλόχορος ἐν πέμπτῳ Ἀθίδος φησὶν ὡς οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀνέθεσαν Ἑρμῆν παρὰ τὸν πυλῶνα τὸν Ἀττικόν. Cf. R. 35<sup>b</sup>; vide Apollo, R. 34<sup>e</sup> (Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις).

<sup>b</sup> In Megiste (island near Lykia belonging to Rhodes): *C. I. G.* 4301 Σωσικλῆς . . . Σάμιος ἐπιστατεύσας ἐν τε κασάβῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ ἐν Μεγίστῳ Ἑρμᾶ προπυλαίῳ χαριστήριον (? leg. Σωσικλῆς . . . Ἄμιος, vide *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 390).

<sup>22</sup> Ἑρμῆς Πύλιος Ἀρματεύς at Erythrai: Dittenberg. *Syllog.* 370, l. 143 (sale of priesthoods) Ἑρμοῦ Πυλίου Ἀρματεύς.

<sup>23</sup> Ἑρμῆς Θυραῖος at Pergamon: Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergam.* 325 Ἑρμῆν θυραῖον Ρούφος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς | εἶδρυνσε φύλακα τοῦ νεῶ καὶ ῥύτορα.

<sup>24</sup> Ἑρμῆς Πρόναος at Thebes: Apollo, R. 185<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Ἑρμῆς Στροφαῖος ? at Athens: Aristoph. *Plut.* 1153 παρὰ τὴν θύραν στροφαῖον ἰδρῦσασθέ με. Cf. Phot. *Lex. s. v.* Ἑρμῆς στροφεύς ὁ παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ἰδρῦμένος. Suidas *s. v.* Στροφαῖον ἐπωνυμία ἐστὶν Ἑρμοῦ παρὰ τὸ ταῖς θύραις ἰδρῦσθαι ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ἄλλων κλεπτῶν.

<sup>26</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἐπιθαλαμίτης: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑρμῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ.

The God of ways.

<sup>27</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἀγήτωρ at Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 31, 7 κείται δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου (τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν) θεῶν τοσάδε ἄλλων ἀγάλματα, τὸ τετράγωνον παρεχόμενα σχῆμα, Ἑρμῆς τε ἐπίκλησιν Ἀγήτωρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἥλιος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων Σωτήρ τε εἶναι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς.

<sup>28</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἐνόδιος, Ἡγεμόνιος, vide Apollo, R. 5; cf. Schol. Plat. *Phaed.* 107 C Ἑρμιαῖον, τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν, ἃς οἱ ὁδοιπόροι κατεσθίουσι. ταύτας δὲ τῷ Ἑρμῇ ἀφιερῶσιν ὡς ὄντι καὶ τούτῳ ἐνὶ τῶν ἐνοδίων θεῶν. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1159 ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνιον (ιδρύσασθέ με); cf. Schol. *ibid.* κατὰ χρησμὸν ἡγεμόνιον Ἑρμῆν ιδρύσαντο. *C. I. A.* 2. 741<sup>a</sup>, l. 20 (sacrificial accounts of the Lycurgean period) ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῷ Ἑρμῇ τῷ Ἡγεμονίῳ παρὰ στρατηγῶν. 2. 1207 Στρατηγῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ . . . Ἑρμεῖ Ἡγεμονίῳ ἀνέθηκαν.

<sup>28</sup> <sup>a</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἡγεμών, inscr. from Peiraieus: Νουμέριος Ἀρέλλιος παιδαγωγὸς Ἑρμῇ Ἡγεμόνι, Kekulé, *Antik. Bildw. Theseion* no. 227.

<sup>29</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ὀδῖος: Hesych. *s. v.* ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ.

<sup>30</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἐπιτέρμιος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐπιτέρμιος ὁ Ἑρμῆς. Paus. 8. 34, 6 (on the borders of Megalopolis) τὸ Ἑρμαῖον, ἐς ὃ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰσὶν ὄροι πεποιήνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ. 8. 35, 2, on the same frontier near Phaidrias Ἑρμοῦ ἀγάλματα πεποιήται καὶ Ἡρακλέους. Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Lampsakos.

<sup>31</sup> Ἑρμῆς Τρικέφαλος, Τετρακέφαλος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑρμῆς τρικέφαλος Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Τριφάλῃ τούτο ἔφη . . . παρόσον τετρακέφαλος Ἑρμῆς ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ ἴδρυτο. Phot. *s. v.* Ἑρμῆς τετρακέφαλος ἐν Κεραμεικῷ Τελεσαρχίδου ἔργον. Harpocrat. *s. v.* Τρικέφαλος Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην “μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ τρικεφάλου παρὰ τὴν Ἐστίαν ὁδόν” τὸ πλήρες ἐστὶ τοῦ τρικεφάλου Ἑρμοῦ. τούτον δὲ φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν γ' Εὐκλείδην ἀναθεῖναι Ἀγκύλησι. Babr. 48 ἐν ὁδῷ τις Ἑρμῆς τετράγωνος εἰστήκει, λίθων δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῷ σωρὸς ἦν.

<sup>32</sup> Hom. *Od.* π. 471 ἤδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ' Ἑρμιαῖος λόφος ἐστίν. Schol. *ib.* Ἑρμῆς πρῶτος ἐκάθηρε τὰς ὁδοὺς . . . τὰ σημεῖα τῶν Ῥωμαίων μυθίων Ἑρμαῖους λόφους καλοῦσι. ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰς τιμὴν Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς, διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τούτον καθηγεμόνα καὶ ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐκδημούντων, σωροὺς ποιεῖν λίθων καὶ διάγοντας προσβάλλειν λίθους καὶ τούτους καλεῖν Ἑρμαῖους λόφους. Cf. Xanthus, *Frag.* 9: Müller, *Frag. Hist.* 1, p. 38. Cf. Cornutus 16, p. 24 (Lang) προσσωρεύουσι δὲ τοὺς λίθους τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἐκάστου τῶν παριόντων ἕνα τινὰ αὐτοῖς προστιθέντος. Strab. p. 343 in Triphylia συχὰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμαῖα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Ποσειδῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς.

Hermes the Messenger and Herald.

<sup>33</sup> Ἑρμῆς Εὐάγγελος: *Ath. Mitth.* 1901, p. 221, inscr. from Paros, first century B.C. Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις καὶ Ἑρμεῖ Εὐαγγέλῳ Εὐδημος. Hesych. *s. v.*

Εὐάγγελος· ὁ Ἑρμῆς. Aesch. *Choeph.* 124 κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω | ἄρηξον Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, κηρύξας ἐμοὶ τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλύειν ἐμὰς | εὐχάς. Plat. *Laus.* 941 A Ἐὰν ὡς πρεσβευτῆς τις ἢ κῆρυξ καταψευδόμενος τῆς πόλεως παραπρεσβεύηται πρὸς τινα πόλιν . . . γραφαὶ κατὰ τούτων ἔστων ὡς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπιτάξεις παρὰ νόμον ἀσεβησάντων. Diod. Sic. 5. 75 τῷ δ' Ἑρμῆ προσάπτουσι τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γινομένας ἐπικηρνεκίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς καὶ σπονδάς, καὶ τὸ τούτων σύσσημον κηρύκειον, ὃ φορεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι καὶ διὰ τούτου τυγχάνοντες παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσφαλείας· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ κοινὸν Ἑρμῆν ὠνομάσθαι.

Hermes in relation to the πόλις and civil culture.

<sup>34</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἀυξίδημος: Hesych. s. v. Ἀυξίδημος· Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδρύσεως.

<sup>35</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος: Pollux, 7. 15 τούτων δὲ καὶ θεοὶ ἴδιοι, ὁ ἐμπολαῖος Ἑρμῆς καὶ ὁ ἀγοραῖος· καὶ ἐμπόλω Διοσκούρω ἐν Ἡρωσιν Ἀριστοφάνης. Diod. Sic. 5. 75 φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας κέρδη πρῶτων ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ τὸ λάθρα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σφετερίζεσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> At Thebes: vide Apollo, R. 91.

<sup>b</sup> Athens: Paus. 1. 15, 1 ἰούσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον. Lucian, *Jur. Trag.* 33 ὁ χαλκοῦς, ὁ εὐγραμμος καὶ εὐπερίγραπτος, ὁ ἀρχαῖος τὴν ἀνάδασιν τῆς κόμης; μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ σός, ὃ Ἑρμῆ, ἀδελφός ἐστιν, ὁ ἀγοραῖος, ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ποικίλην. Schol. Aristoph. *Equ.* 297 ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἴδρται Ἑρμοῦ ἀγοραῖου ἄγαλμα. Hesych. s. v. Ἀγοραῖος· Ἑρμῆς οὕτως ἐλέγετο ὄντως, καὶ ἀφίδρυτο Κεβρίδος ἄρξαντος, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν τρίτῳ. Harpokrat. s. v. πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆς· Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ε' ('Ἀθηναίων' φησὶν ἀρξαμένων τευχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ θ' ἄρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ἐπέγραψαν

Ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τευχίζειν οἷδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι.

Harpokrat. s. v. Ἑρμαῖ· Μενεκλῆς ἢ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων γράφει· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρμαῖ καλούμενοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς κείσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφέναι συμβέβηκεν' . . . ὅτι δὲ ἐκαλοῦντό τινες καὶ Ἰππάρχειοι Ἑρμαῖ ἀπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, εἴρηται ἔν τε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνος ἐν τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ. Plut. *Dec. Or. Vit.* p. 844 B Καλλίστρατος . . . ῥήτορος δοκίμου καὶ ἱππαρχήσαντος καὶ ἀναθέντος τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Ἑρμῆ τῷ Ἀγοραίῳ (from Hegesias of Magnesia). Demosth. *In Leptin.* § 112 παρ' ἡμῖν πὶ τῶν προγόνων πόλλ' ἀγάθ' εἰργασμένοι τινὲς . . . ἀγαπητῶς ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον.

<sup>c</sup> Sikyon: Paus. 2. 9, 8 Ἐνταῦθι (in the Agora) Ἑρακλῆς χαλκοῦς

ἔστι· Λύσιππος ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν Σικυώμιος. καὶ πλησίον Ἑρμῆς ἔστηκεν Ἄγοραῖος. Sparta, vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

<sup>d</sup> Pharai in Achaia: Paus. 7. 22, 2 Ἑρμοῦ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα, ἔχων καὶ γένεια· ἔστηκώς δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ παρέχεται μὲν τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα, μεγέθει δὲ ἔστιν οὐ μέγας. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν, ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὸ Μεσσήμιον Σιμύλον. καλεῖται μὲν δὴ Ἄγοραῖος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρηστήριον καθέστηκε. κεῖται δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἑστία λίθου καὶ αὐτῇ, μολίβδῳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν προσέχονται λύχνου χαλκοῖ. ἀφικόμενος οὖν περὶ ἑσπεραν ὁ τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος λιβανωτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας θυμιᾷ, καὶ ἐμπλήσας τοὺς λύχνους ἐλαίου καὶ ἐξάψας τίθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐν δεξιᾷ νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον, καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πρὸς τὸ οὖς τὸν θεὸν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐκάστω τὸ ἐρώτημά ἐστι· τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπιφραξάμενος τὰ ὄπτα. προελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἕκτος τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέσχευ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄτων, καὶ ἤσπισεν ἂν ἐπακούσῃ φωνῆς, μάντευμα ἡγγείται. τοιαύτη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐτέρα περὶ τοῦ Ἄπιδος τὸ ἱερὸν μαντεία καθέστηκεν. Cf. Apollod. 3. 10, 2 διδάσκειται (ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὑπὸ Ἄπολλωνος) τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικὴν. Vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Pitana (Asia Minor coast).

<sup>e</sup> Sikinos: [dedication] *C. I. G.* add. 2447<sup>d</sup> ἀγορανομίσας Ἑρμῆ.

<sup>f</sup> Imbros: *C. I. G.* 2156 κήρυκ[ι] ἀθανάτων Ἑρμῆ στήσαμ μ' ἀγοραίω, σοὶ μὲν, ἄναξ, δῶρον κόσμον δ' αὐτοῖσι τιθέντες | αὐτοκασίγητοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἐξ Ἀγασίππου.

<sup>g</sup> Olbia: *C. I. G.* 2078 (inscr. found at Odessa probably from Olbia) οἱ ἀγορανομοὶ . . . ἀνέθηκαν Ἑρμῆ Ἀγοραίω Νεϊκῆν ἀργυρᾶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ὑγιείας (Roman period).

<sup>h</sup> Pergamon: Fränkel, *Inschr. v. Pergam.* 243 Ἀγορανομίσας Ἑρμεῖ. Cf. 244.

<sup>i</sup> Erythrai: Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, l. 92 (sale of priesthood) Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου.

<sup>k</sup> Aphrodisias in Caria: *C. I. G.* 2770 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν . . . Μολοσσὸν . . . γενόμενον ἱερέα Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν.

<sup>36</sup> Dedication of the magistrates at Peparethos (? fourth century B.C.): *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 3, p. 184 ἄρξαντες ἐμ πρυτανείῳ ἀνέθηκαν Ἑρμεῖ. Korkyra: *C. I. G.* 1880 Ἀ πόλις Μάρκον Καλπούριον . . . τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην, Ἑρμᾶ, Ἑρακλεῖ.

<sup>37</sup> Hermes the city-founder: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἑρμοῖοπολις . . . ἐν Κῶ τῇ νήσῳ· καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. At Amasia in Pontos: legend on coin of Septimius Severus Ἑρμῆς κτίσας τὴν πόλιν, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 424.

<sup>38</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἐπιπολιαῖος at Rhodes: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑρμῆς ἐν Ῥόδῳ, ὡς Γόργων ἱστορεῖ.

Hermes the God of gain and luck.

<sup>39</sup> Ἑρμῆς Κερδῶος (? cult-title): Lucian, *Tim.* 41 Ζεῦ τεράστιε καὶ φίλοι Κορύβαντες καὶ Ἑρμῆ κερδῶε, πόθεν τοσοῦτον χρυσίου; Alciphr. 3. 47 Ἑρμῆ κερδῶε καὶ ἀλεξίκακε Ἡράκλειε, ἀπεσώθην. Plut. *De Tranqu. An.* p. 472 B τῶν θεῶν ἄλλος ἄλλην ἔχων δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν ἐνυάλιος, ὁ δὲ μαντῶος, ὁ δὲ κερδῶος ἐπονομάζεται. Cf. Athena, R. 65.

<sup>40</sup> Ἑρμῆς Σακοφόρος (?) at Kyzikos: *Ath. Mitth.* 10, p. 208—on marble pitcher with figure of Hermes with caduceus and purse—inscr. [Ἑρμῆ]ς Σακο[φόρος]: ? early Roman period.

<sup>41</sup> Ἑρμῆς Δόλιος at Pellene: Paus. 7. 27, 1 Ἴόντων δὲ ἐς Πελλήνην ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐπὶ κλησιν μὲν Δόλιος, εὐχὰς δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἔτοιμος τελέσαι· σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ τετράγωνον, γένειά τε ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον εἰργασμένον. Cf. R. 1. 88<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Ἑρμῆς Δίκαιος (?) at Argos: Kaibel, *Epigr.* 814.

<sup>43</sup> Ἑρμῆς Πεισίνους (?) at Knidos: Newton, *Halicarn. Inscr.* no. 30, Pl. XC [Αε]τίωνα ὁ πατήρ . . . καὶ ἡ μάτηρ Πεισινουί.

<sup>44</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ψιθυριστής at Athens: vide Aphrodite, R. 119<sup>i</sup> (cf. Eustath. *Od.* 5. 8).

? Ἑρμῆς Τύχων: vide R. 80.

? Ἑρμῆς Χαρμόφρων: Hesych. s. v. ὁ Ἑρμῆς.

Hermes associated with the Palaistra.

<sup>45</sup> Cornutus 16: ὅθεν καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ συνώκισαν.

<sup>46</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἀγωνίος at Sparta: *C. I. G.* 1421 (dedication of successful athlete) Διοσκούροις Σωτήρσι καὶ Ἑρμῆ Ἀγωνίῳ.

<sup>47</sup> Ἑρμῆς Ἐναγωνίος.

<sup>a</sup> At Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 1181 Ἑρμῆ Ἐναγωνίῳ Αὐτοσθενίδης . . . ἀνέθηκε γυμνασιάρχης Κεκροπίδι φυλῆ (338/7 B. C.). Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1161:

ἐναγωνίος τοίνυν ἔσομαι, καὶ τί ἔτ' ἐρεῖς;  
Πλούτῳ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο συμφορότατον  
ποιεῖν ἀγῶνας μουσικούς καὶ γυμνικούς.

At Eleusis, vide Demeter-Persephone, R. 176.

<sup>b</sup> Olympia: Paus. 5. 14, 9 τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον εἰσιν ἐγγύτατα βωμοὶ δύο. τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Ἑρμοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἐναγωνίου, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Καιροῦ.

<sup>c</sup> Lesbos (Mitylene): *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 2. 96 στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τᾶς βόλλας καὶ τῷ δάμῳ ἀνέθηκαν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ταῖς ἐξέδραις Ἑρμα Ἐναγωνίῳ (? early third century B. C.).

<sup>d</sup> ? At Sagalassa in Pisidia: *C. I. G.* 4377 (inscr. in honour of a citizen who had given successful gladiatorial shows) τῷ μετὰ κλεινὸν Ἄρην ἐναγωνίος ἐστι καὶ Ἑρμῆς | Νείκην πορσύνων ἀνδράσι ἀθλοφόροις.



## Dedications to the God of the palaistra.

<sup>48</sup> Boeotia: Orchomenos: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3218 τὸν ἑαυτῶν γυμνασίαρχον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου Ἑρμῆ καὶ Μινῆ.

<sup>49</sup> Thisbe: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 2235 γυμνασιάρχης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὰς θύρας Ἑρμῆ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει.

<sup>50</sup> Lokris, *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 285, from Orous, τὸν γυμνασίαρχον Ἑρμῆ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>50</sup> a Delphi: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 23, p. 571 γυμνασιάρχης [Ἑρμ]ῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>51</sup> Athens: Paus. 1. 2, 5 ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν (ἀπὸ τῶν πνλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν) ἔχει γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενον. Dedications of epheboi to Hermes, *C. I. G.* 1224-1226.

<sup>52</sup> Sparta: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 51

ἐπεὶ (οἱ Διόσκουροι)

εὐρυχόρου ταμίαι Σπάρτας ἀγῶνων

μοῖραν Ἑρμῆ καὶ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ διέποντι θάλειαν,

μᾶλα μὲν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων περικαδόμενοι.

<sup>53</sup> Las in Laconia: Paus. 3. 24, 7 πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυμνάσιον (ἔστι) Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἔστηκεν ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον.

<sup>54</sup> Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 32, 3 Ἡρακλέους δὲ κοινὸς καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ ναὸς μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, μόνος δὲ σφισι βωμὸς ἐλείπετο.

<sup>55</sup> Phigaleia: Paus. 8. 39, 6 ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀμπεχομένῳ μὲν ἔοικεν ἱμάτιον, καταλήγει δὲ οὐκ ἐς πόδας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα.

<sup>56</sup> Messene: Paus. 4. 32, 1 τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματά ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεύς. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ ἤδη τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοῖς περὶ τε γυμνάσια καὶ ἐν παλαίστραῖς καθέστηκεν ἔχειν ἐν τιμῇ.

<sup>57</sup> Dyme in Achaia: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 4. 521 Λύκος Λύκου γυμνασιάρχης Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>58</sup> Kythera: Cauer, *Delect.* 2. 29 Ὀνασίπολις γυμνασιάρχης τὸ πυριατήριον καὶ τὸ κόνισμα Ἑρμῆ.

<sup>59</sup> Tenos: Kaibel, *Epigr.* 948 Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ. τὰς μελέτας ἄνθημα διάκτορον ἔνθα με κεδνοὶ | θέντο παλαιστριτῶν ἠιθέων φύλακα | οὔνεκ' ἐγὼ πινυτᾶτα καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἦθεσι κόσμον | δῶκα καὶ ἐκ μῶμου πάντοθεν εἰρυσάμην.

<sup>60</sup> Delos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 264 Πασίων Ἡρακλείδου Ἀθηναῖος, ἐφηβείων, ἐκ τῆς Νικηράτου καὶ Νικηράτου Ἀλεξανδρέων παλαίστρας, . . . Ἀπόλλωνι, Ἑρμεί, Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>61</sup> Keos (Iulis): *C. I. G.* add. 2367 c, d γυμνασιάρχης Ἑρμῆ.

<sup>62</sup> Paros: *C. I. G.* 2386: same formula.

<sup>63</sup> Siphnos: *C. I. G.* 2423 b, mutilated inscr. containing resolution of οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι in honour probably of the γυμνασίαρχος, and mentioning sacrifice to Hermes.

<sup>64</sup> Melos: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 1091 Βάκχιος Σατίον ὑπογυμνασιάρχης τάν τε ἐξέδραν καί τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἐρμᾶ Ἡρακλεῖ (found above the grotto of Aphrodite of Melos).

<sup>65</sup> Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 392 Μηρόφιλος . . . ὑπογυμνασιάρχων Ἐρμᾶ (? third century B. C.), 339 ὁ ἱερεὺς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ γυμνασίαρχος Ἀγωνικράτης καὶ ὁ ὑπογυμνασίαρχος ἀνέγραψαν τοὺς ἐφηβέυσαντας ἐπ' αὐτῶν . . . Ἐρμᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ. Cf. 390, 391 (dedications from the palaestra there), 331 decree of οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι mentioning τοὺς τῷ Ἐρμᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως τιθεμένους γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας (Ptolemaic period).

<sup>66</sup> Amorgos: *Museo italiano di antichità classica* 1885, p. 231, no. 7 ὁ γυμνασίαρχος . . . καὶ ὁ ὑπογυμνασίαρχος . . . καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι . . . Ἐρμῆ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>67</sup> Astypalaia: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 193 Μενέστρατος . . . παιδονομήσας ὑπὲρ τᾶς τῶν παιδῶν εὐταξίας Ἐρμᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ (? first century B. C.).

<sup>68</sup> Samos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 5, p. 482, dedication to Ptolemy (? Philopator), Hermes, Herakles, by victorious athletes.

<sup>69</sup> Nisyros: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 90, dedication of (ὁ δείνα) καὶ τὸ συναφίστιον Ἐρμᾶ (third century B. C.).

<sup>70</sup> Nymphaion in Bithynia: *C. I. G.* 3799 γυμνασιάρχης Ἐρμῆ.

<sup>71</sup> Olbia: Latyshev. 4. 459 (third century B. C.) Νικόδρομος Διονύσιον γυμνασιάρχης . . . Διονύσιον Ἐρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>71</sup> a Byzantion: *C. I. G.* 2034 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Βενδιδώρου στεφανωθείς τᾷ λαμπάδι τῶν ἀνήβων τὰ Βοσπόρια τὸ ἄθλον Ἐρμᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>72</sup> Sestos: Dittenb. *Syll.* 246 (decree of βουλή and δῆμος, latter part of second century B. C.), l. 62 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆ νομηνία συνετέλεσεν μὲν θυσίας τῷ τε Ἐρμεί καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τοῖς καθιδρυμένοις ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς τῶν νέων σωτηρίας. l. 78 συνετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα τῷ Ἐρμεί καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐν τῷ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ.

<sup>73</sup> Pergamon: *Ath. Millh.* 1899, p. 169 Μενέμαχος γυμνασιάρχων Ἐρμεί καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους σωτηρίας. Cf. Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergam.* 9. 323.

<sup>74</sup> Teos: *C. I. G.* 3059, fines for violating rules concerning the games and the military training τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἔστω τῆς πόλεως, ἱερὸν Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Μουσῶν.

<sup>75</sup> Alexandria: (?) *C. I. G.* 4682 οἱ τοῦ ἁλζᾶ ἔτους μέλλاکες (? = ἔφηβοι) . . . Ἐρμεί Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>76</sup> Tauromenion: *C. I. G.* 5648 dedication Ἐρμᾶ Ἡρακλεῖ from the base (?) of a composite statue of the two (cf. Cic. *ad Attic.* 1. 10 signa nostra et Hermeraclas). Metapontion: vide *Geogr. Reg.* s. v.

<sup>77</sup> Athenae. 561<sup>d</sup> (from Zeno): ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σεμνόν τινα τὸν Ἐρωτὰ καὶ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ κεχωρισμένον ἤδεσαν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ γυμνάσια αὐτὸν συνιδρῦσθαι Ἐρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, τῷ μὲν λόγου τῷ δὲ ἀλκῆς προεστῶτι. Anth. Pal. 6. 100 dedication of the λαμπὰς to Hermes by the victor in a Lampadephoría.

<sup>78</sup> Ἐρμῆς Πρόμαχος, R. 6: Paus. 9. 22, 2 τὸν δὲ Ἐρμῆν λέγουσι τὸν Πρόμαχον Ἐρετριέων ναυσὶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἐς τὴν Ταυαγραίαν σχόντων τοὺς τε ἐφήβους ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἅτε ἔφηβον στλέγγιδι ἀμυνόμενον μάλιστα ἐργάσασθαι τῶν Εὐβοέων τροπῆν. Cf. R. 28.

<sup>79</sup> Ἐρμῆς Σωτήρ at Amorgus: *Ath. Mitth.* I, p. 332 Ἐρμῆος ἱερὸν Σωτήρος (? fourth century B.C.).

Hermes associated with the arts (vide Zeus, R. 38<sup>a</sup>, Dionysos 104<sup>f</sup>).

<sup>80</sup> Ἐρμῆς Τύχων: *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 54, a choragic monument found near Magnesia on the Maeander showing Hermes carved in relief between the legs of marble tripod with inscr.:

Ἐρμῆς εἰμὶ Τύχων, ἐκ Χαλκίδος οὗτος ἐκείνος,  
Ἄντιλοχός μ' ἐποίησε πολίταις πᾶσι χορηγόν.

Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 81 τί γὰρ ἡγείσθε, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν Τυφῶνα (corr. Τύχωνα) Ἐρμῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀνδοκίδου καὶ τὸν Ἀμύητον, ἢ παντὶ τῷ δῆλον ὅτι λίθους, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆν; Diod. Sic. 4. 6 τοῦτον [Πρίαπον] δὲ τὸν θεὸν τινὲς μὲν Ἰθύφαλλον ὀνομάζουσι τινὲς δὲ Τύχωνα. Strab. 587-8 ἀπεδείχθη δὲ θεὸς οὗτος [Πρίαπος] ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἡσιόδος οἶδε Πρίαπον· ἀλλ' ἔοικε τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς Ὀρθάη καὶ Κοισάλφ καὶ Τύχωνι καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις. Hesych. s. v. Τύχων· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἐρμῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 334:

Κάμὲ τὸν ἐν μικροῖς ὀλίγον θεὸν ἦν ἐπιβώσης  
εὐκαίρως, τεύξῃ· μὴ μεγάλων δὲ γλίχου·  
ὡς ἂ γε δημογέρων δύναται θεὸς ἀνδρὶ πενέστη  
δωρεῖσθαι, τούτων κύριός εἰμι Τύχων.

<sup>81</sup> Plut. *De Audiend.* p. 44 Ε Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆν ταῖς Χάρισιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς μάλιστα τοῦ λόγου τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ προσφιλὲς ἀπαιτοῦντος. Cf. R. 74 and *Geogr. Reg.* s. v. Tegea (Arcadia): vide Apollo, R. 228, 230 (Megalopolis).

<sup>82</sup> <sup>a</sup> Paus. 9. 30, 1 Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐλικῶνι καὶ Ἐρμῆς μαχόμενος περὶ τῆς λύρας.

<sup>b</sup> 2. 19, 6 (in the temple of Aphrodite at Argos) Ἐρμῆς ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνην ἠρκῶς.

<sup>83</sup> Stobae. *πά* 17 (Meineke, vol. 3, p. 113) θεὸς ἦν τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ καταδείξας τὴν διαλεκτικὴν . . . ὡς μὲν λέγουσὶ τινες, ὁ λόγιος Ἐρμῆς,

ὁ φέρων ἐν ταῖν χερσίν τὸ σύνθημα αὐτῆς, τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλεπόντων δρακόντων (from Iamblichus).

<sup>84</sup> Aristid. vol. 2, p. 398 (Dind.) περὶ Δημοσθένους, ὃν ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν Ἑρμοῦ τινὸς λογίου τύπον εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατελθεῖν.

Ritual and Festivals (vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Crete*).

<sup>85</sup> Animal sacrifice.

<sup>a</sup> Goat at Eleusis, vide Demeter, R. 176.

<sup>b</sup> Lambs, kids; Homeric period, R. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Swine-sacrifice; Hom. *Od.* 14. 422:

Ἄλλ' ὁ γ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν  
ἀργιόδοντος ὕός, καὶ ἐπέυχτο πᾶσι θεοῖσι.

434 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑπταχα πάντα διεμοιρᾶτο δαΐζων·  
τὴν μὲν ἴαν νύμφησι καὶ Ἑρμῇ, Μαϊάδος νιεί.

? Swine in Attic sacrifice: Aristoph. *Pax* 386. Boar at Pheneos, vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Arcadia*.

<sup>d</sup> Ram at Andania, vide Demeter, R. 246. Cf. ritual of Hermes Κριοφόρος, R. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Bull, Akraiphiai: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1, 2712 (decree in honour of citizen) ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ ταυροθυτήσας Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἑρακλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἀγῶνα ὀπλιτικόν.

Other animals: <sup>f</sup> Mitylene: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 2. 73 (vide Aphrodite, R. 73<sup>a</sup>), sacrifice to Hermes on altar of Aphrodite Peitho—θυέτω . . . ἱερῆιον ὅτι κε θέλη καὶ ἔρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, πλάγ χοίρω? (probable emendation) καὶ ὄρνιθα ὅτινά κε θέλη.

Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1111 ἡ γλώσσα τῶν διδομένων τῷ Ἑρμῇ δέδοται. Καλλίστρατος τῶν θυομένων φησὶ τὰς γλώσσας τοῖς κήρυξι ἀπονέμεσθαι. Cf. R. 88<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> ? Phallic element in ritual, vide R. 18.

<sup>86</sup> Wine-libations with water: Aristoph. *Plut.* 1133:

οἴμοι δὲ κύλικος ἴσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένης.

Schol. *ibid.* ζητεῖται διὰ τί τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις θεοῖς δίδεται ἄκρατος σπονδή, τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ κεκραμένη.

<sup>87</sup> Cereal sacrifice, vide R. 20. Apollo, R. 216.

<sup>a</sup> On the fourth day of the month, Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1126 οἴμοι πλακοῦντος τοῦ ἔν τετράδι πεπεμμένου. Cf. Apollo, R. 236.

## b Anth. Pal. 9. 72 :

Εὔκολος Ἑρμείας, ὦ ποιμένες, ἐν δὲ γάλακτι

χαίρων καὶ δρυῖνῳ σπενδόμενος μέλιτι·

Ἄλλ' οὐχ Ἑρακλῆς· ἕνα δὲ κτίλον ἢ παχὺν ἄρνα

αἰτεῖ, καὶ πάντως ἐν θύοις ἐκλέγεται.

Ἄλλὰ λύκους εἶργει, τί δὲ τὸ πλεόν, εἰ τὸ φυλαχθέν

ἄλλυται εἴτε λύκοις εἴθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ φύλακος.

c Telecl. Frag. Στερροί 4 (Meinek. 2, p. 370) ὦ δέσποθ' Ἑρμῆ, κίπτε τῶν θυλημάτων. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Ραχ* 1040 θυλήματα τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθυόμενα ἄλφιστα. ἐπιρραίνεται δὲ οἶνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ. Hesych. s. v. Ἑρμῆς πέμματος εἶδος κηρυκοειδές.

## 88 Chthonian ritual.

a Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1111 ἢ τῶν καταρωμένων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀρχή : sacrifice to Hermes after funerals at Argos, vide Apollo, *R.* 273<sup>b</sup> : Hermes associated with hero-cult at Plataia, *R.* 19<sup>b</sup> : at Athens, vide Dionysos, *R.* 124<sup>e</sup> : ? with Hekate at Methydrion in Arcadia, vide vol. 3 Hekate, *R.* 13<sup>c</sup> : human sacrifice at Tanagra, Tzetz. *Lykophr.* 680 παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ἑρμῆς λευκὸς τιμᾶται· πολεμούμενοι γὰρ Ταναγραῖοι ὑπὸ Ἑρετριέων ἐσφαγίασαν παῖδα καὶ κόρην κατὰ χρησμόν κἀντεῦθεν ἰδρῦσαντο λευκὸν Ἑρμῆν.

b Nightly libations to Hermes : Hom. *Od.* 7. 136 :

εὔρε δὲ Φαιήκων ἡγήτορας ἠδὲ μέδοντας

σπένδοντας δεπάεσσιν εὐσκοπῶ ἀργειφόνη,

ᾧ πνύματῳ σπένδεσκον, ὅτε μνησαίατο κοῖτου.

c Longus *Pastor.* 4. 34 ὡς δ' ἦδη νύξ ἦν καὶ ἐπέπληστο ὁ κρατῆρ ἐξ οὗ σπένδουσιν Ἑρμῆ. Pollux 6. 100 Ἑρμῆς, ἢ τελευταία πόσις. Athenae. p. 16<sup>b</sup> (in the Homeric period) ἔσπενδον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δείπνων ἀναλύοντες καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐποιούντο Ἑρμῆ καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὕστερον Διὶ Τελείῳ· δοκεῖ γὰρ Ἑρμῆς ὕπνου προστάτης εἶναι. σπένδουσι δ' αἰτῶ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς γλώσσαις ἐκ τῶν δείπνων ἀπιόντες.

Offerings to the Way-God, *R.* 28 ; cf. 32.

d Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 55 Διὰ τί τοῖς Σαμίοις, ὅταν τῷ Ἑρμῆ τῷ Χαριδότη θύουσι, κλέπτειν ἐφέιται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ λωποδυτεῖν ;

Festivals.

## 89 τὰ Ἑρμαῖα.

a ? At Tanagra : *C. I. A.* 2. 1217 (referring to victory of Demetrios Phalereus) τὰ Ἑρμαῖα ἄρματι.

b Athens : *C. I. A.* 2. 1223 λαμπάδι νικήσας Ἑρμαῖα (? third century B. C.). Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1883, p. 226. Aeschin. κ. Τιμαρχ. § 10 ἀρχὴν ἧτις ἔσται ἢ τούτων ἐπιμελησομένη, καὶ περὶ παιδαγωγῶν ἐπιμελείας καὶ περὶ Μουσειῶν ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις καὶ περὶ Ἑρμαίων ἐν ταῖς παλαισταῖς.

<sup>c</sup> ? At Salamis : [decree of the βουλή at Salamis in honour of a citizen of the Peiraieus] *C. I. A.* 2. 594 ἐπειδὴ Θεόδωτος χειροτονηθεὶς γυμνασίαρχος . . . συνετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑρμαῖα (circ. 127 B. C.).

<sup>d</sup> Arcadia, Pheneos : Paus. 8. 14, 10 θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεάται μάλιστα καὶ ἀγῶνα ἀγούσιν Ἑρμαῖα, καὶ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἑρμοῦ σφίσι καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθον· τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Εὐχχειρ Εὐβουλίδου. ἔπισθεν δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τάφος Μυρτίλου· τοῦτου Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι Μυρτίλον λέγουσιν Ἑλληνας. . . . καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν αὐτῷ. Cf. Demeter, R. 149<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Achaia, Pellene : Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 156 τελεῖται μὲν ἐν Πελλάγη τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀγῶν ὁ καλούμενος θεοξένια, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑρμαῖα, τὸ δὲ ἄθλον ἐστὶ χλαῖνα.

<sup>f</sup> Crete: Athenae. 639 B Ἐν Κρήτῃ γοῦν τῇ τῶν Ἑρμαίων ἐορτῇ τὸ ὄμιον γίγνεται, ὡς φησι Καρύστιος ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. εὐωχομένον γὰρ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ δεσπότηαι ὑπηρετοῦσι πρὸς τὰς διακονίας.

<sup>g</sup> Sestos, R. 72.

<sup>h</sup> Teos : *C. I. G.* 3087.

<sup>i</sup> Pergamon : Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergam.* 256 (decree of the boulé and demos to erect a statue of the ἀρχιερεὺς in the temple of Hermes) προστάντα Ἑρμαίων τοῦ στεφανίτου ἀγῶνος καλῶς.

<sup>k</sup> Syracuse : Schol. Plat. *Lys.* 206<sup>d</sup> Ἑρμαῖα . . . λέγεται δὲ καὶ παίδων οὕτως ἀγῶν παρὰ Συρακοσίοις, ὡς φησι Διογενιανός.

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF HERMES-CULTS.

### The Euxine and Thrace.

Pantikapaion, 19<sup>c</sup>. Olbia, R. 35<sup>g</sup>, 71. Trapezus : Arr. *Peripl.* 2 πεποιήται ὁ νεὸς λίθου τετραγώνου οὐ φαύλως· ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἄγαλμα οὔτε τοῦ νεῶ ἀξίον ἐστὶν οὔτε αὐτοῦ τοῦ χωρίου. Nymphaion, on the coast of Bithynia, 70. Lysimacheia : Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 224, Hermes on coins of third century B. C. ; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 34, 56 (Polyclitus fecit) Mercurium qui fuit Lysimacheae. Herod. 5. 7 οἱ δὲ βασιλείες αὐτῶν [Θρηάκων], παρέξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν καὶ ὀμνύουσι μόνον τοῦτον καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέαι ἀπὸ Ἑρμῆος ἑωυτούς. Byzantion, 71. On the Thracian Bosporos (European shore) τὸ Ἑρμαίων : Polyb. 4. 43. Sestos 72. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 225 : coin-type circ. 350 Demeter seated on cippus holding ear of corn, in front a phallic term.

Abdera : inscr. found in the Peiraeus (fifth century B.C.), Kirchhoff, *Studien*, 4, p. 15 :

Πύθων Ἑρμῆ ἄγαλμ' Ἑρμοστράτου Ἀβδηρίτης  
ἔστησ' ἐμ πολλὰς θησάμενος πόλιας  
Εὐφρων ἐξεποίησ' οὐκ ἀδαῆς Πάριος.

[Hermes on coins of following Thracian cities, vide *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thrace.'* Abdera, pp. 71 75, 230<sup>c</sup>. Ainos, p. 77, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 214, 'terminal figure of Hermes standing on a throne.' *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thrace,'* p. 81, Hermes on throne with purse and caduceus (B.C. 300-200). Anchialos, p. 84; Byzantion, p. 97; Coela, p. 191; Deultum, p. 112; Hadrianopolis, p. 120; Marcianopolis, p. 32; Nikopolis, p. 42; Pantalea, p. 145; Philippopolis, p. 164; Serdike, p. 172; Tomi, p. 59; Trajanopolis, p. 178.]

Macedonia : Thessalonike, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Macedonia,'* p. 109. Skione, *ib.* p. 131, coin-type 400-350 B.C., head of Hermes with petasos.

Thessaly, 19<sup>c</sup>: Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 1415 τὸ Ἑρμαίων mentioned in decree of the Aetolians delimiting the frontiers of Melitaia in Phthiotis.

Phokis : Elateia, vide Poseidon, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* (Hermes mentioned in enfranchisement-contract).

Lokris Opuntia, 50, vide Dionysos, R. 104<sup>f</sup>. Coins of Skarpheia, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Central Greece,'* p. 11, Delphi, 50<sup>a</sup>. Relief of Hermes Κριοφόρος, found in Lokris with petasos and caduceus, vide Vezries, *Figures criophores*, p. 12, no. 35.

Korkyra, 36. Ithaka, 85<sup>a</sup>. ? Zakynthos, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Peloponnesus,'* p. 102, no. 90.

Boeotia : Akraiphiai, 85<sup>b</sup>; Helikon, 82<sup>a</sup>; Koroneia, 5; Korseia, Paus. 9. 24, 5 πόλισμα ἔστι Κορσεία, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρων ἄλλος οὐχ ἡμέρων πρίνοι τὸ πολὺ εἰσιν. Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ Ἰλσους ἔστηκε. Lebadeia, 19<sup>h</sup>. Mykalessos : Thuc. 7. 29 πρὸς τῷ Ἑρμαίῳ ἠλίσιτο (ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησοῦ ἑκκαίδεκα μάλιστα σταδίου). Orchomenos 48. Plataia, 19<sup>b</sup>. Tanagra, 3, 6<sup>a</sup>, 78, 88, 89<sup>a</sup>. Paus. 9. 20, 3 ἐν Τανάγρα ὄρος Κηρύκιον, ἐνθα Ἑρμῆν τεχθῆναι λέγουσι. Thebes, vide Apollo, R. 91 and 185<sup>e</sup>. Thespiai : Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 262 Κορρινάδας ἀνέθεικεν τῷ Ἑρμαίῳ. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, p. 156, inscr. found at Thespiai Φιλέτηρος Ἀττάλω Περγαμεὺς ἀνέθεικε τὰν γὰν τῷ Ἑρμῆ. Thisbe 49.

Euboia 26 : Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄργουρα . . . τόπος τῆς Εὐβοίας Ἄργουρα, ὅπου δοκεῖ τὸν Πανόπτην Ἑρμῆς πεφονευκέναι. ? Chalkis, R. 80.

Attica: Athens, 8, 10, 17, 18<sup>e</sup>, 19<sup>a</sup>, 21<sup>a</sup>, 25, 28, 31, 35<sup>b</sup>, 47<sup>a</sup>, 51, 85<sup>a</sup>, 86, 87, 87<sup>c</sup>, 89<sup>b</sup>; vide Aphrodite, R. 119<sup>i</sup>; Dionysos 124<sup>e</sup>; Hekate, R. 15; Hades, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Athens: Apollo, R. 34<sup>c</sup>, 216, 236. Thuc. 6 27 ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἢ τετραγώνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς). Paus. 1. 27, 1 κείται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναφῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλον, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον.

Hermes, ancestor of the Kerykes, vide Demeter, R. 166. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906, p. 316, inscr. no. 57 (Imperial period) ἱερεὺς τοῦ πατρώου κηρύκων Ἑρμοῦ καὶ κήρυξ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου. *C. I. A.* 2. 1606 Λυσικλῆς Ναυσικλέους Ἑρμῆ Φαλανθεὶ ἀνέθηκεν, found, according to Pittakis, near the πύλη τῆς Ἀγορᾶς. Akademeia: Paus. 1. 30, 2 Ἔστι δὲ Μουσῶν τε βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἔνδον Ἀθηναῖς, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησαν. Oropos, vide Hestia R. 34. Worshipped with Pan and the Nymphs in cave on Parnes, vide fourth century relief, Eph. Arch. 1905, p. 102. Eleusis, vide Demeter, R. 176. Salamis, 89<sup>c</sup>.

#### Aigina 6<sup>d</sup>.

Corinth 6<sup>d</sup>: Paus. 2. 2, 8 Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμψότερα, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποιήται.

Sikyon 35<sup>c</sup>: Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπάκτιος· ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι.

Troizen: Paus. 2. 31, 10 Ἑρμῆς ἐνταυθά ἐστι Πολύγιος καλούμενος. πρὸς τοῦτῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸ ῥόπαλον θεῖναι φασιν Ἡρακλέα.

Argolis: Paus. 2. 38, 7 (on the borders of Argolis, Tegea, and Laconia) ἐστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

Argos 42, 82<sup>b</sup>: vide Aphrodite, R. 22. Apollo, R. 273<sup>b</sup>.

Laconia: Sparta, 46, 52. *C. I. G.* 1462 Δημοκῆδης Δημοστράτου Ἑρμῆ ex schedis Fourmonti, *Spartae iuxta templum Mercurii* (no ancient authority for the existence of any temple there). Paus. 3. 11, 11 (in the ἀγορά) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος Διόνυσον φέρων παῖδα. Belemina (on the border towards Megalopolis): Paus. 8. 35, 3 τοῦ Ἑρμαίου τοῦ κατὰ Βελεμῖναν. Boiai: Paus. 3. 22, 13 ἐρείπια ἀπέχει μὲν Βοιῶν οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους ἑπτὰ, ἰόντι δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ λίθινον ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. Gythion, vide Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* (*Hell. Journ.* 7, p. 66), coin of Caracalla, 'Hermes standing at altar, holds purse and caduceus, chlamys over shoulders.' Las, 53. Pikromydia (about nine miles east of Sparta): archaic inscr. Ἑρμᾶνος (Cauer, *Delect.* 2. 5. Roehl, *I. G. A.* 60), ? boundary-mark.



## Kythera 58.

Arcadia, 1, 37. Akakesion : Paus. 8. 36, 10 ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ λόφῳ πόλις τε ἦν Ἀκακήσιον, Ἐρμού τε Ἀκακησίου λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου· τραφῆναι δὲ Ἐρμῆν παῖδα αὐτόθι καὶ Ἄκακον τὸν Λυκάονος γενέσθαι οἱ τροφέα Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος. διάφορα δὲ τούτοις Θηβαῖοι καὶ αἰθῖς οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα τοῖς Θηβαίων Ταναγραῖοι λέγουσιν. Kyllene, 19 (vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Arcadia*); Hom. *Hyμν* 19. 28

Ἐρμείην Ἐριούνιον ἕξοχον ἄλλων

ἔννεπον

καὶ ῥ' ὄ γ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα μῆλων,  
ἐξίκετ', ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος Κυλληνίου ἐστίν.  
ἔνθ' ὃ γε καὶ θεὸς ὦν ψαφαρότριχα μῆλ' ἐνόμειεν  
ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θητῶ· θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν  
νύμφη εὐπλοκάμῳ Δρύσπος φιλότῃ μιγῆναι·  
ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσσε γάμον θαλερόν, τέκε δ' ἐν μεγάροιςιν  
Ἐρμείη φίλον υἱόν, ἄφαρ τερατωπὸν ιδέσθαι,  
αἰγιόδην, δικέρωτα, πολύκροτον, ἠδυγέλωτα.

Pind. *Ol.* 6. 77 Εἰ δ' ἐτύμως ὑπὸ Κυλλάνας ὄροις, Ἀγησία, μάτρως  
ἄνδρες | ναιετάουτες ἐδώρησαν θεῶν κάρκα λιταῖς θυσίαις | πολλὰ δὴ πολλαῖσιν  
Ἐρμᾶν εὐσεβέως, ὃς ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῖρᾶν τ' ἀέθλων, | Ἀρκαδίαν τ' εὐάνορα τιμᾶ.  
Paus. 8. 17, 1 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Αἰπίτου τὸν τάφον ὄρος τε ὑψηλότατον ὄρων τῶν  
ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Κυλλήνη καὶ Ἐρμού Κυλληνίου κατερριμμένους ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ  
κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους . . . θύου δὲ πεποιημένον τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶ. ὄκτω δὲ  
εἶναι ποδῶν μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν. Gemin. *Elem. Astr.* ch. 17 (p. 180,  
Teubner) οἱ γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Κυλλήνην ἀναβαίνοντες ὄρος ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ  
ὑψηλότατον καὶ θύοντες τῷ καθωσιωμένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους Ἐρμῆ,  
ὅταν πάλιν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀναβαίνουντες τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελῶσιν, εὐρίσκουσι καὶ  
τὰ μηρία καὶ τὴν τέφραν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει μένουσαν,  
ἐν ᾗ καὶ κατέλιπον, καὶ μῆθ' ὑπὸ πνευμάτων μῆθ' ὑπὸ ὕμβρων ἠλλοιωμένα.  
Hom. *Il.* 2. 603 :

Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,  
Αἰπίτιον παρὰ τύμβον.

Megalopolis, 27, 30, 54. Vide Aphrodite, R. 27. Demeter, R. 119<sup>b</sup>.  
Apollo, R. 230. Paus. 8. 30, 6 (near the stoa Φιλίππειος in the market-  
place) Ἐρμού Ἀκακησίου πρὸς αὐτῇ ναὸς κατεβέβλητο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο  
ὅτι μὴ χελῶν λίθου. Paus. 8. 32, 4 (in the τέμενος near the temple of  
Artemis Ἀγροτέρα) Herme-statues of Hermes and Herakles among  
the so-called θεοὶ Ἐργάται. Methydrion, vide Hekate, R. 13<sup>c</sup>.  
Nonakria, Steph. Byz. Νώνακρῖς πόλις Ἀρκαδίας. Lycophr. 680  
Νωνακρίτης τρικέφαλος φαιδρὸς θεός. Schol. *ib.*

Pheneos, 6 c, 89 d. Paus. 8. 16, 1 ὄρη Φενεατῶν ἐστὶ Τρίκρηνα καλοῦμενα, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κρήνην τρεῖς· ἐν ταύταις λούσαι τεχθέντα Ἑρμῆν αἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος λέγονται νύμφαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰς πηγὰς ἱερὰς Ἑρμοῦ νομίζουσι. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaie Grecque*, 205 A. 74, bronze head of boar with inscription Ἑρμᾶνος Φενεοί. *Ath. Mitth.* 1. 173 coin of Pheneos with head of Hermes and inscription ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἑρμαξόου. Phigaleia, 55. Stymphalos: Aristoph. *Ran.* 1266 Ἑρμᾶν μὲν πρόγονον τίομεν γένος οἱ περὶ λίμναν. Schol. *ib.* Ἐκ τῶν Αἰσχύλου Ψυχαγωγῶν . . . λίμναν δὲ λέγει τὴν Στυμφαλίδα. Tegea: Paus. 8. 47, 4 ἀπωτέρω τῆς κρήνης ὅσον σταδίους τρισὶν ἐστὶν Ἑρμοῦ ναὸς Αἰπίτου. Kirchoff, *Studien*, 4, p. 158 Ποσειδᾶνος Ἑρμᾶνος Ἡρακλῆς Χαρίτων (?).

Messenia, 6 b, 20, 56 (Messene), vide Demeter, R. 246 (Andania mysteries). Triphylia, R. 32.

Elis: Olympia, 47 b, vide vol. 4, Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Elis. Paus. 5. 1, 7 Ἑρμοῦ τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ Πελοπα ἔλεγον οἱ Ἥλαιοι πρῶτον, ἀποτρεπόμενον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλου θανάτῳ μήνυμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Paus. 5. 17, 3 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραίων, Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλους. Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 1169 inscr. found at Olympia from base of a statue of Hermes with κηρυκεῖον (Paus. 5. 27, 8):

Γλαυκία με Κάλων γενεῇ φαλείῳ ἐποίη.

Γλαυκίης ὁ Λυκκίδεω τῷ Ἑρμῇ Ῥηγίνος.

Paus. 5. 15, 11 θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Διβύῃ σπέδουσι [Ἥλαιοι] καὶ Ἡρα τε Ἀμμωνι καὶ Παράμμωνι Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ κληῖς ἐστὶν ὁ Παράμμων. Kyllene, 18 a-d.

Achaia: Dyme, 57. Pellene, 41, 89 e. Pharai, 12, 35 d. Coin-type of Patrai, Hermes standing by ram, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Peloponnese,' pp. 29, 46, 50, Pl. 6, 7, 8.

#### The Islands.

North Aegean: Thasos, relief-representation of Hermes and Nymphs, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, Taf. 1. Samothrace, 18 e, *C. I. G.* 2158 οἱ ἱεροὶ Ἑρμαί: Plut. *Num.* 7 τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λέγεσθαι Κάμυλλον, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οὕτως ἔνοιον τῶν Ἑλλήνων Καμύλλον ἀπὸ τῆς διακονίας προσηγόρευον (so also Macrob. *Saturn.* 3. 8, 5): Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 917 τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν (οἱ Κάβειροι) . . . ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κασμῖλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστὶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος.

Imbros, 18 f, 35 f. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Imbros νῆσος ἱερὰ Καβείρων καὶ Ἑρμοῦ ὃν Ἰμβραμον λέγουσιν οἱ Κάρες. Conze, *Reise*, p. 96 οἱ τετελεσμένοι Ἑρμῇ ἐφ' ἱερέως Φιλίππου τοῦ . . . (inscr. fourth century B. C. found ? on

site of a temple of Hermes). Cf. *ib.* p. 91 θεοὶ μεγάλοι, θεοὶ δυνατοὶ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ Κασμεῖλε Ἄναξ. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 225, coin-type of Imbros, third century B.C., naked ithyphallic figure of Hermes Imbramos, sacrificing. Lemnos: Aesch. *Ag.* 282 πρὸς Ἑρμαιοῦν λέπας Δήμνου. Peparethos, 36. Skiathos, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thessaly,'* p. 54, coin-type circ. 400 B.C., head of Hermes bound with taenia on the obverse, on the reverse caduceus. Lesbos, 15, 47<sup>c</sup>, 85<sup>c</sup> (Mitylene), vide Aphrodite, R. 73<sup>a</sup>. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Troas,'* p. 163 (Pl. xxxiii. 11), head of Hermes with petasos, circ. 400 B.C. (Coin Pl. no. 10): p. 176, on coins of Eresos, dominant type between 300 and 200 B.C.; ear of corn on reverse. Cf. Athenae. p. 111 F θεοὶ ἔπιερ ἔδουσι ἄλφιτ', ἐκείθεν ἰὼν Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς ἀγοράζει.

Chios: *C. I. G.* 2229 (epigram on base of statue of Hermes that had been carried off) Ἑρμῆν τὸν κλέπτην τίς ὑφείλετο; θερμὸς ὁ κλέπτης ὅς τῶν φιλητέων ᾗχετ' ἄνακτα φέρων (? first century A.D.). Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑννίος· ἐν Χίῳ, ὁ Ἑρμῆς.

#### The Cyclades and South Aegean.

Keos, 61. Tenos, 59. Delos, 60; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905, p. 237 Φίλιππος Βασιλείδου Ἑρμῆ καὶ Μαί[αι]: cf. *ib.* 1902, p. 510 Δημόνους ἀγορανομήσας . . . Περίανδρος . . . ἀστυνομήσας Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἀφροδίτει, second century B.C. Melos, 64; *Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 1902, p. 30, dedication of a daughter Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεί, second century B.C. Syros: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Crete,'* &c., Hermes on coin of Syros [Septimius Severus] inscribed Ἑρμῆς Συρίων. Siphnos, 63. Sikinos, 35<sup>e</sup>. Paros, 33, 62, vide Artemis, R. 66<sup>e</sup>. Amorgos, 66, 79. Astypalaia, 67. Thera, 65. Samos, 68, 88 d. Patmos: Dittenb. *Sylloge* 2. 681 (decree τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν λαμπαιστῶν in honour of a γυμνασίαρχος) νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπήγγελται Ἑρμῆν τε λίθινον ἀναθήσειν . . . Kos, 37. Nisyros, 69. Rhodes, 19<sup>a</sup>, 38. Megiste, 21<sup>b</sup>. Crete, 89<sup>f</sup>, on coins of Sybrita, fourth century B.C. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Crete,'* p. 79, Pl. xix. 12 (vide Coin Pl. no. 9), Hermes tying sandal with foot on rock: of Phaistos *ib.* p. 61, Hermes seated on trunk of tree: of Aptera, *ib.* p. 9. *C. I. G.* 2554 (formula of oath in treaty between Latous and Olous Ὀμνύω . . . Ἑρμῶν καὶ Κωρήτας καὶ Νύμφας. *Et. Mag.* p. 315, 28 *s. v.* Ἐδάς· ὄνομα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ παρὰ Γορτυνίοις, παρὰ τὸ ἑάων εἶναι δοτῆρα. *C. I. G.* 2569 (inscr. found near the cave of Zeus on Ida):

Οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἰδρυμένε, Μαϊάδος Ἑρμῆ,  
σπονδὴν καὶ θυσίαν δέξο φιλοφρόσυννος,  
ἦν σοι Σαλούτιος Μηνᾶς λοιβαῖσι γερφαίρει  
κτήσεος ἐξ ὀσίης ψυχικὰ δῶρα διδούς.

καὶ σὺ δέ, παντοκράτωρ Ἐριούμει, τόνδε φυλάσσοις  
ξῶν ὅπως τιμᾷ σὸν δι' ἔλου τέμενος.

*Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 1900, p. 495 Ἐρμῆ Κραναίῳ Θεόδωρος . . . εὐχήν.

Cyprus: Gardner, *Types*, Pl. iv. 27, coin-type, archaic figure of Hermes clad in chiton and carrying caduceus. (Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Cyprus,' p. 70, Pl. xiii. 10). (Coin Pl. no. 4.)

Asia Minor Coast and vicinity.

Kyzikos, 40. Miletropolis: *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, p. 305 Ἀρτεμίδωρος . . . γενόμενος γραμματεὺς δήμου, τὸν Ἐρμῆν τῷ δήμῳ (inscr. found on Herme of Roman period).

Lampsakos-Parion: Polyæn. *Strateg.* 6. 24 τοσαύτην γῆν ἀπετέμοντο τῇ τέχνῃ Λαμφακροὶ Παριανῶν μεθόριον στησάμενοι τὸ Ἐρμαῖον. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Mysia,' p. 101, bust of Hermes on coins of Parion, ? first century B. C. Troad, 12. Aigai in Aiolis: Müller-Wieseler, *D. A. K.* 2. 302<sup>c</sup>, coin with head of Hermes wearing petasos, on rev. forepart of goat. Pergamon, 13, 23, 35<sup>h</sup>, 73, 89<sup>i</sup>. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Mysia,' pp. 158, 162, Hermes with ram's head in sacrificial scenes on coins of Pergamon (Imperial). Pitana: Le Bas, *Asie Mineure*, n. 1724<sup>a</sup>. Ionia: ? Hermes Φλυσίσιος, a local title belonging to this district, vide Bergk, vol. 2, Hipponax, Fr. 32 παρ' ᾧ σὺ λευκόπεπλον ἡμέρην μείνας | πρὸς μὲν κυνήσειν τὸν Φλυσιῶν Ἐρμῆν. Cf. Hesych. s. v. Φλυσίσιος· ὁ Ἐρμῆς καὶ μὴν τις. Phokaia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' p. 208, Pl. iv. 23, head of Hermes with petasos, fifth century B. C. (Coin Pl. no. 7): cf. *ib.* p. 217. Erythrai, 22, 35<sup>i</sup>. Teos, 74, 89<sup>h</sup>, Hermes running and carrying infant Dionysos on coin of Imperial period, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' p. 316. ? Ephesos: Hesych. s. v. Κηρύκιον· ὄρος τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐφ' ᾧ μυθεύουσι τὸν Ἐρμῆν κηρύξαι τὰς γονὰς Ἀρτέμιδος: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' p. 87, Hermes with purse and caduceus on coin of Geta. Miletos: *Arch. Aug.* 1906, p. 1, fifth century B. C. inscr. mentioning Ἐρμῆς Ἐγκελάδου. Magnesia on the Maeander, 80; cf. inscr. (? unpublished) referred to *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 59, mentioning a φυλὴ Ἐρμηῖς at Magnesia. Halikarnassos: Vitruv. 2. 8, 11 Veneris et Mercurii fanum. Newton, *Halicarn.* no. 63, dedication Ἐρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεί.

Knidos, 43: vide Aphrodite, R. 54. Demeter, R. 52. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 783.

Lycia: Patara, 19<sup>g</sup>; cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lycia,' p. 25, head of Hermes on fifth century coin of Patara?; p. 66, Hermes on coinage of Lycian league: Telmessos: *ib.* p. 86 (first century B. C.). Kragos: *ib.* p. 54 (early Imperial), head of Hermes.

Pamphylia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lycia,' p. 138, coin-type of Perga, Hermes and Herakles.

Cilicia: Mallos, Gardner, *Types*, Pl. x, 31, fourth-century coin with representation 'Hermes: beside him Aphrodite, who rests on pillar and lays a hand on his shoulder.' Adana: coin-type *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lycaonia,' p. 16, Hermes with caduceus (Imperial). Korykos. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 91 (Archias εἰς Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἐν Κορυκίᾳ εὐχὴν) Ἑρμῆ Κωρυκίων ναίων πύλων, ὃ ἄνα, χαίροις. *Hell. Journ.* 1891, p. 240 (dedication in the Corycian cave, second century A. D.):

Πάνα καὶ Ἑρμείην, Ζεῦ Πάφιε, εἰκάσαμεν.

Pomp. Mel. 1. 13 Totus autem specus augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a diis et dignus et creditus. Oppian, *Halieut.* 3:

ἐν Κιλίκεσσιν ὑφ' Ἑρμαίοις ἀδύτοισι,  
'Ἑρμαία, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ πατρώϊε.

Olba: coin-type *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lycaonia,' p. lv (Imperial). Aigai: *ib.* p. 25. Tarsos: *ib.* pp. 221, 227 (Imperial). Syedra: *ib.* p. 159, Hermes, Aphrodite, Ares, standing to front (Imperial). Diocaesarea: *ib.* p. 71.

Asia Minor Interior.

Pontus: Amasia, 37. Galatia: coin-types *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Galatia,' p. 4, Hermes on coin issued by Amyntas (first century B. C.). Pessinus: *ib.* pp. 19, 20, Hermes with caduceus and purse (Imperial). Ankyra: *ib.* p. 16, similar type.

Bithynia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Pontus,' &c., p. 210, head of Hermes on coins of Prusias II.

Phrygia, Eukarpia: Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Grec.* p. 399. Themisonion, near Laodikeia, 4.

Lydia: Blaundos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lydia,' p. 44, coin-type of first or second century B. C., Hermes with petasos, winged sandals and caduceus. Clannudda: *ib.* p. 68, second or first century B. C., bust of Hermes. On coins of Imperial period: Akrasos, *ib.* p. 9; Bagis, 33; Hermokapelia, 100; Sala, 228-230; Silandos, 278; Tralles, 338, 348, 354, 356, 361; Philadelphia (Hermes dragging ram), 203; Tripolis, 367; Nysa (Hermes and Herakles standing side by side), 367.

Caria, Athymbra (Nysa): vide Demeter, R. 51. Aphrodisias, 35<sup>k</sup>.

Pisidia, 47<sup>d</sup>. Sagalassos: coin-types, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lycia,' pp. 241, 245 (Imperial). Termessos: *ib.* p. 276, bust of Hermes (first century B. C.); *ib.* p. 215, Kremna (first century B. C.); *ib.* p. 304, Isinda (first century B. C.), Hermes seated with purse and caduceus.

Caesarea Philippi=Paneas, 11.

Syria: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Seleucid Kings,'* p. 101, coin-type of Demetrios III, B. C. 95-88, Hermes standing on basis with caduceus and palm.

Egypt: Alexandria, 75. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Alexandria,'* p. 284, Hermes with caduceus and palm; cf. p. 301 (Imperial types).

Sicily: Syracuse, 89<sup>k</sup>. Tauromenion, 76. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Sicily,'* Mamertini, p. 113 (third century B. C.), Hermes holding patera and winged caduceus, at his feet ram looking up. Panormos, p. 123 (late period), Hermes seated on rock. Tyndaris, p. 236 (late), Hermes with winged caduceus and patera (?). Kalakte, p. 32 (late), head of Hermes. Katana, p. 53 (late), head of Hermes with winged petasos; cf. Kephaloïdion, p. 58. Enna, p. 59. Menainon, p. 97 (late), head of Hermes with petasos, having wings on apex, caduceus on reverse.

Italy: Metaponton, Hesych. *s. v.* Εὐκόλος 'Ερμῆς, παρὰ Μεταποντίους; *s. v.* Παιδοκόρος 'Ερμῆς τιμᾶται παρὰ Μεταποντίους. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* 'Ερμού πεδίον' τόπος πλησίον Κύμης. Terracotta relief from South Italy showing Hermes, Aphrodite, and Eros, vol. 2, Pl. xlviij, p. 697. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Italy,'* Rhegion, p. 384, circ. 415-387 B. C., Hermes standing with petasos and chlamys, holding branch and caduceus. Metaponton, p. 259, Hermes standing and dropping incense into censer over incense-altar (good period), (Coin Pl. no. 11). Cf. pp. 261, 264, head of Hermes. Hipponion, p. 357, head of Hermes. Vibo Valentia, p. 363, head of Hermes with winged diadem, fourth century B. C.

## CHAPTER IV

### DIONYSOS

THE study of the Dionysiac cult is one of the most attractive in the whole investigation into the religion of Hellas. For though its influence on the progress of the national culture was masterful at one point only, namely, in the evolution of the drama, yet the problems that it presents to the student of Mediterranean religion, history, and anthropology, are of primary importance. Many of them are very perplexing; and the adequate discussion of Dionysiac ritual demands a wide comparison with the phenomena of primitive and advanced religions. It is in the organization of this cult that the early Hellenic character displays itself in the clearest light; and here, if anywhere, in the Greek peoples' worship, we may find traces of that fervour and self-abandonment which in our religious vocabulary is called faith.

The first inevitable question is in regard to the original home of the cult. Was Dionysos by earliest ancestry a genuinely Hellenic divinity? The same question arises, as we have seen, concerning other personages of the Pantheon; but Dionysos stands on a different footing from any of them. The Homeric poems reveal only a glimmer of his personality and cult; he plays no ancestral part in the early genealogies, and certain communities preserved a tradition of his late arrival and the opposition that his rites provoked. In the face of these facts, the belief in his indigenous Hellenic origin is now held by very few<sup>a</sup>; and the theory that he was of

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 2, 1410, n. 9, thinks that the Boeotian-Euboan Greeks taught the worship to the Thracians, but he does not discuss the

whole question critically. Mr. Bather, in the *Hellenic Journal*, 1894, pp. 244-246, assumes an aboriginal Greek Dionysos, mainly on two grounds, the

Thrako-Phrygian origin, carried by a Phrygian migration from Thrace into Asia Minor, and spreading his influence and name from the Balkan district into Macedonia and certain communities of Greece at an early period, appears to be generally accepted<sup>a</sup>. Yet, as there are still some dissentients, it is necessary at the outset of the inquiry concerning the Greek Dionysos critically to examine its grounds. But the investigation becomes almost futile if we are possessed by the opinion which many of the later mythologists of antiquity maintained, and which still seems to appeal to some modern scholars, namely, that under the name Dionysos were included, by a process of absorption and attraction, many distinct deities, that in fact we must reckon with a Dionysos of Thrace and Boeotia, another of Eleutherai, another of Crete, or even, according to Herodotus and M. Foucart<sup>b</sup>, a Dionysos of Egypt. This way of regarding the facts was suggested to antiquity chiefly through the local discrepancies of genealogies, Dionysos being here maintained to be the son of Semele, there of Persephone, and the same was observed to be the case with other divinities also, and the same conclusion was drawn in regard to them. The modern scholar has been also influenced by the observation of the fact that various cult-centres adopted various rituals. And we recognize now that the personages of the Greek and other polytheisms were not pure crystallized products of a single and identical people,

very primitive character of the ritual, and the fact that the early votaries seem to belong rather to the lower stratum of the population: neither reason weighs against the strong evidence on the other side; for 'primitive' ritual need not be aboriginal, and the second argument is irrelevant, for there were many cults popular among the lower classes that were imported, and though no one has ever supposed that a conquering stock imposed Dionysos on Greece, he seems to have had close relations with the Minyan and early Argive royal families. The rest of his excellent article is not affected by

the insecurity of his initial assumption.

<sup>a</sup> Thomaschek, in his interesting papers on 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien*, 1893-4, regards the Phrygians as distinct from the Thracians and as the true Dionysos-worshippers, who taught their religion to the other stock. But he gives no valid grounds for this distinction nor is he consistent in maintaining it. The Bessoi, the leading votaries of the God, are considered by Herodotus as true Thracians, a branch of the Satrai (7, 111).

<sup>b</sup> *Culte de Dionysos en Attique*.



but were modified variously by their environment, borrowing traits and epithets from other local powers whom they may have dispossessed or with whom they may have shared their rule. ✕ This is true not only of these imaginary personalities, but of the real divine personages of the higher religions, Buddha, Christ, and the Virgin. In what then, we may ask, does the personal identity of a divinity, real or imagined, consist? We seem often left with nothing but the bare name. And if the divine name were a mere isolated and unprolific fact, the prevalent method of studying polytheistic religions that have spread over a wide area by grouping together the cults under the various names of the divinities would deserve the censure that a modern critic occasionally applies to it. But usually the method is justified, for the divine name, especially in ancient religions, was a powerful talisman, a magnet attracting to itself a definite set of cult-ideas and legends, and often has a certain ethical-religious character of its own, so to speak. Names like Apollo, Aphrodite, and Artemis have this value, in spite of local diversities of cult. And the personality connoted by the name Dionysos was equally or even more pronounced and pervading; and it is only the meagreness of our records that allows for a moment of such irresponsible statements as that the Dionysos of Eleutherai was in character different from the god of the Lenaia, or that the Cretan Dionysos was radically distinct from the others<sup>a</sup>. Therefore the assumption of many 'Dionysoi' is likely to be as useless as it certainly is antiquated. It is truer to say that the name Dionysos, in spite of the diversity of local legend, connotes everywhere a certain identity of religious conceptions, and is associated with a certain specific kind of religious emotion.

The view that the cult was not an aboriginal tradition of the earliest Hellenic race rests partly on the negative evidence of the Homeric poems, a test which is certainly often misleading. He is mentioned four times only in the poems and in those

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Foucart, *op. cit.*: Müller's *Orchomenos*, p. 377, 'ursprünglich war ohne Zweifel der Kadmeische Bacchus von dem Thrakischen Dionysos grundverschieden'; cf. *infra*, p. 118.

portions that are supposed to belong to the latest stratum. He plays no dramatic part, and seems to have no recognized place, in the system of the Homeric pantheon. He is not even recognized as the Wine-God, and on this point the argument is not merely *ex silentio*; for Homer, when he goes out of his way to praise a particular wine, that vintage that Odysseus carries about with him, 'from which it was no pleasure to refrain,' associates it, not with Dionysos, but with Apollo, whose priest, Maron, had given it to the hero: but Maron is the eponymous ancestor of Maroneia on the Thracian coast, which was afterwards a specially Dionysiac city. In the passage in the Iliad giving the list of the amours of Zeus, Dionysos is mentioned as the son of Zeus and Semele, and the fervent phrase applied to him, 'a delight to mortal men,' may allude to the power of the wine-giving god; but the passage is generally regarded as spurious.

The author of the Odyssean Nekyia seems aware of some association between Dionysos and Ariadne and alludes perhaps to the love and the jealousy of the deity. But more important than these questionable and vague notices is the narrative of the drama of Lykourgos in the sixth book of the Iliad. Suddenly and irrelevantly the poet tells us the whole story of the wild king 'who warred against the heavenly gods; who chased the nurses of mad Dionysos throughout the sacred land of Nysa; and they all let fall on the ground the sacred things of worship, being smitten by the man-slaying Lykourgos with an ox-goad. But Dionysos, made afraid, dived under the salt sea-wave, and Thetis took him to her bosom in his terror; for strong trembling came upon him at the man's fierce rebuke. But thereupon the gods were wroth against Lykourgos, and the son of Kronos bereft him of his sight.' The passage enshrines the oldest and aboriginal Dionysiac myth; Thrace is the scene, and the spirit of the story is Thracian. It is also a salient example of a legend which draws all its traits from pure ritual—a ritual preserved here and there in classical Greece—and which transforms worship into a mythic drama. The 'nurses' of Dionysos are his women-votaries, the Mainads, of whose existence and habits Homer shows himself elsewhere

cognisant ; and it is noteworthy that the only quality he attaches to Dionysos is 'madness', the religious ecstasy with which the votary was inspired. If this was all the evidence, the conclusion would appear natural to most that Homer is here dealing with an alien cult-figure of Thrace, whose legend and personality were beginning to penetrate parts of the Greek world about his time ; at least this would be more natural than the counter-theory that Dionysos was indigenous and generally recognized in Greece, but that Homer for some unknown reasons despised and ignored him. But we have stronger and positive evidence, direct and indirect.

Herodotus declares that 'the only deities worshipped by the Thracians are Dionysos, Ares, and Artemis<sup>a</sup>'; but he may mean no more than that there were deities of a certain character prominent among them, to whom these Greek names seemed the most applicable ; nor is it clear that he recognized Thrace as the aboriginal home of the Greek Dionysiac cult. He was too much under the influence of his Egyptizing theories. In the prologue to the *Bacchai* of Euripides we find an explicit statement concerning the origin and geographical diffusion of this worship : the poet derives it from Asia Minor in general and from Phrygia and Lydia in particular, and regards Thebes as the first city which it invaded in European Hellas ; but in his itinerary of the cult he does not mention Thrace. The most scientific review of the facts is given us by Strabo<sup>61 h</sup>, who is aware of the identity of the Phrygian and Thracian stocks, and attributes to them as an aboriginal possession the same ecstatic form of worship to which the names of Dionysos and Lykourgos were attached ; while Plutarch maintains the affiliation of the Macedonian Orphic ritual to that practised by the Thracian tribes of the Haimos-region<sup>61 b</sup>. The Latin poets and the writers of the later classical period habitually refer to Thrace as the natural home of the Bacchic orgies<sup>61 c</sup> ; and though these references are often merely conventional, they were suggested by records of well-attested facts. The latter include accounts of special cult-centres : Herodotus tells us of the oracle of Dionysos among the Satrai, administered by

<sup>a</sup> Vide Ares, R. 7.

the priestly clan of the Bessoi, and using a prophetess as its organ; according to Dio Cassius it was taken from them by Crassus and given over to the Odrysai, enthusiastic devotees of the god<sup>47 b</sup>: we find also in Aristotle an interesting record of the temple of Dionysos in the region called Krastonia inhabited by the Bisaltai<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the name of Orpheus, the legendary apostle whose sectaries revived the worship in the Greek world at a later period, is inextricably interwoven with Thracian, Macedonian, and North-Greek legend and cult<sup>a</sup>; we have records or rumours of his worship at Leibethron<sup>76 a</sup>, at Maroneia, and at Lesbos<sup>49</sup>; according to Herakleides certain tablets of his composition were preserved in the temple of Dionysos on Mount Haimos<sup>b</sup>. Finally, when we gather together for reconstruction and a comprehensive view the fragmentary records of the old Thracian religion, we discover in it, as we shall see, all the salient features of the Greek Dionysiac cult. We must often admit that religious parallels are no sure proof of identity of cult; but here the family likeness is too strong to be deceptive. To this we may add a fact of singular interest recently discovered by Mr. Dawkins, that this religion still exists under Christian patronage in the neighbourhood of Bizye, the ancient seat of the Thracian kings.

It may be said that the later writers of antiquity are not trustworthy authorities concerning religious origins, and that some of the facts so far adduced seem to accord equally with the theory that Dionysos-worship was an aboriginal possession equally of Thracians and Hellenes, two cognate races, as with the view that Hellas imported it from Thrace<sup>c</sup>. But, apart from the Homeric evidence which has been considered, there are local religious legends which may possess a real value for the history of cult-diffusion: such stories as the punishment

<sup>a</sup> The contrary theory that would bring Orpheus from the South, in particular from Crete (e.g. Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 460), rests on much frailer evidence; *vide* Reinach, *Cultes*, &c. 2, p. 107.

<sup>b</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Thrace.

<sup>c</sup> We need not consider the suggestion that Thrace derived it from Hellas, for the objections to it are too patent and overpowering; though we admit the influence of later Hellenism upon the fringe and the border-lands of the Thracian people.

of Pentheus, of the daughters of Minyas, and the daughters of Proitos, all of whom suffer for resisting the introduction of the worship, are supposed to contain a vague reminiscence of the opposition that it provoked at the outset and to support the belief that it was of alien origin. We shall afterwards, however, have to consider another explanation of these stories, which regards them as arising merely from a misunderstanding of ritual and therefore almost deprives them of their historic value. But we cannot thus wholly explain away the significance of the Argive and Attic traditions in which Dionysos is remembered to have been an intruder, though received at a very early date. The story of the opposition of King Perseus who wars against and drives out the alien god, is of a different type from those in which Lykourgos and Pentheus play their part; and the figure of the Dionysiac prophet Melampus is dimly outlined in Argive legend as the apostle of a new religion. The widespread story of the hostility of Hera to Dionysos is likely to have originated at Argos, where the goddess of immemorial supremacy would be naturally thought to frown on the intruding deity; and the myth was strong enough to influence ritual-customs elsewhere, for Plutarch attests that at Athens the priests of Dionysos and Hera held no communion with each other and that no ivy was allowed in the temple of the goddess<sup>a</sup>. Sparta cherished the shrine of the unnamed hero who was believed to have guided Dionysos into their country<sup>b</sup>; and the religious history of Patrai<sup>c</sup> recorded that one of his cults came to them from Kalydon, and that another was introduced by 'a strange king' returning from the Trojan War and bringing with him a 'strange daimon' in a chest<sup>88</sup>. Nor is the value of such traditions of cult-immigration impaired by other and apparently inconsistent stories, such, for instance, as the Theban story of his birth in their land, or that told by the men of Patrai that their country was the place of his nurture<sup>76a</sup>; for birth-legends could easily arise in any locality concerning alien or indigenous divinities; and might be suggested by a ritual in which the

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hera, R. 28<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Laconia.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Achaia.

deity figured as an infant, as was frequently the case in Dionysiac worship.

Still more convincing is the negative evidence of the local and tribal genealogies, in which Dionysos only very rarely and doubtfully appears. No Attic gens, not even the Eumolpidae, included him among their divine ancestors<sup>a</sup>; certain Attic *γεννήται* were specially near and dear to him, but not because of any fiction of relationship, and his association with the Attic Apatouria was casual and probably late. Only a single Greek community, Megara, is known to have honoured him as Πατρῶος<sup>51 a</sup>, but this title did not always imply any living tradition of ancestral descent<sup>b</sup>. The Banchiadae of Corinth are the only famous gens that we hear of who are said by one late authority to have derived their origin from the deity. It is probable that they were originally a priestly family who gained political power from the prestige of the Dionysiac worship of which they were the supporters and which gave them their name<sup>51 a</sup>.

The old Attic religion furnishes us with another negative argument against the view that he was aboriginal in this district: he has no part at all in the Attic Thesmophoria: yet as this ritual concerned primarily the divinities of vegetation, and it was in this department that his power was most manifest, we can best understand his exclusion by supposing that the ritual was stereotyped before he arrived.

But the most conclusive evidence of all would be afforded by the interpretation of the name 'Dionysos,' and the determination of its linguistic origin. One important fact about it is certain, that the first part of the name means 'god' and belongs to the same root as the word 'Zeus,' and therefore to the Aryan group of languages. The name therefore did not come from Egypt or from any non-Aryan society, but could have been derived from the Thrako-Phrygian speech, which appears to have been closely akin to the Greek. Of the latter

<sup>a</sup> A statement by Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 200, seems to imply that he may have stood in this relation to the Euneidae<sup>97</sup>, who traced their descent from Euneos, son of Jason and Hypsipyle;

but Dionysos is not the ancestor of Euneos. For the Δυαλείς, a phratry centred near Phlye, vide *infra*, p. 134.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *infra*, p. 134.

half of the word philology has offered no certain explanation for the supposition that it contains an Aryan root meaning 'young' or 'offspring', so that the whole word could signify 'the son of god'<sup>a</sup> is now discredited and is in itself unsupported by religious probabilities. We have here then a compound word of which the first part can be interpreted and belongs to Indo-Germanic speech, and the second part escapes us. And this agrees better with the supposition that the name has come down from some language known to be Indo-Germanic but of which only very scanty remains have been preserved, than with the supposition that it is pure Greek. The chances are then that the Greeks did not invent it, but borrowed it from a neighbouring Aryan stock. But have we direct proof that it belonged to the religious vocabulary of the Thrako-Phrygians? At present this is lacking, for the name has not yet been found in any inscription of this language; and if Herodotus and other ancient writers tell us that the Thracians worshipped Dionysos or Ares or Artemis, this statement is in itself of no more value than that of Tacitus, that the ancient Germans worshipped Hercules and Mercury. The inscriptions from various parts of Thrace containing the name 'Dionysos' are only of the later Greek and Graeco-Roman period, and are of course valueless for our immediate purpose. And it is disappointing to find that the religious names that have been preserved from the language of this interesting Aryan stock—Zamolxis, who probably gave his name to the mountain that Macrobius calls 'Zilmissus'<sup>61h</sup>—Sabazios, a word that the later Greeks associated rather with Phrygia, but which certainly belonged always to Thrace also<sup>b</sup>—possibly Rhesos, from which the kingly name Rhescuporis may

<sup>a</sup> This is Kretschmer's view expressed in *Aus der Anomia*, p. 22, &c., supposing *νυσος* to be the masculine form of a Thracian *νυσα* = 'nymph' or 'daughter.'

<sup>b</sup> The Scholiast on Aristophanes tells us that the Thracians called Dionysos 'Sabazios' and his priests *Σαβοί*, and Macrobius corroborates the former statement but gives the name in the form

'Sebadius'<sup>61h</sup>. We have traces of the same word in Macedonia, for Hesychios, quoting from Amerias, records that the Macedonians called the Seilenoi *Σαβάδαι*<sup>61o</sup>. The word survives in this part of Europe; 'Savos' in Macedonia means 'a madman'; Schrader quotes from Ammianus Marcellinus, 26. 8, 2, the Illyrian 'Sabaja' = 'Beer', *Prehistoric Antiquities* (Jevons), p. 321.

be a derivative—have no discoverable connexion with the word under investigation.

Yet even in Greece Dionysos was a god of many names, and it is easy to suppose that Zamolxis and Sabazios were only tribal appellatives of the same god who was generally known to the people by some personal name that was Hellenized into Διόνυσος or Διώνυσος or Ζώννυξος. The Thracian tribe known as the Δῖοι, who were his votaries, may have been called after the genuine Thracian name of the national deity. And the belief that the name Διόνυσος or some similar word was actually heard in the popular speech of Thrace best accounts for the unanimity of the Greek and Roman opinion concerning the relation of this people to this divinity, an opinion which affected Roman politics in its dealing with the different tribes.

At present, then, we cannot attain to more than a measure of probability in tracing the origin of the name of the god<sup>a</sup>. But we are in a better position in regard to another, which comes next in importance for this cult, the name of Semele, the mother-goddess. For it is almost certainly recognizable in the Phrygian inscription discovered by Ramsay<sup>b</sup>, in the formula με διως κε ζεμελω which Kretschmer interprets as an adjuration νῆ Δία καὶ Γῆν, 'by heaven and earth.<sup>c</sup>' And a cognate word appears in the Lithuanian language to denote the earth-goddess. Here then is a name, indissolubly linked to that of Dionysos in the cult-tradition of Hellas, which we can safely regard as derived from Thrako-Phrygian speech.

<sup>a</sup> Rohde, who in his *Psyche* 2, p. 38, n. 1, argued against Kretschmer's derivation, and maintained that Dionysos was a genuine Hellenic name, did not adequately consider the difficulties of his own position.

<sup>b</sup> First published by him in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

<sup>c</sup> *Aus der Anomia*, p. 19. Thomaschek, in his paper 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 1893, doubts the interpretation, but that which he proposes is far less convincing. Kretschmer equates Ζεμελω with χθαμαλός in the sense of χθόνιος. In some

of the unintelligible epithets of Dionysos we may discover traces of Thrako-Phrygian vocabulary: e. g. εὐρυβάλωνδος (Hesych. s.v. = ὁ Διώνυσος). Thomaschek connects with the Phrygian βαλλήν: βασιλεύς, *ib.* 1894, p. 41. βασσαρεύς is a title of the god derived from the Thrako-Phrygian βασσάρα, the long robe worn by his women-ministrants, which penetrated also into Lydia<sup>61f</sup>; vide Kretschmer, *Einleit. in d. Gesch. d. griech. Spr.* 390; Thomaschek, *Abhandl.* ii. op. cit. 1894, compares the Carian appellative Μάσαρις<sup>62b</sup>.



And this clinches the argument in favour of the theory that is now being set forth.

For the purposes of the argument it is also necessary to consider how far the Hellenic Dionysiac religion has preserved the family likeness of the Thracian, how far it has lost or transformed certain essential features. But for this we desire an accurate and clear record of the physiognomy and traits of the savage ancestor: and this has not been bequeathed to us. All that we possess are slight and fragmentary records of different cult-centres, and we must reckon with the possibility, even the probability, that the worships of the Getai, the Satrai-Bessoi, and of the district of Krastonia, may have differed considerably in respect of ritual, divine characteristic, and divine appellatives. Nevertheless, as a certain uniformity of culture prevailed over the wide area known as Thrace, we may assume a certain uniformity in religion; and the assumption is strengthened when we find that these *disiecta membra* of the Thracian worships are presented in organic unity in the complex structure of the Hellenic Dionysos.

These scattered records then are the first materials of our reconstruction; we can help them out by the evidence of cults of the Greek communities within the Thracian border that were immediately exposed to the Thracian influence; and also by a new source of information only recently available, the witness of modern travellers in these regions concerning survival of ancient ritual.

We may begin with the interesting account that Aristotle gives us concerning the ritual of the god whom he calls Dionysos, in the district of Krastonia, belonging to the Bisaltai<sup>2</sup>: 'in the fair and great temple, on the occasion of the festival and the sacrifice, a great flame of fire was wont to appear, when the deity intended to give a good harvest, but this was never seen when he intended a dearth<sup>1</sup>.' If the Thracian Dionysos was the son of the earth-goddess, as from what is known of Semele we may assume<sup>a</sup>, we should

<sup>a</sup> This was the ancient view according to Diodorus, 3. 62, and is in accord with the evidence of the Phrygian inscription

and with the myth and character of Dionysos: the chthonian character of Semele is further borne out by the local

expect him to have the character and functions of a vegetation-deity. The narrative of Aristotle confirms this view; in the Krastonian worship he is god of the harvest, and fire plays a magic part in the vegetation-ritual, as it played in Greece and generally in the old agrarian cults of Europe. And Diodorus Siculus, speaking of Dionysos-Sabazios, mentions the current legend that 'he was the first to set himself to yoke oxen and thus to perfect the process of sowing the crops'; he is probably giving us a Thrako-Phrygian, certainly not a Hellenic, tradition<sup>34</sup>. According to the numerous analogies supplied by comparative religion, such a god would be naturally regarded as the source of the life of trees and plants: and the later Greek cult of Dionysos *Πρωοφόρος* and *Δρυοφόρος* at Philippi, maintained by a thiasos or a religious brotherhood, in whose processions probably the maple and the oak were carried as sacred trees, is likely to have been influenced by Thracian belief and practice<sup>2</sup>. We gather, also, from Pliny that the ivy was consecrated already to this god in his aboriginal home; for he states that it was used by the Thracians in their solemn rites to decorate their thyrsi and their shields and helmets<sup>60 a</sup>; these badges, then, of the Dionysiac worship, that came into general use in Greece appear to have been derived from the ancient ritual of Thrace. It is possible that the appellative *Δασύλλιος*, which he bore at Kallatis, alluded to the god of the thicket and the wild-wood<sup>a</sup>, and expressed the native aboriginal belief<sup>14</sup>.

It is clear that this Aryan stock, backward as they were in many respects, had advanced so far in agrarian culture as to have developed vine-growing before they were touched by Greek influence<sup>b</sup>: so that Agamemnon was able to get good wine from Thrace. And the evidence, though slight, is sufficient to show that they had come to attribute to the vine a magical and religious character, and had associated its

reports concerning her graves, e.g. at Brasiai in Laconia<sup>88</sup>. Dr. Gruppe objects to this view on the ground that it does not explain the fiery death of Semele; his own singular theory that Semele is the lower wood used in the production

of fire with the rubbing-stick, and that Dionysos is the spark that emerges, rests on no shred of real evidence, *Griech. Mythol.* 2, pp. 1415-1416.

<sup>a</sup> But vide infra, p. 118.

<sup>b</sup> Schrader, op. cit. p. 321.

power with the power of their great nature-god : for Macrobius, on the authority of Aristotle, mentions the oracle of Dionysos among the Thracian tribe of the Liguræi, where wine was the vehicle of inspiration <sup>41 a</sup>; and a half-barbaric inscription of the Roman period found at Philippi proves the existence there of a mystic brotherhood consecrated to 'Dionysos the Vine-Cluster' (*Διόνυσος Βότρυς*) <sup>45 k</sup>. The early Christian phrase 'Christ the Vine' is spiritual metaphor; but it is likely that the *mystai* of Philippi intended no figure or metaphor in this appellative, but that they regarded the cluster as containing the body and the spirit of the god; that is, what we call the inanimate product was regarded as animate and divine. This is primitive thought; it is found very rarely in advanced Greek cult, though we mark a glimmer of it in the name Demeter *Χλόη* <sup>a</sup>. Considering the situation of Philippi, and that the cult in question is of comparatively late origin, we may suppose it to have been inspired by a Thracian rather than by a Hellenic idea. Also, if Thrace produced beer as well as wine in early times as it did in late, no doubt Dionysos would be regarded as in this beverage also, though we have no sure ground for interpreting 'Sabazios' as the 'beer-god.'

A great nature-god of the living earth, working especially in its vitalizing warmth and juices, the Thracian god was likely to take to himself certain incarnations and a certain primitive symbolism. The Hellenes regarded the bull and the goat as his frequent embodiments, and in ritual employed the phallos, the human generative organ, as the symbol of his productive powers; and in these matters it is certain, or at least most probable, that they were following the tradition of his native land. We have noted evidence that Sabazios was a native of Thrace as of Phrygia; and in the later Hellenic records of the cult-legends of this divinity, whose mystic societies were gaining a footing in Greece in the fifth century, we find him taking the name and the embodiment of the bull <sup>34 a, 62 d, f</sup> as well as of the serpent <sup>b</sup>. Lykophron tells us of the *κερασφόροι γυναῖκες*, the women-votaries who carried horns on their heads, who haunted Mount Kissos in Macedonia

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 33.

<sup>b</sup> But vide p. 261.

on the Thracian border<sup>61 k</sup>, the worshippers masquerading in the style of their divinity, just as the youths in the service of Poseidon at Ephesos called themselves *ταῦροι* to identify themselves with the bull-god; and we may discern a ritualistic meaning in Homer's description of Lykourgos pursuing the Maenads with an ox-goad<sup>1 a</sup>; for it is likely, as we shall see, that his pursuit was not really hostile but part of an established Dionysiac service. Finally, an Aeschylean fragment, quoted by Strabo, gives evidence on the same point; the poet speaks of the 'masqueraders who speak with the voice of bulls<sup>61 h</sup>.' That the goat was also his familiar animal and occasional incarnation in Thrace, we have only the evidence of modern peasant-ritual practised in that country to suggest<sup>a</sup>. And we may believe that the serpent was consecrated to him as it was by the Phrygian worshipper to Sabazios; Olympias, Alexander's mother, who inherited the wild temperament of Thrace, 'dragged about large tame snakes in the women's orgies<sup>61 b</sup>.'

As regards the phallos-fetish, which Herodotus naively regards as non-Hellenic and derived from Egypt, we may at least suspect that it was a symbol of the primitive Thracian religion. An old lexicographer speaks of a special type of leather phallos which he associates with 'the initiations of Dionysos and Kotytto<sup>74</sup>': the latter is a name of the Thracian goddess whose rites were notoriously obscene; and the leathern phallos is actually now used in the Dionysiac ritual that still survives on the site of the ancient Bizye<sup>a</sup>.

We have countless examples from the Mediterranean and other religions of that association of ideas in which the deity of vegetation is naturally regarded as partly belonging to the world below the surface of our earth, hence as a buried and at times a dead divinity, into whose realm the soul of the departed enters, to live there—it may be—in divine communion with the lord or the mistress of the souls. Such a divinity may easily come to add to his other functions the rôle of the prophet, in accordance with the wide-spread belief that the earth is the source of oracles and prophetic dreams. All these characteristics are found in the Hellenized Dionysos,

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 107.

and they all can be traced in the various parts of the Thracian religion. The god Zamolxis, whose name and cult were specially cherished by the Getai-Daci, but appear to have been common to many other tribes, is the deity of the Thracian other-world, with whom the departed spirit entered into wished-for communion, and the human victim was sometimes dispatched to him as messenger from the living<sup>39, 86 b</sup>. It is evident that the imagination of the Thracian peoples was possessed with the idea of immortality<sup>a</sup>, and the joyous fashion of their funerals, on which Herodotus was moved to comment, may be thus explained. The lord of souls need not always, indeed, be a chthonian divinity; he might be solar, or a god of heaven. Sabazios, the name of whose holy mountain, 'Zilmissus,' suggests that he was another form of Zamolxis, is explained by Macrobius as a solar power; but we know Macrobius' partiality to solar theories, and the reason that he gives for it is valuable for the fact that it contains, but not otherwise: 'We have heard that in Thrace the Sun and Liber are considered one and the same; the latter they style Sebadios and worship with great magnificence, as Alexander writes, and a temple is dedicated to that god on the hill Zilmissus, of a round type, with an opening in the middle of the roof<sup>61 b</sup>.' The Alexander he quotes is probably Alexander Polyhistor. The Latin compiler evidently regards the round temple as the emblem of the sun: we recognize it rather as a form which has played an important part in the evolution of European architecture, a development of the round hut-dwelling, which was retained in the worship of Vesta in Rome and occasionally of Hestia in Greece; and we see that the primitive culture of Thrace meets at this point with that of central Europe and prehistoric Italy and Hellas<sup>b</sup>. We cannot of course deny that the great national deity of Thrace may have possessed something of the character and some of the

<sup>a</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, p. 29 supposes this to have been a doctrine of *παλιγγενεσία* or re-birth (a special form of the doctrine of immortality which the Orphic sects developed): his references

to Photius, Suidas, Et. Magn. s.v. Ζάμολξίς, and to Pomponius Mela, 2, 18, do not prove his point (vide R. 39).

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 359.

attributes of a solar or a celestial being; but we are not able to discern these in the portrait that the records have left us of Zamolxis and the divine personages of his kindred<sup>a</sup>. The late epic story of Rhesos, the Thracian prince who comes to the aid of Priam, resplendent in his chariot of white horses, is of some value for the glimpse it gives us of old Thracian religion; for Rhesos is no secular hero, but his true nature is indicated by the author of the Attic drama named after him, which has been attributed to Euripides. The poet promises that Rhesos, though dead, 'shall lie in secret in a cavern of the silver land, half-human, half-divine, with clear vision (in the dark), even as a prophet of Dionysos took up his abode in the rocky Pangaeian Mount, a holy god to those who understand<sup>47b</sup>.' The poet's prophecy rests on local knowledge. The rumour may have reached the Greeks of the Thracian border of a prophet-god call Rhesos, living in a cave on Mount Pangaios, and they associated him closely with Dionysos. The chariot of white horses, which is his appurtenance in the epic legend, may seem to some a solar trait; but evidently in the little that is told us about him it is his chthonian nature that we discern most clearly.

Elsewhere in Thracian legend we have rumours of a divine being who lives in a cave and who prophesies; we are told this of Zamolxis<sup>39</sup>, and the story of the cave-dweller is repeated of Lykourgos<sup>b</sup>, the king-priest whom we may believe to be himself an incarnation of Dionysos<sup>76c</sup>. The two chief oracular shrines in Thrace appear to have been the shrine of the god among the Satrai, where it is interesting to note a woman was the mouthpiece of the divinity<sup>47b</sup>, and that maintained by

<sup>a</sup> The passage in Herodotus 4. 94 *οὔτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρηῖκες . . . ἀπειλεύσει τῷ θεῷ κτλ.*, which Schneider quotes in *Wiener Studien*, xxv (1903), as proof that Zamolxis was a sky-god, has just the opposite intention. Sun-worship may have existed independently among the Thracians: our chief authority is Sophocles *Tereus*, Fr. 523: the passage in Eratosthenes, *Katast.* c. 24, dealing with the story of Orpheus, and derived

probably from the *Bassarai* of Aeschylus, throws no light on real Thracian cult.

<sup>b</sup> We have no direct record of the worship of Lykourgos in Thrace or of his prophetic character: Voigt, in his article on Dionysos in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 1051, quotes, to prove it, an irrelevant passage from the *Rhesos* l. 972 and his error is repeated by Rapp in his article on Lykourgos, *ib.* 2, p. 2202.

the Liguræi noticed above. It was inevitable that so ecstatic a worship should turn itself to divination.

A vegetation-god was likely to have his annual appearances and disappearances, and one who lives in the dark beneath the earth might come at times to be regarded as dead or sleeping, at other times as awakened or revived. These ideas are amply attested of the Phrygian religion, and are there probably a heritage of the primitive Thrako-Phrygian period. For we shall see evidence pointing to the belief that the death of the god, followed no doubt by his resurrection, was an idea expressed in genuine Thracian ritual. And there is a legend also of the death and burial of the Thracian Ares<sup>a</sup>, the double or the twin-brother of the Thracian Dionysos, who himself was no doubt invested with a warlike character by the fierce tribes of this land<sup>60</sup>.

The supreme divinity, then, appears to have been a god of prominently chthonian character, on whom the life of the soil depended, also a prophet and a war-leader. We must also believe that in his original home he was united with a goddess, with whom his relation was mainly regarded as filial, and who was known generally by some name that was Hellenized as Semele, but locally perhaps by such names as Bendis or Brimo. Though a mother-goddess and the mother of the high god, she may have also been regarded in some communities and at certain times as a maid; for we hear of a goddess Παρθένος at the Thracian Neapolis, and Herodotus mentions Artemis among the three sole divinities of Thrace<sup>b</sup>, and states that the Thracian and Paeonian women presented cereal offerings to Artemis Βασιλείη: this is no doubt a translation of some appellative with which these peoples honoured the 'queen-goddess<sup>c</sup>.'

We may now consider what we can discover concerning Thracian ritual and the organization of religion. The religious administration appears to have been in the hands of the priests; and the possession of the great oracle of the Bessoï may have often excited inter-tribal jealousy<sup>47 b</sup>. The power of the priests was probably great, for we hear of one of the

<sup>a</sup> Vide Ares R. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Ares R. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Artemis, vol. 2, R. 54<sup>5</sup>.

above tribe as the leader of a rebellion in the time of Augustus<sup>47 b</sup>. We can find the source of this power in the belief that the priest was temporarily through divine possession identified with the god, a natural belief in a religion of so ecstatic a type. Strabo attests it in regard to the priest of Zamolxis, who was the chief counsellor of the king<sup>a</sup>; we discern a reflex of it in the legends of Lykourgos and Orpheus; and we find it also in the Phrygian religion, though it is generally supposed to have come in there from an Oriental source. It is probable that the priest achieved communion with the deity through sacrament, and by ecstatic trance induced by various hypnotic methods; for we have an allusion in Aristophanes to 'the sleep sent by Sabazios<sup>62 f</sup>,' and possibly the *καπνοβάται*, 'those who walked through the smoke': among the Getai may have been an ascetic sect of enthusiasts who induced supranormal states of consciousness by inhalation of fumes<sup>b</sup>. This element of Shamanism, discoverable in the Thracian religion, was not confined to the men; the attention of antiquity was specially attracted to the wild dances and orgiastic rites of the women-votaries who were styled *Μαινάδες* or *Λήναι* by the early Greeks, but may have been called *Μιμαλλόνες* or *Κλώδωνες* in Thrace and Macedon<sup>61 d, e</sup>, and down to a late period in this region the female temperament remained morbidly susceptible to the wilder influences of this religion. The Maenad frenzy was probably more than a mere frantic ebullition of pent-up religious emotion; we may conjecture at least that in Thrace as in Greece it subserved the ends of a certain nature-magic and was intended to evoke the fructifying powers of the earth<sup>c</sup>; the enthusiasm of the 'Shaman' is none the less real because it secures certain objects of practical value; and as women are often supposed to be more efficient

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 298. The curious title *πλείστοι* or *πολίσται* borne by the priests of Zamolxis, according to Josephus, xviii, 1, 5, has been interpreted as = *πλειστοδυνάσται*, vide Thomaschek, op. cit., *Sitzsb. d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. Wien*, 1894, Abhand. ii: he compares Dionysos *πλείστωρος* of Absinthos, but I have not been able to find a trace of this title.

<sup>b</sup> It may have been a name for those who went through 'the fire-walk,' insensibility to pain being one of the results of the hypnotic or ecstatic state; cf. Euripides' account of the miracles performed by the Maenads *ἐπι δὲ βοστρύχους πῦρ ἔφερον οὐδ' ἔκαιεν*, *Bacch.* 747.

<sup>c</sup> Vide infra, pp. 162-163.



workers of magic in certain departments of nature than men, the 'Shaman' may occasionally assume women's clothes; and we have reason to think that this was sometimes done by the Thracian priest of Dionysos<sup>a</sup>.

It would be in keeping with a religion that was mainly chthonian in its character if much of its service was performed by night. We may suppose that this was so in Thrace, as we are told that it was in the Sabazian-cult<sup>34</sup>; and the phrase in the Bacchai—*νύκτωρ τὰ πολλά*—'most of the mystic rites are done by night'—may have been suggested by what the poet knew of Macedonian custom, which would be derived from the Thracian, for it is doubtful if it would apply to the usual rites of Greece.

More light is thrown on the ritual of this religion in its primitive home by the critical examination of the legends of Lykourgos and Orpheus. The Homeric narrative concerning the former has been recognized as poetic fancy playing upon the facts of ritual. The story does not belong to secular history; it is inconceivable, for instance, that it should reflect the opposition of the king or the state to the inroad of a new and dangerous religion, for it is localized in the very cradle of the cult, where Lykourgos and Dionysos were equally aboriginal. Lykourgos, in fact, is a figure in an ancient Thracian passion-play. Armed with an ox-goad he drives the ox-god into the sea, and pursues the Maenads, perhaps to kill them or to scourge them with fructifying or purifying boughs. This was a ritual that was probably solemnized every year or every other year in Thrace, and it reappears in the later service of Hellas<sup>b</sup>. Comparative anthropology has many examples to offer of ritualistic pursuit; and the leaping or the throwing into the water of the god, or the human being, or the puppet that is the embodiment of the power of vegetation, is fairly common in rustic ritual and is practised at the present day in Macedonia and Bulgaria<sup>c</sup>. Who then is Lykourgos? Modern theory inclines to regard him as the god himself under a special aspect, and this is supported

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, pp. 160, 161.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, pp. 163, 169.

<sup>c</sup> Vide infra, pp. 169, 181.

by the story that after his trespass he continued to live underground in a cave, like the Thracian prophet-god of the lower world. But it is better to regard him as the priest who officiates in the function, playing a divine part and bearing a divine name, driving out the decaying god and scourging the Maenads, occasionally perhaps killing one of them for ritual purposes. This view of him is borne out by another record that in his madness he cut his own legs with the axe, thinking he was destroying the vines<sup>76c</sup>. This may be naturally interpreted as ritualistic self-mutilation, intended to establish a blood-covenant between the priest and the deity; for we find a similar practice in the Phrygian worship of Cybele<sup>a</sup>, and we may remember that the priests of Bellona at Rome also cut themselves with axes<sup>b</sup>. Even the *αἰσχρολογία*, the gibing mockery and curses that Lykourgos indulged in at the expense of the god and his female votaries, are found to have a formal value in vegetation-ceremonies. The name *Λυκοῦργος* is probably a Hellenization of some Thracian appellative borne by the deity and his priest, expressive of some relation with the wolf, which we cannot define, and to which a cryptic verse of Lykophron concerning the 'god of Krestone,' Ares-Dionysos, seems to allude<sup>c</sup>.

Another indirect witness to real Thracian ritual is the story of Orpheus, who was probably a native figure of this land, though he is only known to us in the second period of the history of this worship in Greece. He appears always in the closest relations to Dionysos, and if we can draw conclusions from his later historical career concerning his earliest character, we shall believe that he stands for the principle of asceticism in the barbaric religion, a principle which might encourage the formation of mystic brotherhoods<sup>d</sup>. But, like Lykourgos, he becomes regarded in certain legends as the enemy of his

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 300.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon*, I, p. 776.

<sup>c</sup> *Cass.* 937.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus, xviii, § 22, finds a close resemblance between a certain sect of the Getai and the Essenes in their belief

in immortality and their devotion to ἀγνεία: cf. Strab. 296, 3 εἶναι δέ τινας [λέγει ὁ Ποσειδώνιος] τῶν Θρακῶν οἱ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ζῶσιν, οὓς κτίστας καλεῖσθαι, ἀνιερῶσθαί τε διὰ τιμὴν καὶ μετὰ ἀδείας ζῆν.

own familiar god ; and as we can trace the source of the misconception in the former case, we can trace it also here : because he was thought to despise their Dionysos, the Maenads set upon him, dismembered, and even devoured him. Yet he was honoured as a semi-divine personage in the Thracian Leibethra, where the scene of the murder was placed : the head which alone was recovered, after the Maenads had scattered his limbs into the sea, was buried by the men of the country in a shrine which was closed against women<sup>76 b</sup>. The story travelled to Lesbos, and the belief arose that the head floated over and was buried there, and its grave became a prophetic shrine<sup>49</sup> ; and this legend can hardly be separated from that which Pausanias and Eusebios vouch for, namely, that some fishermen of Methymna in Lesbos found a head carved of olive wood and of strange appearance in their nets, and the Delphic oracle bade the Lesbians honour Dionysos *Κεφαλήν*<sup>16</sup>. Finally, Orpheus seems to have been associated with a *νεκρομαντεῖον*, an oracle of the dead, in Thesprotis<sup>76 b</sup>. It is not surprising, therefore, that some modern scholars, in accordance with a method of interpretation that still has many adherents, have regarded him as a Thracian or Pierian divinity, as the double of Dionysos himself ; and the resemblance of the two stories concerning the descent into hell, that of Dionysos to recover Semele, and that of Orpheus to redeem Eurydike, has been used in support of this view. But such interpretations are liable to error, in view of the fact that in ancient religions, as in the Thracian, the priest is often identified temporarily with the god, and what legend tells of the one will be often told of the other, and what is done or simulated in ritual concerning the one will be done or simulated concerning the other. This was noticed by Proclus in regard to the case of Orpheus<sup>76 b</sup> ; and we should regard him rather as a sacerdotal figure than in his own right a divinity. The story of his dismemberment by the furious votaries of Dionysos localized in Thrace, Pieria, and Macedon, points to a savage form of human sacrifice that we may conclude to have prevailed among the Thracians<sup>a</sup> ;

<sup>a</sup> According to the version in Apollodorus Lykourgos himself was 'destroyed

by horses,' perhaps torn to pieces by them<sup>76 c</sup>.

for we find examples and hints of it here and there in the Greek cults and legends of the god, and these are more likely to have borrowed than to have invented it. The death of Orpheus, then, may be regarded as an example of that form of ritual that Dr. Frazer has made familiar to us, the killing of the priest, who temporarily incarnates the god<sup>a</sup>. It is not likely that it was a frequent and periodical rite; we may suppose that the incarnation was more often an animal or an effigy; if animal, we may assume, in view of the Hellenic legends concerning the Maenads and the Titans, that it was devoured sacramentally by the Thracian votary, so that he or she might enjoy communion with the divinity by drinking divine blood and eating the flesh on which his spirit resided. At times of great religious exaltation or public excitement they may have eaten the priest himself in this solemn way; for even of the later Thracians occasional cannibalism is reported, and sacramental cannibalism has been found at a fairly high level of culture<sup>b</sup>. However that may be, a certain form of human sacrifice—for there are many forms and types—was rife in the worship of Thracian divinities; Herodotus describes in some detail this fashion among the Getai, who offered a man to Zamolxis by tossing him up on their spears, intending him as their messenger to their tribal god<sup>c</sup>.

The above is a sketch, perhaps adequate to our present purpose, of what is known or may be surmised concerning the

<sup>a</sup> M. Reinach's theory, *La Mort d'Orphée* (*Cultes*, &c. 2, pp. 107-110), that Orpheus was originally the sacred fox devoured sacramentally as a totem by the women of the fox-tribe wearing fox-skins, rests solely on the belief that *βασοπίς* or *βασόρα* was a Thracian word for fox, and the evidence for this is very frail, a statement of doubtful authority by Cornutus<sup>61 f</sup>. His hypothesis would gain *vraisemblance* if we could find trace of a fox-sacrifice in the record of Orpheus or Dionysos.

<sup>b</sup> The scene on the Attic hydria, which Mr. Cecil Smith has published in *Hell. Journ.* 1890, p. 343, and which

he explains as the Titans, who are dressed like Thracians, devouring Zagreus in the presence of Dionysos, need have no reference to Orphic mythology: we only see a savage Thracian devouring a dead child, Dionysos gazing at him, and another Thracian running away, and the representation might be an allusion to the cannibalistic sacrament which had come to Athenian knowledge as existing in Thrace in the Thracian worship of Dionysos, and in which a young child was devoured, doubtless as the incarnation of the god.

<sup>c</sup> 4, 94.

Thracian cult and legend of the god we call Dionysos. It may be supplemented by a description of a ritual which has been observed by Mr. Dawkins to be still performed by the Greek Christians towards the end of the Lenten Carnival in the neighbourhood of Viza, the old Bizye, the capital of the old Thracian kings<sup>a</sup>; the details which he has published in a recent paper are of singular interest and value to the student of the Dionysiac cult; the villagers assemble near their church to witness the masquerade of men disguised in goat-skins<sup>b</sup>, one of whom carries a wooden phallos; the chief scenes are a marriage, the simulated slaying of one of the goat-men, the mourning over his body by his wife, and finally his resurrection; then follows a scene in which the mummers yoke themselves to the plough and pray for a good harvest as they draw it along. Another phase in the ceremony is the carrying of a 'liknon,' a cradle to contain a new-born infant, and it is only in this district that the word *λίκνι* has survived in the sense of a cradle shaped like a trough. Certain women-parts are acted by men and by unmarried youths called 'Brides'—*νύφες*, who, before the central drama begins, have certain privileges in the matter of looting property. An obscene pantomime appears to be part of the preliminary ceremonies. A similar festival on the same day is observed on the northern frontier of Thrace: a man wearing a mask and dressed in goat's or sheep's skin is addressed as king and escorted in a car with music and accompanied by boys dressed as girls: his page distributes wine to the householders; he himself scatters seed upon the eager crowd, and is afterwards thrown into the river. There is also some evidence that the principal actors used to be beaten with wands during some part of the ceremony. We can hardly suppose that this 'Dionysiac' ritual is a heritage merely from the late Hellenism that was powerful on the fringe of Thrace and penetrated the interior at certain points; the later Greeks were no longer familiar with the actor in the goat-skin. We must consider it to have

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1906, p. 191.

<sup>b</sup> According to the earlier account of a modern Greek they wore headdresses

made of the skin of the fox or the wolf and often fawnskins on the shoulders, *ib.* p. 194.

descended either from an immemorial peasant-religion, out of which the worship of the Thracian Dionysos itself arose, or from this very worship itself which has never wholly perished, though it has lost its name, in its own land. This modern survival, then, is illuminating for many questions: it illustrates the agrarian value of Dionysiac ritual in the spring, and especially the part played by the phallos in vegetation magic; it shows us the goat-skin men who have been so badly wanted to support the old theory of Attic tragedy, and it shows us them engaged in a simple drama of sorrow; and it suggests that a *λικνοφορία*, the carrying of the sacred infant Dionysos in a rustic cradle, was also part of an aboriginal Thracian service.

Such was the religion which played a conquering part in a large area of the Mediterranean, assisted at times by the proselytizing zeal of religious brotherhoods, and penetrating many of the citadels of Hellenic cult, and which was not wholly obliterated by the forms and dogmas of Christianity. We can understand the power of its appeal: its orgiastic dance and revel gratified the primaeval passion that is still strong in us for self-abandonment and for ecstatic communion with the life and power of the earth: through divine possession, induced by sacrament or the vertigo of the sacred dance, the votary assumed the power of the nature-god, to work miracles, to move mountains, to call forth rivers of milk and wine: the religion promised immortality and release from bondage to sanity and measure, and appealed to the craving for supranormal moods, blending the joy of life on the mountains with the fierce lust for hot blood, a lust half-animal, half-religious. On the other hand, it must often have repelled the sober and civic temperament by its savage cruelty and the violent mental perturbation and reaction that it evoked. Some period of dire public calamity and dread would be favourable to its propagation in the neighbouring lands; and Rohde aptly compares<sup>a</sup> the spread of the dancing-madness over a large area of Europe in the time of the great plague in the Middle Ages, when the sword of the church and

<sup>a</sup> *Psyche*, 2, p. 43.

the state were more successful in suppressing the mediaeval Maenads than were the efforts of Pentheus in a like policy. But of the causes that led to the introduction of the Dionysiac cult into Hellas we are wholly ignorant. The introduction of wine cannot have been one of them, for the Hellenes had viticulture and probably vintage-heroes before the coming of Bakchos<sup>a</sup>, nor did he come in solely as a departmental god of wine.

As regards the date of its entrance we have only general and vague indications. The evidence from the Homeric poems has already been considered, which shows that by the time they received their complete form the name and some of the cult-legends of the god were becoming familiar to that period, but that he had not yet achieved full recognition, still less a marked prominence. But we should value a more precise calculation than one that is based on the silence of Homer. There are reasons for thinking that the god had entered Attica before the date of the Ionic settlement in Asia Minor. We cannot, indeed, conclude this immediately from the common celebration of the Anthesteria by all the Ionic communities, for it has been doubted if this festival was originally pre-Dionysiac<sup>b</sup>. But the fact that many of the Ionic states called the first month after the winter-solstice 'Lenaion,' that is, 'the month of the festival of the *Λήναι* or wild-women<sup>c</sup>,' may seem a reason for believing that the Dionysos-cult had been accepted by the Ionians before the time of their migration to the islands and across the sea. The conclusion is probably right, but the premise is doubtful. As Nilsson has shown<sup>d</sup>, we have no reason for assuming common names for all the months in all the Ionic communities; and Attica, the chief source of that

<sup>a</sup> Oinopion, a buried hero at Chios, may have been one of these: Paus. 7. 5, 13.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, pp. 221-224; nor is there any value in Busolt's argument, *Griech. Gesch.* 2, s. 71. anm. 1, that the *Αἰγισκοπέϊς*, who are found both in Attica and among the Ionians of Asia Minor, and whose name he interprets as 'Aigis-sons,' i. e. 'sons of Dionysos-Melanaigis,'

prove that the Asiatic Ionians had learned to worship Dionysos in Attica; for his interpretation of the name is fanciful, and it more naturally suggests 'goat-keepers,' nor has any connexion been discovered between the Aigikoreis and Dionysos.

<sup>c</sup> Vide infra, p. 208.

<sup>d</sup> *De Dionysiis Atticis*, p. 32.

migration, never called that month 'Lenaion,' but always, so far as we know, Gamelion. But they held the festival at that date, and its name preserves the memory of the ancient ritual of the 'wild women,' which the other Ionic states must have also at one time maintained, though generally it may have fallen into desuetude. And in Attica it was under the administration of the 'king' Archon, which justifies the belief that it was introduced in the prehistoric period of the monarchy. This is vague chronology, but it gives us something like a *terminus ante quem*. The Dionysos-cult must therefore have penetrated North Greece and Boeotia, whence Attica received it at a still earlier date.

Another indication of the antiquity of its introduction into Greece is the strange legend of his second birth from the thigh of Zeus<sup>a</sup>. The old attempts to interpret this as nature-symbolism have failed ludicrously. The first to strike the right track was Bachofen, who, following the anthropological method, explained the myth as the reflex of some primitive social institution; but his suggestion that we have here a divine example of the *couvade* was not altogether happy, though the *couvade* was practised by primitive peoples of the Mediterranean area. The travail of Zeus is more naturally explained by him as a primitive mode of adoption, wherein the father pretends to actually give birth to the adopted son; and this would be the natural method for a people passing from the rule of the matrilinear to that of the patrilinear descent<sup>b</sup>. Dionysos, therefore, was accepted and affiliated in this wise to Zeus by some Hellenic tribe who were still in that stage, and whom we cannot discover, for we do not know whence the story first radiated, though we may surmise that it arose in Boeotia. The evidences of a matrilinear period in Greece are vague and often uncritically handled; certain tribes may have lingered in it longer than others, but we may believe that it belonged generally to a fairly remote past<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The earliest authority for the story is Euripides in the *Bacchai*: for similar examples of miraculous births from thigh, foot, or hand, vide Liebrecht *zur Volkskunde*, p. 490.

<sup>b</sup> We hear of the same fashion of adoption among the Haidas of North America who are in the transition-state between the two systems.

<sup>c</sup> Prof. Ridgeway, in his interesting



In fact, what legends have come down to us concerning the earliest propagation of Dionysos-worship belong to the mythologic stratum that may be called prehistoric. The earliest Greek stock that became ardent devotees was the Minyan, who, bringing the worship from their Thessalian home, implanted it at their great Boeotian stronghold, Orchomenos, and probably at Thebes. One legend speaks of Ino and Athamas as the fosterers of Dionysos<sup>61d</sup>, and many others of the madness of the Minyan women who in the Dionysiac frenzy, that is sometimes regarded as a chastisement for infidelity, slaughter and devour their children, perhaps even the infant-god<sup>77, 78</sup>. In fact the Dionysiac legends and ritual of this people appear to preserve most vividly the savage features of the aboriginal Thracian cult. And though they clave faithfully to their ancestral god Poseidon, they may have assisted in their migrations the diffusion of Dionysos-worship. The Minyan character of the Dionysiac cult at Orchomenos is apparent<sup>77</sup>, while at Thebes its introduction, which may only have been accomplished after a struggle that left its impress on the Pentheus story, belongs to the Kadmeian or pre-Boeotian period. The evidence of a Minyan strain in Kadmeian Thebes has been noted in a former chapter; and Ino, whose name is so clearly blent with the story of Dionysos' coming into this district, is a Minyan heroine or goddess, and from her even in the later period the Theban Maenads professed to descend<sup>68a</sup>. The Euneidai of Attica, who had a function in the service of Dionysos Melpomenos, traced their descent from the Minyan Euneos<sup>97</sup>; and the Attic Βούρης is a name of Minyan and Dionysiac association. Still more obvious are the traces of Minyan origin in the worship at the Laconian town Brasiai<sup>a</sup>, which cherished a local legend of the birth of Dionysos and the names of Semele and Ino<sup>88</sup>. It may have been the same stock that brought the worship and the type of the bull-god to Elis, where we find him in the ancient ritual-hymn, sung by

paper on 'the *Supplices of Aeschylus*,' seems to me to postdate it considerably; but the question is too intricate to discuss here.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. vol. 4, Poseidon-chapter, pp. 41-42, for Boeotian and Minyan influences on the Laconian coast.

the Elean women, associated with the Graces, the ancient goddesses of Orchomenos<sup>34 c</sup>.

But the Dionysiac enthusiasm was contagious and over-leaped tribal barriers; so that few ethnographic results of value can be gained by following the story of its diffusion. Other districts of North Greece may have admitted the Thracian god before the Homeric period; Oineus of Kalydon is said to have received from him the gift of wine<sup>41 b</sup>, and may be the wine-god himself under a 'functional' name, for legend made Dionysos himself, like Oineus, to be the husband of Althaia, whose name suggests the nourishing earth-mother.

The worship of Kalydon travelled over the gulf to Patrai<sup>a</sup>, where we find the special cult of Dionysos *Καλυδώνιος* with a ritual of human sacrifice; but another legend of this city suggests a relatively late date for the coming of the god<sup>86 b, 88</sup>. For the chronology and early history of the career of the Dionysiac religion in North Greece, it would be of great importance if we could determine when first he won the devotion of Delphi. Only a few late mythographers ventured to assert that he possessed the oracle there before the coming of Apollo<sup>47 d</sup>, and only a few modern writers have uncritically repeated the fiction<sup>b</sup>. We need not press the negative evidence from the Homeric poems and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, where we find no hint of the presence of Dionysos at Delphi. It is more important that Aeschylus and Pausanias who endeavour to give, the former succinctly, the latter at greater length, the history of the oracle from the pre-Apolline period down to their own, never mention Dionysos as possessing the shrine either before or after Apollo came. The local legend remembered that the latter had dispossessed Ge-Themis there and her earth-snake Python: had he wrested the tripod from Dionysos himself, such a conflict of two such divinities would

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Achaia.

<sup>b</sup> The Scholiast on Pindar who states, in the *ὑπόθεσις* of the Pythians, that 'Dionysos was the first to deliver oracles from the tripod,' does not seem to be drawing from any trustworthy source,

as we may judge from the rest of his statement; in the same context he speaks of Python holding the prophetic tripod before the coming of Apollo. Is he confusing the old earth-snake with Dionysos?

surely have left its impress upon myth. And if we can trust at all the landmarks of mythology and cult, the diffusion of Apollo-worship is generally a far earlier phenomenon in Greek religious history than the invasion of the other deity; and we shall not believe without evidence that this chronologic sequence was reversed at Delphi, where Apollo was strongly placed before the time of Homer. At what period and from what quarter the new-comer won his way to the central Apolline oracle are problems we cannot solve with certainty. It is a legitimate hypothesis that he was received by the Minyan communities in Thessaly and Boeotia before he arrived at Pytho, and it may have been a Minyan stock that brought him there; for the Labyadai, the Delphic tribe for whom we have seen reason to conjecture a Thessalian origin<sup>a</sup>, included his worship in their ancestral ritual<sup>b</sup>, and those mysterious women, the 'Oleiai,' who were attached to the Dionysiac cult of the Minyan Orchomenos<sup>77</sup>, almost certainly reappear in the record of the Delphic Stepteria<sup>c</sup>. And we are impelled to believe that Dionysos had triumphed in other parts of Northern and Central Greece before he was adopted at Delphi; for the Apolline administration there received him with open arms, and there is no hint of a 'theomachy' or a religious struggle, such as elsewhere lingered in the memories of the people. The prudent Pythian establishment would only deal thus with a popular and winning cult. Therefore, though they never gave him any direct share in the oracular function, they admitted him almost as the compeer of Apollo, allotting to his service the three winter months when the oracle was silent, and organizing the ritual of the Thyiai on Parnassos<sup>d</sup>. Pausanias goes so far as to say, perhaps inaccurately, that the mad revel of the Thyiai was in

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 4, p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Phokis-Delphi.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 4, p. 293.

<sup>d</sup> How far the 'Θοιοι,' 'the holy ones,' of Apollo were concerned with the administration of Dionysiac worship is not clear. The only authority who brings them into any connexion with it

is Plutarch (R. 89), and he only informs us that the 'Θοιοι did something mystic in the temple of Apollo 'whenever the Thyiai awaken the Infant-Dionysos.' This single passage has misled scholars into regarding the 'Θοιοι as wholly Dionysiac functionaries: e.g. Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 503.

honour of Apollo as well as of Dionysos, and he gives us a local legend that the original Thyia was the daughter of a native of Delphi called Kastalios<sup>66</sup>. At any rate the brotherly union of the two Delphic divinities is so close that the personality of each is at certain points merged in that of the other; and each borrows the other's appellatives, Apollo becomes the 'ivy-god'<sup>47a</sup>, and Dionysos in the Delphic Hymn is hailed as 'Paian<sup>a</sup>.' It seems also that the oracle became an eager proselytizer in behalf of the new religion; at least, this is suggested by the records of Sparta, Athens, and Patrai<sup>b</sup>. And occasionally Dionysos may have been able to discharge his indebtedness to his elder confrère by a similar service; for, as has been pointed out<sup>c</sup>, the cult of Apollo Διονυσόδωτος at Phlye in Attica may be supposed to have been in some way inspired by him.

But probably the earliest Dionysos-worship in Attica owed more to Boeotian than to Delphic influence, and the Attic drama acknowledged Thebes as the metropolis in Greece of the new religion. The later literature admitted the claim of the village community of Ikaria to have been the first people in Attica that gave hospitality to the god. We are gravely told that he came to the good prince Ikaros in the reign of King Pandion at the same time as Demeter found shelter at Eleusis with Keleos; and though we need not take this statement as literally as M. Foucart would have us, we may believe that it expresses a momentous fact of early Attic religion in terms of mythic chronology. No other deme contested the claims of Ikaria, and the ritual legends of this spot savour of great antiquity, as we shall see. Now the labours of the American School have fortunately fixed the site of Ikaria<sup>d</sup>; it lay on the north of Pentelikon, near the confines of the Marathonian tetrapolis, and on the route that runs down south-west from the Boeotian frontier by Oropos. Coming

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Phokis-Delphi.

<sup>b</sup> Vide R. 41<sup>o</sup>, 88, Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Laconia; cf. vol. 4, p. 206.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. 4, p. 158.

<sup>d</sup> *Papers of the American School*, vol. v, pp. 43-126: the modern name

of the place—Διόνυσος—preserves the memory of the ancient cult: Lactantius Placidus ad Stat. *Silv.* ii. 644. 'Marathon mons Atticae regionis in quo Ikarus est occisus,' was not so far wrong in regard to the position of Ikaria.

then from Boeotia by the Euripos and planting its first settlement at Ikaria, it must have reached the Ionic tetrapolis before it won its way to Athens; and thus we may account for the common traits that may be found in the Dionysos-worship of the Ionian states in later times. A certain family at Ikaria, who professed to be descended from the ancestor who had originally received the god, continued till at least the fourth century to stand in a close relationship with him, and appear to have been distinguished by a special designation as οἱ Ἰκαριεῖς<sup>a</sup>, from the ordinary δῆμος τῶν Ἰκαρίων<sup>112</sup>. Probably not far from Ikaria lay the deme called Semachidai, and this also claimed an ancestor Semachos, who was one of the first hosts of the stranger divinity<sup>b</sup>; and his descendants also maintained special privileges, certain priestesses of Dionysos tracing their line from the daughters of Semachos<sup>69 a</sup>. These early religious establishments in the villages appear to have retained their autonomy long after the political centralization was accomplished; and we find the local Dionysia organized by the local archon<sup>c</sup>, aided by the Boulé of the deme. We cannot trace further the geographical route or determine the relative chronology of the Dionysiac establishment in the Attic demes. It was probably late in reaching Eleusis, as the older records of the Demeter-worship betray no consciousness of it at all. But we have seen reason for believing that it captured Athens in the days of the monarchy, and thus we find the names of Theseus and Ariadne blent with the old ritual of the Oschophoria<sup>d</sup>. It was probably from the Ionic tetrapolis that the metropolis obtained its earliest worship of this god, and we have a late record of the Athenians taking part in an Ikarian solemnity<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This is Prof. Merriam's probable explanation of the phrase in the fourth century inscription quoted R. 112; see *Papers Amer. School*, v, p. 71; in another inscription given, *ibid.* p. 97, we again find the δημόται distinguished from οἱ Ἰκαριεῖς.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Attica.

<sup>c</sup> M. Foucart, in his *Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, p. 37, regards this fact as

proof in each case that the cult was established in 'pre-Theseid' days, i.e. in his reckoning B.C. 1256-1225: such chronology is valueless, and the criterion is itself fallacious; for a village-cult that arose after the συνοικισμός might be managed by the local archon.

<sup>d</sup> Vide infra, pp. 201-203.

<sup>e</sup> Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 389.

A later wave of Dionysiac enthusiasm appears to have reached Athens from Eleutherai, the border-city of Boeotia and Attica on the route from Thebes. Hence came the apostle Pegasos, who 'introduced the god to the Athenians, assisted by the Delphic oracle reminding them of the former visitation of the god at Ikaria<sup>410</sup>.' The oracle may be that which Demosthenes has preserved for us<sup>127 b</sup>; and the event is probably late, though the legends that colour it suggest a date at least as early as the time of Peisistratos.

Looking at the Peloponnese, we may perhaps regard Argolis as the earliest home of the new religion; for the myths concerning its fortunes here appear to descend from a dim antiquity, and to connect its introduction with the Proetid and Perseid dynasty; we hear of the daughters of Proitos being driven mad by Hera, and being healed by the great Bacchic apostle Melampous with his cathartic dances; and again, of the conflict of the god with Perseus who conquered, bound, even killed him or threw him into a lake<sup>35k, 1</sup>. Another legend connects the establishment of his worship in Argolis with the return of the heroes from Troy<sup>a</sup>. In any case it is probable that it was a pre-Homeric event, and we must reckon with the close pre-historic connexion of Argos with Thebes and North Greece; it is also noteworthy that the Argive ritual seems to have preserved in its purity what appears to have been the Thracian tradition, the immersion of the god and his resurrection from the water<sup>b</sup>.

As regards the Dionysiac worship in the islands and across the sea, only a few doubtful suggestions might be made as to the lines along which it migrated from the mainland eastwards<sup>c</sup>; and it is only necessary for the present, for the purpose of the earliest chronology, to consider Crete. The orgiastic Thraco-Phrygian religion may have penetrated here at a very early time, perhaps directly from Phrygia before

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra pp. 183-184.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* i. p. 235, considers that Dionysos 'Brisaios' or 'Briseus' of Lesbos and Smyrna (Geogr. Reg. s.v. Lesbos, R. 104 r) can be traced

back to Boeotia; but the trail is very faint: the cult no doubt belongs to the Aeolic population, but the name may be derived from an autochthonous local word of Lesbos.

the Hellenic races gained a footing in this island; and this, as has been formerly suggested, may account for the prominence in Cretan worship of the child god, the son of the great earth-mother, and for the conception of the cave-dwelling divinity who passes away and is buried<sup>a</sup>. We find also in Crete, surviving down to the latter days of paganism, a savage form of communion with the god<sup>82</sup>, which we may surmise to have descended from the aboriginal period of this religion, but which had generally died out from the ordinary state-ritual; and in Crete the religion may have always retained a strong infusion of mysticism and enthusiasm, so that it could develop at an early date the higher forms of Orphism and a more spiritual asceticism; the island could even claim to be the cradle of the sect of 'Orpheus.' The poet of the *Odyssey* may have been dimly aware of some special connexion between Dionysos and Crete<sup>1</sup>, for he associates him, though obscurely enough, with the Cretan heroine Ariadne, a vegetation-goddess who dies and is buried, probably a special form of the great goddess of the island. And at some time before recorded history begins the influence of the Dionysos-Ariadne cult and myth may have radiated from Crete to the mainland of Greece, suggesting to the Argives the worship of Dionysos *Κρήσιος*, 'the Cretan,' with a legend of Ariadne attaching<sup>b</sup>. It was probably due to certain cult-affinities of Ariadne that near the grave of Ariadne at Argos arose the common temple of Dionysos and Aphrodite Ourania<sup>c</sup>.

We may conclude then with some security that before the Homeric period the Thraco-Phrygian religion had penetrated in force, probably through Macedon, into some of the North Greek communities, especially the Minyans of Thessaly and Boeotia, some of the country districts of Attica, and perhaps Athens herself, and was establishing itself in the Argolid; that the great tide of Hellenic colonization eastwards then bore it across the islands to the Asia Minor shore, but that

<sup>a</sup> Vide Zeus, R. 3, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Aphrodite, R. 104, and vol. 2,

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Argolis. Cf. infra, p. 631.

an earlier period of intercourse between Phrygia and Crete had brought it to this island in the pre-Hellenic days.

We can now pursue the question which is of chief concern for us, under what aspect and with what characteristics did Dionysos appear in the early Greek cults, and what transformations in the public worship did Hellenism effect of the old tradition. The nature of the Thracian god was, as we have seen, sufficiently manifold, and it is not likely that all his traits would be preserved with equal clearness in all the communities. A few may have received him as a wine-god pure and simple<sup>a</sup>, others as a deity of vegetation in general, others again as a divinity of the lower world; and here and there the influence of some powerful contiguous cult-figure, as of Apollo at Delphi, may have modified the local view of him. Nevertheless, the god appears to have entered the Greek world with a personality so powerful and pervading that in spite of local variations he retains his individuality and a recognizable identity throughout the Hellenic communities. No doubt the Orphic sectarian imagined him differently from the merry Dikaiopolis of the Acharnians; but the student of the public cults, and of the religious ideas popularly attached to them, will not find many Dionysoi—figments of esoteric systematizers, but on the whole one Dionysos. What surprises us is the long endurance of the Thracian tradition, especially in Boeotia, Delphi, and Argolis; and the characteristics of the Greek Dionysos that cannot be found in the record of the Thracian divinity are after all very few.

It is clear that he did not begin his Hellenic career as a specialized or functional god of wine. Many of his appellatives mark him out as a divinity of vegetation in general, and particularly of tree-life<sup>b</sup>: like other Hellenic deities he is called *Δενδρίτης*<sup>3</sup> or *Ἐνδενδρος*<sup>5</sup>, 'he who lives in the tree'; his life moves in the sap and the bark, and therefore he is

<sup>a</sup> Vide p. 120.

<sup>b</sup> The appellative *Δασύλλιος*<sup>14</sup> which was in vogue at Megara and Kallatis has been thought to refer to the god of

the thicket; but it might equally well describe the god who wears the 'shaggy' goat-skin; vide *supra*, p. 96.



worshipped as Φλοιός or Φλεύς at Priene and elsewhere<sup>11</sup>, and, as δενδροφορίαι or tree-processions were frequent in his honour, he himself is called Θυλλοφόρος, 'the bearer of boughs,' in an inscription of Kos<sup>13</sup>. At Magnesia, on the Maiander, his youthful image was miraculously discovered inside a plane-tree, and he was worshipped afterwards there as the 'god of the plane-tree<sup>5, 68 a.</sup>' The plant that he loved most in Greece, as in Thrace, appears to have been the ivy, on account probably of its wanton movement and luxuriant life; and primitive thought identifying the god with the plant gave rise to the cult of Dionysos Κισσός at Acharnai<sup>9</sup>, which shows the animistic perception that survives here and there in the personal polytheism; and as the ivy spreads round the pillar, the god himself is called Περικιόνιος at Thebes<sup>9</sup>. He was occasionally supposed to appear like Adonis, his Oriental compeer, in the flowers of spring, and we hear at Phlye, in Attica, of the altar of Dionysos Ἄνθιος associated with the worship of the Ismenian nymphs, and Ge or the Great Goddess<sup>21</sup>. An interesting form of tree-magic, evidently common in his rural cults, was the practice of hanging masks of the god's countenance on the trees, so that whichever way the face might turn in the wind it might spread fertility, or at least purge the air of evil influences, as Servius imagines its use<sup>6</sup>. We may suspect that from some such mask with open mouth, the cult-epithet arose of Dionysos Κεχηνώς<sup>7</sup>, which Pliny tries to explain by means of a story very like that of 'Androcles and the Lion<sup>8</sup>.' Vergil speaks of the masks being hung on the pines; but the later writers scarcely recognized in him the aboriginal deity of the wildwood, preferring to limit his ministration to the supervision of the cultivated trees<sup>20</sup>. In every orchard, according to Maximus Tyrius, the rustics were wont to consecrate a tree-stump as a Dionysiac fetish<sup>8</sup>; but the records of actual cults or cult-appellatives that express this function allude only to his guardianship of the fig-tree and the vine. He was worshipped as Συκίτης in Laconia<sup>25</sup> and Μειλίχιος in Naxos<sup>6</sup>. We gather from Athenaeus, who quotes his authorities, that the Naxians had made an image of Dionysos Μειλίχιος of the wood of

the fig-tree, calling him after the name of the fruit, as the local name for figs was *μείλιχα*: we need not doubt the facts, but we may suspect that the epithet had here as elsewhere the connotation of the 'placable' one, the god of the lower world.

It was as the deity of the grape that he has left the deepest impress on the literature of Greece and Europe and on the religious imagination of the Hellenic people: and the cult-appellatives that express this aspect of him are the most numerous<sup>41</sup>. 'Ομφακίτης, Σταφυλίτης<sup>11</sup>, Ἐστώφυλος at Lebadeia<sup>42</sup>, possibly Ληνεύς at Mykonos<sup>44</sup>, if this epithet could be derived from the wine-vat<sup>a</sup>, Λυαῖος and Λύσιος, 'the deliverer,' at Thebes, Sikyon, and Corinth<sup>45</sup>, interpreted usually as 'the deliverer from care,' but probably in its original intention an evocation of the god who delivers us from the ill effects of his own gift or from the madness of his revel<sup>b</sup>: Λειβήνος, the god of the libation<sup>c</sup>, 'the god,' according to Euripides, 'who himself is offered in libation to the other gods<sup>41 c</sup>,' and might therefore be called Θεοδαίσιος, 'the feaster of the gods,' as we know that the Θεοδαΐσια was in many places his special festival: Μόρυχος<sup>45 ε</sup>, alluding to the smearing of the idol's face with wine-lees, Προτρύγαιος, to whom the προτρύγαια, the feast of sanctification before the gathering of the vintage, was offered<sup>45 i</sup>: these are cult-epithets that have been preserved to us from a probably larger list of half-magical appellatives intended to evoke the divine power of the vineyard<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> But vide infra, p. 209 n. c.

<sup>b</sup> This is suggested by the fact that both at Sikyon and at Corinth Λύσιος and Βάκχειος were the distinct appellatives, attached to two distinct images, in a double cult; and it is a primeval idea in this religion that the god himself purges away the madness that he sends. Plutarch gives to Ἐλευθερέυς the same meaning as he gives to Λύσιος<sup>47 a</sup>; but Dionysos Ἐλευθερέυς can only mean primarily the 'god of Eleutherai'<sup>41 e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Gruppe, *Griech. Kulte u. Mythen*, p. 84, derives the Latin name 'Leiber'

from a Greek form such as Λοιβάσιος: this is phonetically possible; but Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 27, consider Leiber to be a purely Roman deity, originally distinct from Dionysos.

<sup>d</sup> Possibly εὐεργέτης was one of these, which is vaguely attested by Hesychios<sup>45 l</sup> (cf. Ἥρα Εὐεργεσία at Argos, vol. 1, Hera R. 40): whether the mysterious epithet ψίλαξ by which he was worshipped at Amyklai really alludes to the power of the wine-god (Geogr. Reg. s.v. Laconia) may be doubted, but no

Now we have seen that this power and this function belonged to the god *primaevally*, Thrace being a very early home of wine. It also brewed beer, and the Thraco-Phrygian Sabazios may have been a beer-god as well. But fortunately for themselves the old Greeks used no other intoxicant but pure wine; and when Dionysos made his way into Greece, dispossessing older local wine-heroes, we cannot find that he had any association with any other alcoholic beverage; for the attempts recently made to connect the words *τραγωδός* and *Βρόμιος* with the brewing of beer are in the highest degree fanciful and strained<sup>a</sup>. And this connexion between Dionysos and the juice of the grape is of the very closest, belonging originally to animistic rather than to theistic thought. We have noted the possible significance of Dionysos *Βότρυς* for old Thracian religion<sup>45k</sup>; and the primitive concept that the thing itself is divine, that the juice is the very god or the very spirit of the god, not merely the creation and the gift of the god, may glimmer at times through the higher theistic thought that overlay it. Certainly the passage quoted above from the *Bakchai* of Euripides identifies the god with the drink as absolutely as the god Soma in the Vedic religious system is identified with the Soma-drink; and the earliest fetishes of Dionysos, such as that of *Ἀκρατοφόρος* at Phigaleia<sup>41d</sup>, show how little removed was the personal form from the natural or cultivated growths of woodland, orchard, and vineyard; and it is possible that the name of the festival *Θεολία* may have preserved a reminiscence that once the wine itself was conceived as 'very god<sup>b</sup>.' But here as elsewhere the strong anthropomorphism of the Greek spirit triumphed: Dionysos was for them, as he probably was for the Thracians, a high personal god, more than the animistically imagined vine-cluster, a personal creator who gives his life to things; nor was the sacrificial liquor deified as in the Vedas, nor can

other explanation more plausible than that suggested by Pausanias has been found.

<sup>a</sup> Miss Harrison, *Proleg.* 416-421: neither *βρόμιος* nor *τράγος* ever means 'beer'; *βρόμιος* was a kind of oats,

Theophr. *H. P.* 8. 9, 2; for *τράγος* vide *infra*, p. 232, n. b; the epigram of Julian quoted by her does not suggest that either word was in use to denote any kind of fermented liquor.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *infra*, pp. 206-207.

we say with surety that the ordinary Greek in the public and open worship drank wine with any consciousness that he was drinking the god himself.

Yet the idea of the divine character of wine was strongly rooted in Hellenic paganism; and the worship of the wine-god will only seem trivial or shallow to those who have neither knowledge nor imagination of the ancient religious perception. Early religion was far less preoccupied with morality than later, and far more sensitive therefore to the appeal made by the mystery and charm of physical life and of nature-magic. Even corn and fruits and oil were not felt as wholly material things, but as possessing something of 'mana,' or τὸ ἔνθεον, something of mysterious divinity. But wine, as other intoxicants, would seem far more even than these to come from the deepest source of the life of things; and its psychologic effect must have appeared to the primitive mind as the phenomenon of divine possession. We have no clear record of the feelings of the aboriginal Thracian; but probably the utterance of the Vedic worshipper, 'we have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods<sup>a</sup>,' expresses a religious perception, in regard to the mystery of alcohol, widely diffused in early religions. And wine has been the last among the products of vegetation to fall into the rank of purely secular and material things. Even in the most advanced Greek culture it had not wholly lost its savour of old religion; nor did wine-worship clash at all with the best morality or the hygienic doctrines of the people or the people's teachers; for drunkenness was never a serious social evil for Hellas, nor did the philosophers preach against intemperance as a national danger; nor again were the modern appliances known whereby wine has become a thing vile and corrupt. We may assume then that originally it had been used in this ancient religion as the most potent, though by no means the sole, vehicle of Bacchic possession or divine communion, being the quintessence of that god-life that moved in the juices and sap of the earth: then when its mystic character faded before

<sup>a</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 109.

growing science, it remained the pledge of that exuberant physical well-being which was part of the ideal and the promise proffered by the worship of Dionysos.

But it is doubtful if any Greek cult regarded Dionysos' power as limited to the wine-god's activity. Being as we have seen a divinity that works in the trees and the flowers, he might occasionally become the patron of the higher agriculture; for though this had been assigned as the special department to divinities older than he on the soil of Hellas, yet the polytheistic religion shows frequent overlapping of functions. Maximus Tyrius in a quaint passage speaks of him as taking rather late in life to agriculture<sup>26</sup>; and such epithets as *Αὐξίτης* which he enjoyed at Heraia in Arcadia<sup>22</sup>, *Κάρπιος* in Thessaly<sup>24</sup>, possibly, *Πρόβλαστος*<sup>23</sup>, the god of the early bloom, may allude to his power in every field of cultivation. The appellative *Σητάνειος* attached to him at Teos admits of a double explanation, and according to one it reveals him as a god of cereals<sup>28</sup>; and he may have had this character at Phigaleia in Arcadia, where the public gatherings known as *μαζῶνες*, or 'cake-feasts,' were specially under his patronage<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, such cult-aspects of him were rarely presented; the old Hellenic divinities of cultivation, Demeter Kore, were too strongly entrenched in the popular faith to be easily set aside. But they could, and willingly did, admit him to their company<sup>a</sup>, just as the Minyan Charites, the ancient goddesses of growth at Orchomenos, appear to have adopted him<sup>b</sup>. The examples of cult association given in a former context show that Pindar had full right to speak of Dionysos as 'the consort of Demeter'<sup>28</sup>; and Euripides, in the pseudo-philosophic sermon on Bakchos, which he puts into the mouth of Teiresias, makes the god represent the liquid principle in things as Demeter stands for the dry. We note also his not infrequent association in Hellenic cult with the water-nymphs<sup>61 e</sup>; and probably already in his native land he had some primaeval

<sup>a</sup> Vide R. 128; vol. 3, p. 46 Dionysos in the Attic Haloa; p. 47 with Pan and Demeter *Χθονία*; p. 100 united perhaps with Kore in a *ἱερὸς γάμος* at Sikyon; pp. 146-152 at Eleusis;

p. 153 D. *Μύσσης* with Demeter at Tegea, with Demeter and Kore at Lerna; p. 201 with Demeter and the Daughter in Arcadia; cf. Demeter, R. 230.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 112.

connexion with the water and the water-spirits, among whom may have been the Seilenoi; for what is recorded as another name—possibly Thracian—for these daimones, "Ερμηνοι<sup>a</sup>, has been with probability affiliated to the stem that appears in the river-names, Hermos and Hermon, in Maionia. We shall note the part that water played in the ritual and ritual-legends of this cult in Greece. But directly in himself Dionysos appears never to have been worshipped as a deity of rivers and streams. From mere local accident he might be called after the name of a particular river, on the banks of which he might have a shrine, as he was called *Λευκανίτης*<sup>31</sup> in Elis; or if his altar or temple were on the coast, or his idol had been fished up out of the sea, he might be styled 'Αλιεύς or Πελάγιος in Thessaly<sup>29</sup>, or 'Ακταίος in Chios<sup>30</sup>: the fountain called *Κρισσοῦσα*, near Haliartos, owed its association with the god to the ruddy colour of its waters, and the story arose that this was where the divine infant was first washed by the nymphs who were his nurses<sup>32</sup>; and such legends would be supported by the ritual-act, which was much in vogue, of throwing the puppet of Dionysos into the water<sup>b</sup>. Yet many of the other vegetation-deities of Greece appear to have had a closer connexion than he with the fertilizing stream.

So powerful was the original conception of him as an earth-deity, whose life worked in the warm sap of the soil, that men could scarcely think of him as operating equally in the running water or the rain. We should have indeed to modify this statement if we believed in some of the ancient interpretations of the mysterious appellative "Υγης<sup>33</sup>. Plutarch evidently derives it from the root of ὕειν, 'to rain,' and thinks it was applied to Dionysos 'as lord of the watery element in things.' The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* quotes the opinion of Kleidemos that Dionysos was so-called because his sacrifices were mainly performed at the season 'when the god sends rain,' that is, in the winter and spring; and he declares on the authority of Pherekydes that "Υγης was also an epithet of Semele, who certainly was no rain-goddess; and a passage

<sup>a</sup> Hesych. *s.v.* "Ερμηνοι οἱ Σείληνοι; *Wiss. Wien*, 1894, p. 44.  
vide Thomaschek, *Sitz. d. K. Ak. d.*

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 181.

in Bekker's *Anecdota* gives the view of 'other people' who think that Ὑγης was Dionysos, so-called because 'Zeus rained down ambrosia upon him<sup>a</sup>.' We notice that these authorities speak doubtfully, and their explanations are fanciful, and that none of those who believe that Ὑγης was a Greek word meaning 'rain,' venture to interpret Dionysos Ὑγης directly as a rain-god<sup>b</sup>. The facts of cult were too strong against them, and we have no proof that this appellative belonged to any public Hellenic worship of our god. In spite of its close resemblance to other Greek words derived from the root of ὕειν, the probability is great that Ὑγης, as a term of Dionysiac intention, has come into Greek from the Thracio-Phrygian speech, being adapted from the first word in the Sabazian invocation, ὕγης ἄττης, with which Demosthenes has familiarized us, and which belonged to the same orgiastic religion and religious vocabulary as the cry of εὐοὶ Σαβοῖ. In these two formulae we can recognize the names of the Phrygian Ates or Attis, and the worshipper of Sabazios; but can only guess at the meaning of the term ὕγης and the cry εὐοὶ; and we are inclined to believe that the view of Aristophanes, who 'ranked Ὑγης among alien gods<sup>33</sup>,' was worth all the rest.

The great god of Thrace, then, retains in Hellas the character with which his own land invested him, of an earth-deity of general vegetation and fruitfulness. And as we should expect, the phallos was often his emblem in Greek as it was in Thracian ritual<sup>74</sup>. The legend of the introduction into Attica of the worship of Eleutherai was suggested by the use of the phallos as a fetish-figure of this cult<sup>41</sup>: the Athenians who resisted the new religion were smitten by a disease in their genital organs; the oracle showed them the only way of deliverance, and having received the god they erected the φαλλοί in public and private as memorials.

The youthful productive vigour of the god may have been also expressed and evoked by the appellative Ὑβων, which

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the statement in the *Et. Mag.* that a Dionysiac feast called Ἀμβρόσια was held in the month Ἀργαίων<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The gloss in Hesychios<sup>33</sup> is the only passage where Ὑγης is regarded as a direct

equivalent for Ὑμβριος. Ὑμβρικός is the name of a Satyr on an archaic Corinthian vase, vide *Jahrbuch d. d. Inst.* 1893, p. 91.

belonged to him in his worship at Naples: the inscriptions<sup>40, 129 o</sup> describe the deity here as Ἡβων simply, but Macrobius may have had good reason for interpreting him as Dionysos. It has been supposed that he was figured under the type of the horned deity: this is a doubtful point that will be considered later; but it is certain that the conception of the bull-god belongs to the earliest tradition which Hellas received from the Thracο-Phrygian stock, and that some of the earlier Hellenes had been taught to imagine their adopted god as incarnate in the bull, and occasionally assuming the bovine form wholly or in part. In the ancient Elean hymn he is hailed by the women as 'noble bull,' and invited to come to the holy shrine, 'charging with his bull's foot<sup>34 c</sup>.' And the Argives invoked him as Βουγενής, 'the son of the cow,' an epithet implying the bovine shape of Semele<sup>89</sup>. We find also an ancient communion-ritual preserving this idea in Greece down to a late date<sup>a</sup>, a ritual which suggested to Sophocles the curious phrase, 'Dionysos the bull-eater<sup>34 d</sup>.' The inscription θεοῦ ταύρου found in Thespiæ<sup>34 h</sup> may refer to the bull-Dionysos, but it is of doubtful value and significance. It is, however, clear that the ancient tradition survived in the legends and even in the public worship of many parts of Hellas<sup>b</sup>. Besides the facts just mentioned there is the evidence from the Thessalian legend of 'Boutes,' 'the ox-herd,' who drives the Maenads<sup>c</sup>, and from the name Boukolion, 'the ox-stall,' applied at Athens to the residence of the king-archon, where the solemn union of the queen-archon with the god was annually consummated<sup>35 e</sup>: the word suggests that the archon was himself the Βουκόλος, 'the ox-herd,' but this title appears to have dropped out of the nomenclature of the state-cults and to have been in vogue mainly in the later mystic societies consecrated to Sabazios or in the brotherhood of the Iobacchi<sup>34 e, 62 g, i</sup>; the earliest example in literature, a line in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, 'thou art ox-herd to the same Sabazios as I,' associates the term with the Phrygian name of the god<sup>62 f</sup>.

The evidence is equally clear, though somewhat slighter,

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 157.

bull-calf of Tenedos<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Vide also 'Ritual,' p. 165, cf. the

<sup>c</sup> Vide infra, p. 181.



for the occasional incarnation of the Greek Dionysos in the form of the goat; a fact of great importance for the question of the origin and significance of Greek tragedy, and therefore more conveniently discussed in a later part of this chapter.

A phallic deity, associated with the pasturing herds, and himself sometimes conceived as horned, would naturally fall into the company of such an aboriginal pasture-god as Pan; and we find a common sacrifice offered to them in the borders of Argolis and Arcadia<sup>103 g</sup>. A god who was conceived as the source of life in nature—*Φυσιζωος* as a Pergamene oracle called him<sup>18</sup>—might acquire certain titles significant of generation; and Dionysos bore the epithet *ἐνόρχης* in Samos and perhaps elsewhere<sup>15</sup>; but other titles attached to him, *Ὀρθός*<sup>17</sup>, *Χοιροψάλας*<sup>16 a</sup>, *Φαλλήν*<sup>16</sup>, which have been supposed to have had a phallic significance, are of doubtful value, and the last of doubtful authenticity<sup>a</sup>. In spite of the prevalence of his phallic ritual, Dionysos was not generally recognized in Hellas as the divine source of human or animal procreation.

We have now to consider another aspect of this religion, intimately connected with that which has just been presented, but of deeper concern for higher religious aspiration. We have seen that the Thracian earth-god was also the lord of the lower world and of the domain of souls; and the Greek Dionysos reveals this character also in so much of the record of Hellenic belief that we must suppose it to have been received with the original tradition and not to have been developed independently on Hellenic soil. The earliest literary evidence

<sup>a</sup> An altar to *Ὀρθός Διόνυσος* was erected at Athens in the temple of the Hours near an altar of the nymphs, and Philochoros interpreted the word as indicating the 'temperate' wine-god who enables men to stand upright; this is not impossible, for the divine epithet is often a spell-word, uttered in order to secure the object of the prayer; it is also conceivable that it was suggested by some upright statue of the god; there is no evidence that *ὀρθός*, any more than *ὄρθιος*, could bear a phallic sense, vide vol. 3, p. 453, n. b. *Φαλλήν*, as

a cult-epithet of Dionysos, is a fiction of Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1087; the MSS. of Pausanias suggest *Κεφαλὴν*, an epithet explained by the story of the head of Dionysos, carved of olivewood, being washed up ashore at Methymna<sup>16</sup>; Eusebios, who knows the story, quotes an oracle in which this head is called *Φαλλήνός*, but in his comments he shows that he regards this adjective as describing the material of the head and not as an epithet of Dionysos, still less as 'phallic' in meaning.

is the fragment of Herakleitos<sup>38</sup>: 'Hades is the same as Dionysos, the god to whom the mad orgies of the wild women are devoted.' And Plutarch enumerates certain appellatives, such as *Zαγρεύς*, *Νυκτέλιος*, *Ἰσοδαίτης*, *Εὐβουλεύς*, which he regarded as expressive of his functions in the lower world<sup>35 b, 36</sup>. Of these there is only one that we find in any record of public cult; on the akropolis at Megara Pausanias found the shrine of Dionysos *Νυκτέλιος*, which he briefly notices without any statement as regards the nature of the god or the legend of its foundation<sup>38</sup>, and Ovid mentions this name among the many that he cites as in vogue among the Greek races<sup>38</sup>. The original sense of the epithet is clear; it is a sobriquet of the 'god of night,' and this might have arisen merely from the fact that much of his ritual was performed by night; but it was certain to acquire a deeper significance and to mark him out as a god of the dark world below. Of the other titles that Plutarch cites in this connexion, we know the origin and history of at least one of them, *Εὐβουλεύς*; we have seen that this was a euphemistic title of Zeus-Hades, in vogue at Eleusis and elsewhere and belonging to the old Hellenic religion<sup>a</sup>; and it is almost certain that it was borrowed for Dionysos from the great centre of the Attic mysteries, to which Orphism stood in such close relation. It became then a mystic title of Dionysos, especially in vogue in Orphic societies, as the fragments of the Orphic hymn discovered in South Italy and Crete reveal<sup>132</sup>; but we do not find it attached to this deity in a single recorded public cult, for the inscription in the Museo Nani at Verona commemorating a dedication of 'the wife of the hierophant to the most manifest god Dionysos Eubouleus and to the (other chthonian powers)' is a late record of what may have been a private mystic society<sup>36</sup>. As regards *Ἰσοδαίτης* we must take Plutarch's assertion on faith; and he must have been aware of some association somewhere between this appellative and the god whose chthonian character he declares it expressed. But no other authority supports him, though it is of some interest to note that Hesychios cites the word as applied 'by some

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 1, p. 48, and vol. 3, pp. 144-145.

people' to Plouton<sup>35 b</sup>. Of more value for the question of public cult is the statement of Harpokration that 'Isodaites' was 'some sort of foreign daimon, to whom women of doubtful repute were initiated<sup>35 b</sup>'; this suggests a Phrygian daimon of Dionysiac-Sabazian character worshipped by a mystic society consisting chiefly of women, and the name Ἴσοδαίτης, which of course descends from the well-known Homeric phrase, could allude to 'the equal feast,' the sacramental meal which all partook in common; it could then have been borrowed and interpreted after their wont by the Orphic teachers, who applied it to their chthonian Dionysos as the great power who offered to all souls equal hospitality, even as Plouton was poetically called Πολυδέγμων, 'the all-hospitable one.' Finally, it is in every way probable that Plutarch derived all his lore in this matter from Orphic sources.

With 'Zagreus' a treatise on Greek state-religion is scarcely concerned, for this divine name has never yet been found in any record of state-cult<sup>a</sup>, though that need not diminish its interest for the student of Greek religion as a whole. The word may be an inheritance from Thracian nomenclature, for, though it has a Hellenic sound and form, Hellenic philology has not been able to determine its meaning<sup>b</sup>. We first hear of it as occurring in a poem of the epic cycle, and an important fragment of the 'Cretans' of Euripides shows that it was in vogue in Crete as a mystic epithet of the lower-world god, Dionysos identified with Zeus<sup>c</sup>. We may conjecture that its diffusion owed much to Onomakritos, whom Pausanias declares to have been the first to work up the legend of the Titans attacking and dismembering the young god<sup>76 a</sup>. At any rate the name 'Zagreus' had always a chthonian connotation and an association with the story of the Titans' murder. But we are not able to say with security that this

<sup>a</sup> Schneider, *Wiener Studien*, xxv (1903), S. 1903, *Ueber den Ursprung des Dionysos-Kultes*, supposes that Plouton was called Zagreus at Eleusis and that Dionysos borrowed the name thence; but there is no evidence for either of these statements.

<sup>b</sup> The explanation of the word as 'the mighty hunter'—which Euripides may have had in mind in his phrase in the *Bakchai*, δ γὰρ ἀναξ ἀγρεὺς—is not plausible on religious grounds.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. I, R. p. 3, p. 140.

was enacted in any ritual organized and established by any state<sup>a</sup>, though a hint is given us by Pausanias that the legend at least was associated with some public worship at Patrai<sup>76 a</sup>.

To the epithets enumerated by Plutarch we can add two others<sup>b</sup> that appear to be derived from real Attic cult, *Μελανθίδης* and *Μελάναιγος*, which are both of considerable interest for the early phases of this religion. Suidas preserves the story that the daughters of Eleuther, the eponymous hero of Eleutherai, saw 'a vision of Dionysos wearing the black goat-skin and reviled it; whereupon the god in anger drove them mad, and Eleuther received an oracle bidding him worship Dionysos *Μελάναιγος* by way of healing their madness<sup>69 b</sup>.' Another legend is given by the scholiast on Aristophanes, and with some differences by the scholiast on Plato, who almost certainly derives it from Hellanikos<sup>69 c</sup>: the Boeotian Xanthos was about to engage in a duel with Melanthos, the Neleid who was fighting on the side of the Athenians; as they advanced against each other, Melanthos perceived a form behind his enemy, and he reproached him with bringing a comrade to help him; whereupon Xanthos turned to look behind him, and at that moment Melanthos slew him: the form was Dionysos *Μελάναιγος*, whom the Athenians admitted in consequence to the festival of the 'Apatouria,' giving it a name which commemorated 'the deceit' practised by the god<sup>c</sup>. And the cult of Dionysos *Μελάναιγος* reached Hermione<sup>85 b</sup> probably from Attica. The same aspect of the deity was presented by the appellative *Μελανθίδης*, which Konon records and also connects vaguely with the Apatouria<sup>37</sup>. *Μελανθίδης*

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, 'Ritual,' pp. 171-173.

<sup>b</sup> Wide would also interpret the invocation *ἦρως Διόνυσσε* in the famous Elean liturgy<sup>34 c</sup> as having a chthonian significance, *Arch. Relig. Wissensch.* 1907, p. 263: it is difficult to decide the question before we can decide the age of that poem: the appellative is strange, because nowhere, as far as we know, was Dionysos worshipped merely

as half-mortal and half-divine, the later sense of *ἦρως*; and as he is invoked here with the Charites he would appear rather as a god of life than of death. Has *ἦρως* here merely the vague Homeric meaning, just as we find any deity might be called *ἄναξ* or 'king'?

<sup>c</sup> For the discussion of this legend vide infra, pp. 234-236.

is a patronymic form of *Μέλανθος*, whom Usener regards as a disguise of Dionysos himself<sup>a</sup>, a point to consider later in connexion with an important phenomenon in ritual<sup>b</sup>. Of the original sense of both appellatives there can be little doubt: 'the dark god,' 'the god of the black goat-skin,' is the nether deity; we have the precise parallel of *Μελάναιγος* 'Ερινύς in Aeschylus<sup>c</sup> and the Arcadian designation of 'Demeter the Black,' the chthonian goddess. The association of Dionysos *Μελάναιγος* with Eleutherai—or, according to the various accounts of the combat between Xanthos and Melanthos, with Oinoe, Melainai, or Panakton, all places on the Attic-Boeotian border—suggests that the Attic god brought from Boeotia his double character of a vegetation-deity, worshipped with a phallic ritual, and of a chthonian divinity connected with the world of souls. At Thebes there is some evidence that Dionysos was regarded as a buried god, whose grave was shown there<sup>35 m</sup>, and the legend and worship of Semele had close associations with the lower world<sup>d</sup>; we note also that the nightly and mysterious ritual of Dionysos *Λύσιος* and *Βάκχειος* at Sikyon was connected by a cult tradition with Thebes<sup>45 e</sup>. We can thus understand how a divinity of such power and function was able at an early date to capture the Attic Anthesteria, which was at once a magic-ritual to evoke vegetation and a festival to commemorate and placate the souls of the departed. We have no clear evidence that the chthonian aspect of the god was prominent in the state-cults of Attica; whether it was reflected in the ritual of the Anthesteria will be considered in the following section on Dionysiac ritual; but the facts recorded and discovered prove that the original tradition of Thrace was in this as in other respects maintained in much of Greek worship and tradition.

Only, the immigrant god did not succeed in dispossessing the old chthonian deities of Hellas, Zeus *Χθόνιος*, Hermes, and Hades-Plouton, in the public cults; in many communities he may have been placed by their side<sup>e</sup>, but his predominance

<sup>a</sup> *Götternamen*, p. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, pp. 234-236.

<sup>c</sup> *Sept.* 700.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Ritual, pp. 183, 193.

<sup>e</sup> At Mykonos sacrifice was offered to him on behalf of the crops, and on

in this dark sphere was maintained chiefly by the private mystic societies; and it was they who preached the doctrine of a happy immortality through divine communion, a doctrine with which no public and official worship in Greece was ever concerned. No Greek city through its ordinary officials and priests offered prayers or performed service for the salvation of the dead or the repose of their souls; the utmost it could do was to adopt and patronize the Eleusinia.

We may now continue our survey of the general facts of Dionysiac religion.

We have seen that the Thracian god who lived below the ground or in a cave was also a prophet of renown and power. And we should expect that Dionysos should have brought this function with him into Greece, all the more because in Hellenic belief there was an immemorial connexion between the earth-spirit and a particular kind of divination<sup>a</sup>. Euripides proclaims that 'the god is a great prophet, for madness and the Bacchic inspiration have great power of soothsaying<sup>47 a</sup>'; we have noted the shrine of prophecy associated with Orpheus in Lesbos<sup>49</sup>, but Dionysos himself seems only to have directly practised the art in the worship of Amphikleia in Phokis, which Pausanias describes in sufficient detail to allow us to discern its affinity with the Thracian<sup>47 c</sup>. He is evidently here regarded as a divinity of the under-world; his service was shrouded in mystery, and his priest delivered oracles in a state of ecstasy; but the god also communicated with his worshippers directly by means of dreams, as Gaia once did at Delphi; and he became known here as 'the healer,' for it was to the sick that he specially vouchsafed these communications, who consulted him, we may suppose, by that method known as incubation which was commonly employed in the supernatural therapeutics of Greece. We may believe, then, that

the same day—the 12th of Lenaion—to Zeus Chthonios and Ge Chthonia<sup>44</sup>: the later coins of the Lydian Nysa show that he was there associated with the powerful local worship of Kore and Hades, vide *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Lydia,'*

p. 171; Tarentum also maintained a prominent cult of the chthonian Dionysos and Kore (vide infra, *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Italy* and p. 247).

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 3, pp. 7-11, and vol. 4, pp. 180-182, 190.

wherever Dionysos was called 'Ἱατρός, 'the physician,' this conception of him arose from the same practice and the same ancient view of him. It is only indeed at Athens that a Dionysos 'Ἱατρός is attested on fair evidence; and when Athenaeus quoting from a certain Mnesitheos that he enjoyed this title everywhere<sup>a</sup>, we may regard this only as a *façon de parler*<sup>48</sup>. Nor do we know on what authority Hesychios interprets Παιώνιος as a title of Dionysos, understanding it probably in the sense of 'the healer'<sup>48</sup>.'

The old conception, then, of the prophet-god had not died out in the Hellenic tradition; but it is also clear that Apollo and the local mantic heroes were too firmly established in the popular faith for Dionysos to achieve much in this sphere. Even at Delphi, where he was received with such passionate devotion, he never intruded into the prophetic department of the Hellenic god of the shrine.

We have now to consider the specially Hellenic character of Dionysos, the attributes that he acquired on Greek soil, independently of the tradition. The civic and political temperament of Hellas reacted, as we should expect, on his cult, sobering the ritual in certain departments and adapting him to the system of the Polis.

We have seen that he has little to do with the organization of the family and tribe which was based on the idea of common descent<sup>b</sup>; it would seem that he arrived too late for the Greek communities to adopt him as their tribal or communal ancestor. The exceptions are few and doubtful. We do not know why he was styled Πατρῶος at Megara 51<sup>a</sup>, a title which usually, but not always<sup>c</sup>, designates the divine ancestor. But we may conjecture here the influence of the legend and cult of Melampous, the Dionysiac-prophet of Minyan connexions, who was worshipped at Aigosthena; for his descendant Polyeidis

<sup>a</sup> In the same context Athenaeus quotes from Chamaileon a Pythian oracle bidding men 'for the twenty days before the rising of the dog-star and twenty days after to abide in the well-shaded house and to use (the boon of) the healer Dionysos': it is here the

wine-god that is the 'Ἱατρός, and the medicinal use of wine might occasionally win for the god this title: cf. the name of the Roman vintage-festival, 'meditrinalia,' Bailey, *Roman Religion*, p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 92.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Artemis Πατρῶία, vol. 2, p. 464.

came to Megara and instituted the cult of Dionysos<sup>51 a</sup>. A late authority attests that he enjoyed the name of *προπάτωρ*, 'our fathers' father,' at Nikaia in Bithynia, while the founder of the city was said to be Herakles<sup>51 b</sup>; but the better evidence of the coins suggests that the former god was officially called *κρίστης*, not only at Nikaia but at Tion in Bithynia<sup>53</sup>. But in the later period such appellatives were apt to be attached to any prominent divinity out of reverence and affection, without implying any real legend out of descent or foundation. We might have expected, but do not find, a cult of Dionysos as the divine ancestor in Aitolia, because of the ancient legend of his union with Althaia, the queen-goddess of Kalydon. Curiously enough, the remote influence of this legend is traceable in Alexandria, where, owing to the close association of the Ptolemies with Dionysos, a deme of the *φυλή Διονυσία* was said to have been called Althes in memory of his Calydonian consort<sup>a</sup>.

An immigrant god might be adopted into the ancestral religion by the fiction of an assimilation to some aboriginal ancestor or hero; we have an example of this process in the case of Poseidon-Erechtheus; and we may discern a parallel to this in the faintly remembered cult of Dionysos-Kadmos at Thebes, belonging probably to the Minyan period<sup>b</sup>. Or, by free adoption, the newcomer could be admitted into the phratric system, without disturbing the ancestral cults. Thus the Attic Apatouria, which remained always under the protection of the older Attic divinities, was able apparently to find a place for Dionysos in the clan-festival of the 'phratores'; and as the legend points to Eleutherai we may connect this admission of the deity with the incorporation of Eleutherai into the Attic community<sup>c</sup>. The only Attic phratry whose name may possibly have been derived from an appellative of Dionysos was the *Δυαλείς*; or it may be a mere coincidence that *Δύαλος* is recorded as his epithet in Paionia<sup>d</sup>. Even the demes, like the Ikarian, that claimed the closest intimacy

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Egypt-Alexandria.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Boeotia-Thebes.

<sup>c</sup> This is also Ribbeck's view *Anfänge*

*u. Entwicklung des Dionysos-Kultes in Attica*, s. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Paionia.



with him, did not enrol him among their ancestors. But his annual marriage with the queen-archon, the Basilissa of Athens, may have also carried with it at one time a sense of consanguinity thus ritualistically established between the whole state and the newly adopted god. And the old Calydonian legend may reflect a similar feeling among the Aetolians that the alien divinity was admitted to their kinship by union with their ancestral queen-goddess.

His adoption into the Hellenic pantheon was ratified partly by the story of his second birth from Zeus, partly by the fiction of Hera suckling him at her breast, both legends reflecting no doubt some human ritual of adoption<sup>a</sup>.

Once admitted, the political significance of his cult could develop until he might become in certain communities the paramount divinity of the state. Of the older Greek communities only Teos and Naxos are known to have given him this position, which he may have owed in the former city to the residence and influence of the artists; Teian inscriptions of the Roman period speak of him as 'the god of the city,' 'the protecting deity of our most holy state'<sup>b</sup>; while the island Naxos was said to be consecrated to him, and we find that public documents were dated by the name of his priest<sup>c</sup>. Yet his appellatives that express his civic character are very few. We hear of him as *Πολίτης*, 'the citizen,' at Heraia in Arcadia<sup>53</sup>, and as *Σαώτης*, 'the saviour,' in Argolis and at Troezen; and it is likely that at the latter place the title had a political significance, as his altar there was near to the altar of the 'Themides'<sup>d</sup>, the powers of civic justice<sup>52</sup>. He was called *Δημοσελής*, 'the adopted one of the whole people,' at Karystos and in an oracle quoted by Demosthenes, delivered by Dodona to Athens<sup>55</sup>; or as the god beloved 'of the people' he might be styled *δημόσιος*, as at Tralles, Teos, Magnesia on Sipylon<sup>e</sup>; while in Thera his formal appellative

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 110.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Ionia-Teos.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. s.v. Kyklades-Naxos.

<sup>d</sup> The title *Εύρύθεμος* of Dionysos in a late inscription of Nisyros is doubtful,

and in any case is not attested of a public cult but of the worship of a private society<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s.v.

seems at least in later times to have been  $\delta$   $\pi\rho\delta$   $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , 'he who stands before our state<sup>a</sup>.' A cult-epithet of greater interest that belongs to this class is  $\text{Καθηγεμ\acute{o}\nu}$ , which is found at Pergamon, Teos, and Philadelphia<sup>56</sup>. Usually the word would mean 'the leader of the colony,' the deity under whose guidance the emigrants founded their new home. But in the great movement of Hellenic colonization Dionysos plays little or no part<sup>b</sup>. Apollo is the divine leader *par excellence*, and the few cities consecrated to Dionysos under the name  $\text{Διονύσου πόλις}$  are late foundations; one in Phrygia, mentioned by Stephanos as built by Attalos and Eumenes to commemorate the finding of an idol of Dionysos on the spot, another in Pontos, which was previously called  $\text{Κρουνοί}$ , but changed its name in consequence of an idol being washed up on the shore<sup>c</sup>. But certainly at Pergamon the appellative  $\text{Καθηγεμ\acute{o}\nu}$  could not have been given to Dionysos in the sense of 'the Founder'; for this would have clashed with the cherished legends and traditions of the city: it must have designated the God rather as the familiar guide and protector of the Attalid dynasty<sup>d</sup>, of whose devotion we have many proofs. His worship was here united with that of the personified Demos<sup>56</sup>; and in the state-religion of Pergamon Dionysos was raised to the rank of Zeus and joined in partnership with the highest god under the style of Zeus  $\text{Βάκχος}$ <sup>55 d</sup>. A letter of Attalos III, recovered in the excavations, is of special interest for the revelation it gives of the religious enthusiasm of the family<sup>62 k</sup>: 'As my mother, Queen Stratonike, was most pious in her behaviour to all deities, but especially to Zeus Sabazios, whom she brought into our country in accordance with the religious tradition of her family, and whom, having found my helper and champion in many perilous affairs, I have determined in consequence of the manifestations he has given of his

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Thera.

<sup>b</sup> The  $\text{Ἀστυδρόμια}$  of Kyrene<sup>105</sup> seems to have commemorated the foundation-day of the state and to have been associated with the  $\text{Θεοδαΐσια}$ , in which Dionysos and the Nymphs were honoured. But Dionysos was never in any sense the

city-god of Kyrene, and rarely occurs on its coinage, vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Libya.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Asia Minor Interior—Pontos, Phrygia.

<sup>d</sup> Vide von Prott *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, pp. 163-165.

power to consecrate by the side of Athena Nikephoros, I have made arrangements for sacrifices, processions, and mysteries to be performed in his honour on behalf of the city,' &c. In an oracle quoted by Pausanias<sup>a</sup> the symbol chosen for Attalos I in the hieratic style is the bull, and we may surmise that his devotion to the bull-deity was the reason for this. The cult of Dionysos *Καθηγεμών*, having a special value for the house of Attalos, was borrowed by Teos from Pergamon out of compliment to that dynasty and probably because of the indebtedness to it of the *Διονύσου τεχνῖται*, the great dramatic organization of Hellespont and Ionia, whose head quarters were once Teos, and who had been given a home at Myonnesos by Attalos<sup>104a</sup>. A dedication, recorded in a Teian inscription, of a certain Kreon the Strategos 'to the whole race and to Dionysos *Καθηγεμών* and to the Demos,' has been shown by von Prott in the article mentioned above to refer to the house of Attalos. And another inscription from Teos<sup>b</sup> of the period of Eumenes II designates one section of the 'artists' as *οἱ περὶ τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσου*, perhaps because of their special relations with Pergamon<sup>104b</sup>. It may have been the 'artists' who brought the cult to Philadelphia, where we find it mentioned, in connexion with mysteries and 'agones,' in an inscription of the imperial period<sup>56</sup>. We may suppose that the divine name *Καθηγεμών* had for the artists something of its original significance as designating the god who guided and protected them during their tours around the various cities where they displayed their art.

The only other appellative that possesses a clear political connotation is *Αἰσυμνήτης*, by which the god was invoked in the state-worship of Patrai. The legend that Pausanias tells us<sup>88</sup> concerning the origin of this cult is of great interest for Greek ritual, and will be considered again later; the local tradition declared that Artemis Triklaria of Patrai had been worshipped once with human sacrifices, which were destined to continue—according to the behest of the Delphic oracle—until 'a stranger king should arrive bringing a stranger

<sup>a</sup> 10, 15, 3: vide von Prott *loc. cit.* p. 162.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. 5, 2. Ionia-Teos.

daimon': after the fall of Troy Eurypylos arrived bringing with him a *λάρναξ* or chest in which was an idol of Dionysos *Αἰσυμνήτης*, 'the god of righteous judgement.' The citizens recognized the sign given them by the oracle, and abandoned the cruel rite. We do not elsewhere in any record or legend of the state-cults discover in Dionysos a power making for a higher sense of righteousness and morality; and it is the more interesting therefore to note that here a very important reform in religious service coincides with his coming, though the legend does not show how it was causally connected with it. And the title *Αἰσυμνήτης* seems to designate Dionysos as in the highest degree a political god; we hear also, that to his temple on a certain day of his festival were brought three other statues of him, named after the three cantons of the country, *Μεσατεύς*, *Ἀνθεύς*, *Ἀροεύς*<sup>50</sup>. Yet neither elsewhere in Achaia, nor anywhere among the older Greek states, do we find his religion possessing so marked a political character; he does not appear, for instance, as one of the protecting powers of the Achaean League. His temple could of course anywhere be used, as other religious buildings were, for the conveniences of legal or political business, for the registration of decrees<sup>a</sup>, or the manumission of a slave<sup>58</sup>, or fines might be exacted in his name<sup>59 a</sup>. But such occasional facts have little to do with the general character of a Hellenic divinity. In his own nature Dionysos was not a guiding power of the higher political life; he was not usually recognized as the inspirer of public counsel, nor was any advance in the social organization, law, or morality associated with his religion; his name does not even occur in the formulae of the state-oath. In fact, the fabric of Hellenic society and morality had been built up under the influence of the older Hellenic religion.

It is interesting also to note that the warlike character which no doubt belonged to the god in his old Thracian home<sup>60 a</sup> was scarcely recognized in the formal state-cults

\* The inscription of the covenant between Smyrna and Magnesia on Sipylon was to be set up in the agora of the

latter city by the altar of Dionysos, vide Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Asia Minor Coast, Magnesia.

of Greece. The only community, if we can trust Macrobius<sup>60 b</sup>, that worshipped him as a god of battles, was the Lacedaemonian, which represented him in a public monument armed with a spear instead of a thyrsos; but when the same author tells us in the same context that he was frequently styled Ἐννάλιος, he may be merely quoting the opinion of the learned who knew that he had close affinities with the Thracian Ares; or he may have been thinking of the verse that has been preserved for us among the *Fragmenta Adespota*, in which Ares is called Ἐννάλιος and Βρόμιος, the latter word having perhaps merely the sense that it once has in Pindar of 'loud-sounding<sup>60 b</sup>'; or such titles may have been suggested by the late myths of the battles of Bacchos with the Indians and the Giants, and the frequent representation of such themes in later art. Any divinity or hero of Hellas, like any mediaeval saint, could be appealed to in the hour of peril; but Dionysos was not by nature nor by general recognition the war-leader of the people<sup>a</sup>.

Yet though the main elements of political civilization, with one great exception, were not attributed to him, any state might adopt him, as did the Attalid dynasty, as their chief or one of their chief tutelary divinities. Exact evidence on such a point is more usually forthcoming from coins and inscriptions than from literary records; and the list of coin-types that I have collected, though it cannot claim to be exhaustive, affords sufficient material for a general judgement. The predominance of Dionysos in Thrace is not well-attested by the coins that have come down to us; for of the national autonomous currency of the earlier periods it is only the types of king Kentriporis of the fourth century B.C., and of Callatia of the pre-Roman era, that present us with the countenance or the figure of the god; and the Dionysiac types of the Greek cities in Thrace, with a few notable exceptions, belong mainly to the Imperial age. But it dominates the Maronean autonomous currency, and in the second century B.C. we find the noteworthy inscription (Coin-Pl. no. 12) attesting his public supremacy, Διονύσου Σωτήρος Μαρωνιτῶν, 'Dionysos the

<sup>a</sup> It is doubtful if Dionysos was ever styled Ἐλελεύς in any military sense<sup>38, 60 b</sup>.

saviour of Maroneia<sup>a</sup>. We are reminded here of the invocation of the Delphic hymn, 'Hail oh healer, oh saviour, guard this our city with the happiness of the golden age<sup>b</sup>.' We may attribute to Thracian influence the strong hold that the Dionysiac religion had upon Thasos, which is illustrated both by a sixth-century inscription invoking Dionysos and Herakles as 'the guardians of this city,' and by its coin-types from the fifth century onwards, among which the figures of these two divinities predominate<sup>c</sup>. In the currency of Macedonia, Dionysiac types are not infrequent, but nowhere predominate in the earlier periods except at Lete and Mende<sup>d</sup>. Thessalian coinage, though it recognizes the god, scarcely attests the power of his cult in this region; but the currency of Peparethos, the island off the coast where vine-culture flourished perhaps before his arrival, was mainly under his influence<sup>e</sup>. Boeotian coinage is disappointing as regards Dionysos; the emblems of his worship are common among the types of Thebes, and his bearded countenance frequently appears in its currency from 426 to 387 B.C. (Coin-Pl. no. 13); but even on Theban coins neither his figure nor his emblems are dominant<sup>f</sup>.

That numismatic evidence is not wholly trustworthy as a criterion of a divinity's predominance is illustrated here by the Attic currency; for the deity who after Athena was perhaps the best beloved of the Athenian people is not seen on the city's coins until the second century B.C. Besides the well-known type derived from the work of Alkamenes there is little to mention, except a representation on a coin of the second century B.C. that may allude to the part played by the god in the mysteries of Demeter<sup>g</sup>. And in the Peloponnese we have few representations of the autonomous period except at Phlius<sup>h</sup>.

From the islands the evidence is somewhat fuller. The head of Dionysos is the sole type at Naxos from the fourth century

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Thrace.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Delphi.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* North Aegean.

<sup>d</sup> Suppl. List of Coin-types, *s.v.* 'Macedon.'

<sup>e</sup> Suppl. List *s.v.* Thessaly.

<sup>f</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Boeotia-Thebes.

<sup>g</sup> Vide infra, p. 246.

<sup>h</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Phlious, Hermione, Arcadia, Messenia, Achaia.

onward, and at Andros and Mykonos from the third<sup>a</sup>. In Lesbos, one of the chief homes of his cult, he is not found at all on the earlier currency; but his countenance, bearded or youthful, begins to appear about 400 B.C., and was a type in vogue throughout the fourth century; but the Imperial currency speaks more strongly of the significance of the worship in the island which owed its prosperity to the wine-trade; his terminal figure, which appears first on the silver coins of the second and first century, becomes the badge of the fortune of the state, being the type of the *Kowón* of Lesbos, and appearing often on the prow of a ship, a symbol of the wine-export<sup>b</sup>. Looking at other parts of Aiolis, we find Dionysiac types dominant at Lamponia from 420 to 350 B.C., and at Temnos in the fourth and third centuries, and frequent at Ophrynion from 350 to 300 B.C.

From the islands of the South Aegean there is nothing striking to report, except that at Rhodes the long prevalent type of the sun-god begins to give way in the last century B.C., and that of Dionysos becomes prominent in the Imperial currency<sup>c</sup>.

In the regions of the Fuxine it is only at Kyzikos and the Bithynian Herakleia that we find representations of Dionysos frequent on coins of the fifth or fourth centuries<sup>d</sup>. It is more surprising that the cult had so little influence on the earlier coin-types of the Hellenic cities of Ionia; Phokaia shows us an interesting head of the god in the coins about 400 B.C., and at Teos his turreted head which appears in the Imperial currency suggests that in the later age at least he became the tutelary god of the city which, in her autonomous period, had been a favourite haunt of his 'artists<sup>e</sup>.'

The issues of most of the other cities of the various districts of Asia Minor contribute little evidence as to the place of this worship in the state religion; most of the types are of the Imperial era and only a few have a religious significance,

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. List *s.v.* Crete and the Aegean Islands.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Aiolis-Lesbos.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Caria-Rhodes.

<sup>d</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Pontos-Bithynia; Mysia-Kyzikos.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Ionia.

such as the cistophori of Ephesos, Pergamon, Smyrna, and Laodikeia<sup>a</sup>; the Dionysiac types of the latter city may have been partly suggested by the proclivities of its founder, Antiochos II, towards this divinity. It is, therefore, the more strange that the equal or greater devotion of the Attalid dynasty should have left so little impress on the coinage of Pergamon<sup>b</sup>. In fact, among the cities of later foundation, it is only at Dionysopolis of Phrygia that the predominance of Dionysos is attested by numismatic evidence<sup>c</sup>. The kings of the Seleukid house occasionally stamped their currency with his figure, but it is Antiochos VI alone who shows a certain partiality for it. In the south-eastern states there are two cities only, Nagidos and Soloi of Cilicia, whose coinage gives important illustration of the character and power of this religion in the earlier period<sup>d</sup>: the coins of the latter city present an archaic bearded head of the god, and later—probably in the third century B. C.—a bearded head of the horned bull Dionysos. At Nagidos the Dionysiac type is in exclusive possession of the currency of the fifth and fourth centuries, except for a short period, and his worship appears on the same evidence to have been here united with that of the Oriental Aphrodite; the style of the coin-dies suggests at times Athenian influence, which we may conjecture to have contributed to the popularity of the cult (Coin Pl. no. 14).

Finally, in the western Hellas, among the cities of Italy and Sicily, it is only at Naxos and Galaria that we should consider on the numismatic evidence the worship of the god to have been politically powerful enough to dominate the types selected for the currency<sup>e</sup>. It is noteworthy that the city of Aitna, which was famous for its vine-culture, chose for its coin-stamp in the fifth century the figure, not of Dionysos, but of Zeus, while it gave him at the same time the emblem

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. List *s.v.* Ionia, Phrygia, vide *infra*, p. 261.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Mysia: we have Bacchic symbols on the Philetairos-coins; as regards the 'mystica cista' on the cistophori, Imhoof-Blumer has shown reason for thinking that this type originated at

Ephesos, and was adopted merely by Attalus I, vide *infra*, p. 261.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Phrygia; Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Asia Minor Interior.

<sup>d</sup> Suppl. List *s.v.* Lycaonia-Cilicia.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib. s.v.* Sicily, Italy.



of the knotted vine-staff, and carved on the reverse the bald head of Seilenos<sup>a</sup>.

The numismatic evidence which has just been cursorily reviewed is in many cases as defective as the literary. The deep significance of this cult for the Hellenic world is by no means adequately attested by the coin-representations. Most of the older currencies evidently clung to the figures of the old ancestral divinities; and where the Dionysiac type prevails, it may have been more often the commercial exigencies of the wine-trade than the political prestige of the divinity that caused its adoption.

This first estimate of the public cults and cult-appellatives of the Thracο-Hellenic god may close with the consideration of those that were consecrated to him as a divinity of the arts. Those recorded by the inscriptions and the literary sources are such as *Αὐλωνεὺς*, the god of flute-music, to whose cult a priesthood was attached at Athens, at least in the later period<sup>93</sup>; *Ἐναγώνιος*, the patron-deity of the musical or dramatic contests at Magnesia on the Maeander<sup>94</sup>; *Μελπόμενος*, the god of song, a cult of some importance at Athens and Acharnai, administered by a public priesthood that was the prerogative of a gens called the Euneidai, who claimed to be of half Minyan descent, and who appear to have fulfilled the functions of a guild of lyre-players in the religious services of the state<sup>97</sup>; and a recently discovered inscription of Priene proves the cult of Dionysos *Μελπόμενος* to have existed there also in the second century B.C.<sup>97</sup>; *Χορεύς* or *Χορεῖος*, the god of the choral dance, a title only attested by a private dedication at Paros, and in a letter of Trajan's<sup>99</sup>. The curious epithet, *Παραπαίζων*, found only in a private inscription, alludes probably to the sportive deity of the musical festivals<sup>98</sup>. Considerable doubt also exists concerning the words *Θρίαμβος* and *Διθύραμβος*, whether they were ever cult-appellatives of Dionysos. Athenaeus, to illustrate his thesis, which is probably false, that the Priapos of Parion, an ithyphallic demon of birth and vegetation, was only in origin an epithet detached from Dionysos, states that *Θρίαμβος* and *Διθύραμβος* were also

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. I, Coin Pl. A, 1.

originally mere epithets of the same divinity<sup>95</sup>. We cannot believe this; for the earliest usage, as well as the form of these words, suggests that their root-meaning was a religious dance, the former akin perhaps to the Latin 'trumpus<sup>a</sup>'; the latter a cognate word, sometimes explained as *Δι-θρίαμβος*, 'god's dance,' a choral performance consecrated to Dionysos<sup>b</sup>. It does not surprise us that words denoting originally some kind of dance or song should acquire in the Greek imagination a personal force, and come to be regarded as epithets or proper names of fictitious personalities; from *ἴαμβος* the song arose Iambe, the facetious handmaid, and probably from 'linos,' the harvest-song, Linos the shepherd; and other instances might be quoted. Yet we have only a few passages in Greek literature<sup>c</sup> where *Διθύραμβος* is used as a synonym of Dionysos himself: the chorus in the *Bakchai* of Euripides makes Zeus, at the moment after the first birth of the holy infant, exclaim, 'Come, oh Dithyrambos, enter thou my male womb; I bid Thebes hail thee by this holy name<sup>95</sup>.' Unless Thebes was in the habit of doing this in some ritual, or of doing something that made Euripides believe they were doing this, he would hardly have written such words. And the newly-discovered Delphic hymn<sup>d</sup>, composed in the fourth century in honour of Dionysos, contains the same invocation: 'Come to us, King Dithyrambos, Bakchos, god of the holy chant.' But the true relation between Dionysos and the *Διθύραμβος* is an important problem of Greek ritual; and the whole question concerning Dionysiac music, its original function in the primitive worship, and its development through the Greek

<sup>a</sup> Walde, in his *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, suggests that 'Triumpus' is a native Latin word connected with 'tripudium': this is the more likely view.

<sup>b</sup> The satisfactory etymological explanation of *Διθύραμβος* is still to seek: it is certainly a compound, and the first part probably derives from the root *Δι* in the sense of 'God.'

<sup>c</sup> The phrase in Pindar, quoted R. 95, has been wrongly interpreted as another

example; the *βοηλάτης Διθύραμβος* is evidently not the god himself, but a personification of the choral dance which escorts the sacred ox. The phrase in the *Fragmenta Adespota* *Ἰακχε θρίαμβε* might be a mere dance-call, but is more probably an evocation of the god; and in the fragment of Pratinas, *θριαμβοδιθύραμβε* is almost certainly so, as it comes in the context with *μισσόχαιρ' ἄναξ*<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Phokis-Delphi.

festivals into high forms of art that are among the precious traditions of European culture, belongs essentially to the study of Dionysiac ritual and may be reserved for the later discussion. But it is relevant to note here that the religious ideas and service of Delphi which were familiar to the Greek world and which associated Dionysos so closely with Apollo, the older Hellenic divinity of song, must have helped to diffuse and intensify the belief in the former as a god of music and the cognate arts, a belief that was rooted also in his aboriginal worship. It is likely that his connexion with the Muses belongs to the Thracian stratum of the religion<sup>a</sup>; but when we find him called *Μουσαγέτης*, 'leader of the Muses,' in a Naxian inscription of the Roman period referring to a state-festival<sup>b</sup>, we may believe that he was indebted for this to his adopted brother, Apollo, of whom it is elsewhere the peculiar appellation.

It is on this aspect of him that the poets love to dwell, reflecting here, as the best of them often do, the real religion of the Polis. Aristophanes is eloquent on this theme, and brings his 'Bakchos with the eyes of fire' into the companionship of the Graces<sup>92</sup>; Euripides, in an inspired passage, proclaims the mission of Dionysos to 'mingle the music of the flute with laughter, and to cause our cares to cease<sup>91</sup>,' and in the greatest of the Dionysiac hymns that have come down to us, the Sophoclean ode in the *Antigone*, which equals or surpasses the odes in the *Bakchai* for its deep expression of the fervour and love enkindled by this religion, the poet reveals the passion of the Dionysiac music and dance, the ecstasy of the nightly revel, as a great cosmic power that vibrates through heaven and the stars: 'thou whom the fire-breathing stars follow in the dance<sup>c</sup>, thou hearkener of voices of the night<sup>91</sup>'; and Plato moralizes soberly on the same theme: 'the gods pitying the race of man that is born for toil and trouble gave us the Muses, and Apollo their leader, and Dionysos as our festival companions<sup>90</sup>.' The last passage

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 182.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Kyklades-Naxos.

<sup>c</sup> The composer of the Delphic prize-

poem naturally avails himself of this great motive: πάντες δ' ἀστέρες ἀρχόρευσαν, Geogr. Reg. s.v. Delphi.

is of more value than most as showing us an aspect of Hellenic religion that differentiates it from any other, its frank sense of divine companionship, and its refined geniality.

Besides the state-cults and festivals in which Dionysos was recognized as the god of music and the drama, we have to take note of the organization of the *τεχνῖται Διονύσου*, as they were called, groups of dramatic, choral, and musical performers<sup>a</sup>, who were so devoted to his festival-service that in Aristotle's time they were nicknamed 'Dionysos-flatterers'<sup>104</sup>. We have no clear evidence as to the date of the earliest foundation of these dramatic colleges; some scholars have seen the germs of them in that religious guild which Sophocles, according to his ancient biographer, established in honour of the Muses out of a certain number of 'cultured people'<sup>b</sup>. But the first clear record of them is in fourth-century literature, in Aristotle's phrase just mentioned, and in Demosthenes<sup>c</sup>. We know that this century witnessed a great development in the art and profession of the actor in Athens; and her claim, which was admitted by the Delphic oracle, at least in the second century, to have been the first to 'bring together the association of artists'<sup>104 m</sup>, may have been justified by the facts. But soon the society spread out branches all over the Greek world, and other cities than Athens become their chief centres. We hear of the 'guild of Ionia and the Hellespont,' and Teos, Lebedos, Iasos, Tralles, Priene, are mentioned as their abiding-places at different periods<sup>104 a, s, t, v</sup>. In the mainland of Greece the leading organization was that of the 'actors of the Isthmos and Nemea,' and we hear of their meetings at Argos, in Macedon, at Thebes and Chalkis<sup>104 c, e, k, l</sup>, and it was probably they who supplied the main part of the *personnel* for the dramatic, poetic, and musical performances in the great festivals of Hellas. Their prestige and influence increased till they became a real political force, being courted alike by kings and free states, and protected and favoured by the Roman Empire<sup>104 b, g, r</sup>. Doubtless they

<sup>a</sup> For detailed discussion vide Lüders, *Die Dionysos-Künstler*. Foucart, *De Collegiis sc. artific.*

<sup>b</sup> *Vita Soph.* ταῖς δὲ Μούσαις θίασον ἐκ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων συναγαγεῖν.

<sup>c</sup> *Fals. Leg.* 401, 14.

owed this mainly to the passion for the theatre that grew ever more intense in the later days of Hellenism; but they claimed a sacrosanct character as the ministers of Dionysos, and the Delphic oracle championed their claim. The self-confidence and pride of these guilds speaks in an interesting decree passed by the main association of Asia Minor gathered together in Teos; it proclaims the power of the artists to confer immortal glory upon any individual, the honour that they receive both from gods and men, the immunities and security which every state has given them 'in accordance with the oracles of Apollo<sup>104 b</sup>.' They had their own private cult of their patron-deity, their own *τέμενος*, hearth and altar<sup>104 m</sup>, and they elected their own priest, by whose name they dated their decrees<sup>104 n, v</sup>. They are thus entirely on the same footing, and their organization is of the same type, as the other *θίασοι* or religious brotherhoods so prevalent in the later centuries of the Hellenic world; and we may suppose that the *Διονυσιασταί* of the Peiraieus, which would be the normal name of a private society devoted to Dionysos, were only a section of the 'artists<sup>104 m</sup>'; for the *τεχνῖται* at Smyrna, who are devoted to Dionysos *Βρισεύς*, are called *μύσται*, a name appropriate to the members of a secret religious association<sup>104 r</sup>. But no other thiasos had such functions as theirs, such public recognition, or was so closely associated with the state-cult. At Smyrna we find them maintaining the Lesbian worship of Dionysos Briseus, who took his title from that promontory of Lesbos whence the Homeric heroine derived her name<sup>a</sup>; in Cyprus the high-priest of the artists was also high-priest of the city, and the worship of 'the Benefactors,' the deified Ptolemies, was under their care<sup>104 q</sup>. Nor was their skill and energy reserved for the Dionysiac festival alone; we know that they assisted the celebration of the Pythia<sup>b</sup>, and the brilliant musical and poetical contests which the city of Thespiai organized on Helikon in honour of the Muses<sup>104 n</sup>; and the artists' synod offered sacrifices to Apollo, Hermes, and the Muses, as well as to Demeter and Kore<sup>104 f, m</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Lesbos.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Delphi.

Thus we must reckon with them as one of the forces that sustained a slowly sinking religion, while their special interest was in Dionysos and his theatrical rites. They went far afield, and where they went they spread or fostered the cult of their god; so that no Hellenic deity possessed so wide an area of influence as Dionysos. By the time of Lucullus, and probably earlier, they had penetrated Armenia<sup>104 w</sup>, and it was an actor from Tralles, and therefore no doubt of their association, who danced and sang the fatal Bacchic triumph-chant over the bloody remains of Crassus in the hall of the Parthian king<sup>a</sup>. We may therefore believe that it was they that were the missionaries of culture who brought the Dionysiac drama, and possibly some seeds of Hellenic religion, to the frontiers of India.

These associations then of 'the artists' should figure prominently in the history of European culture and art. No doubt their religious value was of less significance, yet it should not be ignored. For they brought into prominence and assisted to develop the conception of Dionysos as a god of the intellectual life, and perhaps won for him such an appellative as *Παιδείος*, that seems to belong to his cult at Athens, as the deity who fostered the mental education of the citizens<sup>57</sup>. And thus the study of these organizations brings before us, though not so vividly, the same phenomenon as that which the Apolline religion presented, the easy adjustment in the Greek world of the claims of the intellectual and the religious life, and the idea that the artist's work was in immediate sympathy with the nature of the divinity. We must also note that Apollo's power was of wider range in the intellectual sphere than that of Dionysos: the later deity did not penetrate the school or palaistra or Academy, but was content with the theatre, patron of one art only though one of many branches.

In this union of Greek art with Greek religion it is generally true to say that the former was the predominant partner. Dogma and state-cult laid only light burdens on the artist and musician; and as tragedy went its own way, freed from

<sup>a</sup> Plut. *Crass.* 33.

Dionysiac restraint, so in respect of its choice of subject did the dithyramb. And yet the study of the ritual reveals that the spirit of the Dionysiac religion continued to give the tone to its music. Dionysiac music remained distinct from the Apolline; and the distinction which our modern masters have inherited and maintained, descends from two distinct strains in the ancient religion of Hellas<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 4, p. 249.

## CHAPTER V

### DIONYSIAC RITUAL

THE previous sketch has not clearly revealed any salient difference between Dionysos and the other high divinities of Hellas. It is only through the minute study of the ritual that the distinctive and characteristic features of this religion emerge, and these are of equal interest for the students of primitive as of advanced religious ideas. The more striking phenomena of the aboriginal religion are found to have been the wild and ecstatic enthusiasm that it inspired, the self-abandonment and communion with the deity achieved through orgiastic rites and a savage sacramental act, and the prominence of women in the ritual, which in accordance with a certain psychic law made a special appeal to their temperament. It becomes then our first task to consider how far these features are reflected, clearly or dimly, in the cult-practices of the civilized Greek states; and, as the record is defective and confused, we must supplement it by every kind of indirect evidence within our reach.

That the mortal might be temporarily charged with the personality or spirit of the divinity, at exceptional times and through exceptional means, is an idea that may be traced here and there in the older Greek religion. The priestess of Artemis Laphria at Patrai appears to have embodied the goddess on a solemn occasion<sup>a</sup>; the priestesses of the brides of the Dioscuri are called Leukippides<sup>b</sup>, the youthful ministrants of the bull-god Poseidon are themselves 'bulls' at Ephesos, the girls who dance in honour of the bear-goddess at Brauron are themselves 'bears.' But these examples are rare exceptions: nor have we any suggestion that the sense of com-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 3, p. 439, Artemis, R. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Laconia.



munion here was real and deep, or that it was obtained by any ecstasy or self-abandonment.)

It appears otherwise in the Dionysiac ritual. In the common Greek nomenclature attached to it, the inspired male votary was himself *Bákchos*, the inspired female *Bákχη*; the spirit of the god enters into them, and therefore for a time they bear his name. The sententious poetic phrase quoted by Plato, 'many bear the narthex, but few are real Bacchoi'<sup>64</sup>, shows the prevalence of the idea that those who had religious genius and the 'root of the matter' in them might attain through ecstasy real communion with the deity. Plato quotes this as what 'they say' who deal with *τελεταί*, and these latter are generally private initiations. The question here is how far the orgiastic ceremonies, the ecstatic ritual of communion, were adopted as part of the state-worship in Greece. In the early days at least of its Hellenic history they were doubtless an essential feature of the Bacchic religion; the legends concerning the women of Phthiotis<sup>67</sup>, the madness of the Minyan, Chian, and Argive women and the daughters of Proitos are sufficient proofs offered by mythology<sup>70</sup>. The difficulty is to determine how long this survived in general practice under public authorization. No one will imagine that the *Bakchai* of Euripides represents faithfully contemporary religious life in Greece, or that the ordinary Greek woman could and did spontaneously dance out to the mountains in a wild outburst of orgiastic excitement. The orgiastic enthusiasm, where the state-religion preserved it, was doubtless directed and safeguarded by authority. But the records concerning it are somewhat scanty and obscure. We should imagine it to have been more powerful in the cities on the frontier of Thrace or Macedon; and we hear of the Thyiades of Amphipolis 'whirling the tresses of their long hair in the dance'<sup>65</sup>. The ecstatic ritual existed in some form down to a late period at Thebes and Delphi at least. The Theban women long maintained a sacred drama on Kithairon, which gave rise to the legend of Pentheus; much of their ritual was by night, and accompanied by violent clamour and orgiastic excitement; and hence we can explain the frequent

references in the later poets to this mountain as the scene of the night<sup>ly</sup> Bacchic tumult in the three-yearly festival<sup>68 a</sup>. The most valuable document concerning the Maenad-establishment at Thebes is an inscription found at Magnesia on the Maeander<sup>68 a</sup>: a prodigy had occurred at this city—an image of Dionysos of youthful type, *ἔτι κοῦρος*, had been found in the hollow of a plane-tree; and the Delphic oracle was at once consulted, which answered that the portent had been sent them because when they founded their city they had raised no temples to Dionysos, that they must now erect shrines, establish a priesthood, and send for Maenads of the race of Ino from Thebes to organize Bacchic thiasoi in Magnesia: whereupon Thebes was petitioned and sent them three Maenads, Kosko, Baubo, and Thettale, who organized three thiasoi for the Magnesians, called respectively *ὁ Πλατανιστηνῶν* after the god in the plane-tree, *ὁ πρὸ Πόλεως* and *ὁ τῶν Καταβατῶν*; the Maenads at their death received a public burial and probably heroic honours. The same basis contains another inscription containing the name of the dedicator of the former, who calls himself an ‘ancient member of a Dionysiac thiasos,’ and states that he has written out the ‘ancient oracle’ and dedicated the stone to the god. The inscriptions may belong to the second century B.C.; but the oracle must have been delivered at a far earlier date, for it seems to refer to the introduction of the worship of Dionysos at Magnesia, which must have been comparatively indeed a late event, but not later than the time of Themistocles, who introduced the festival of the *Xóες* there<sup>126</sup>. On the other hand, the fact that the image found in the tree was of the youthful type prevents us dating the introduction of the worship earlier than the fifth century<sup>a</sup>. We have proof then that at this period Thebes was recognized as the metropolis of the religion, that the Maenads there were public functionaries of high prestige, claiming the privilege of apostolic descent from Ino, and sending out on request missionaries across the sea; that these arriving at Magnesia become leaders of the new church, and one thiasos is given a special political character by the

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 269.

title  $\delta$   $\pi\rho\delta$  Πόλεως, which we have found as an appellative of Dionysos himself at Thera<sup>a</sup>. And no doubt the Maenad-ritual at Magnesia was of the same orgiastic character as the Theban; what its purport and significance was remains to be considered when we have collected the few other instances.

In Phokis, the Bacchic prophet of Amphikleia who delivered oracles under the stress of divine possession, shows the survival in North Greece of the old Thracian tradition<sup>47 c</sup>. But Delphi affords the most conspicuous example of orgiastic rites organized by the community. The society of the Thyiades played a leading part in the Delphic ceremonies, and was considered to be of great antiquity, claiming to descend from Thyia, the daughter of Kastalios, and mother of Delphos. The name is connected with  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , and suggests the Bacchic madness. These were the sacred women who ascended the heights of Parnassos above the Corycian cave, and 'go mad in the service of Dionysos and Apollo<sup>66 b</sup>.' The service was in the depths of winter, and once the women were in danger of perishing of cold<sup>b</sup>. This wild and lonely ritual on Parnassos has left a deep impress on classic poetry. 'Thou art seen in the dusky gleaming fires above the twin-crested rock,' sings the chorus in the *Antigone*<sup>66 f</sup>; Euripides speaks of 'the leaping Bacchic fire of the god<sup>66 g</sup>,' and Aristophanes of 'the reveller Dionysos who holds the Parnassian rock, and gleams with the pine-torches bright among the Delphic Bacchai<sup>66 h</sup>.' These Thyiades are the real counterparts of the Maenads of mythology, and as they doubtless waved torches in a real ritual-dance, so torch-bearing revellers of the unseen world were thought to be round about them, and the religious imagination would be stimulated by the phosphorescent exhalations which are still seen in thick weather on the slopes of the mountain.

With these Delphic 'wild women' were associated certain Attic Thyiades, who were sent periodically by the Athenian state to assist in the trieteric rites on Parnassos. On the journey from Athens they held Dionysiac services at different

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 136.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. 953 D.

places, and were doubtless reverentially regarded by the communities that lay on their route. In the record of the worship and of the festivals celebrated in Athens or Attica, there is no other trace left in the historical period of any part played by Maenad-ministrants; and yet there remains a sure proof that they had once been active there, the name of the festival *Λήναια*, which can only be derived from *Λήναι*, 'the wild women,' not from *ληνός*, a 'wine-press<sup>a</sup>.' In the earliest period then there were 'wild women' conducting a public festival in Attica, but these had been tamed, and at last suppressed: but the wilder religious temperament of the female still broke out occasionally even in Athens, where women were so straitly kept; in the opening words of Aristophanes' comedy, *Lysistrata*, waiting long for the women to assemble, complains that if an invitation had been issued to them to come to the shrine of Bacchos or of Pan, 'there would have been no getting along for the crowd of timbrels.' And it is possible that the *Γεραραί* or 'reverend women' who officiated in the *Anthesteria*<sup>b</sup> are functionally descended from a primitive company of Maenads<sup>124 q</sup>.

Looking at the Isthmos and the Peloponnese we can find in the mythology sufficient proof that the earliest establishment of this religion was accompanied with the Maenad-ecstasy, but only a few traces of its survival in the later ritual. It has already been observed that Sikyon appears to have learned the forms of her Bacchic worship from Thebes; and we discern an orgiastic element in the Sicyonic service of Dionysos *Βακχεῖος*, whose name itself suggests the *Βάκχος*, the frenzied votary<sup>45 e</sup>. Therefore when Pausanias mentions the marble statues of the Bacchai in a temple near the theatre in Sikyon, placed by the side of the gold and ivory idol of the god, and adds, 'these women they say are holy, and rave in the service of Dionysos,' he is probably referring to a real thiasos of sacred women maintained by the state of Sikyon for this service: else he would be uttering a trite and pedantic truism, known to every schoolboy-reader of Euripides.

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 208.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 159.

In Argolis, the story of the madness of the Proitides is proof that Maenad-ecstasy belonged to the primitive phase of the religion in this country; whether it survived in the later service the records leave us in doubt; but it is probable that the Argive festival of the Agriania was orgiastic and conducted partly by Bacchai<sup>75</sup>. We also hear of a festival called *τύρβη*, celebrated near the source of the Erasinos, on the road from Argos to Tegea, and of sacrifices offered here to Dionysos and Pan<sup>103 a</sup>; the name of the festival leaves no doubt as to its ecstatic and violent character. As regards Laconia, we have proof of the prominence of the Bacchai in the Dionysiac cult: a special name was in vogue for them here, the *δύσμαιναι*, 'the dangerously mad ones,' and Taygetos was one of the celebrated centres of the furious Bacchic orgy<sup>71</sup>; we hear also of a society of eleven maidens at Sparta called *Διονυσιάδες*, who ran a ritual-race in the public festival of the god, and who may have been the same as the official Bacchai<sup>a</sup>. The record of Arcadia also is clear on this point: the Maenads were here called by the ancient name *Λῆναι*, the wild women<sup>72</sup>, and though we hear nothing of their ministration, in several towns the rites were mystic and orgiastic<sup>72</sup>; we must believe, too, that the women who were regularly scourged in the trieteric festival at Alea, in accordance with a Delphic oracle<sup>87</sup>, were the Bacchai of the state, suffering thus in conformity to an ancient ritual-tradition<sup>b</sup>.

In Messenia the only hint of the prevalence at one time of the religious phenomenon we are considering is the name of Mount Eua, and the legend concerning its derivation, that here, namely, was first heard in this country the Maenad-invocation, *Ἐβοί*<sup>c</sup>. In Elis it has left clearer traces, in the name of the festival *θυία*, during which three pitchers in a sacred building were miraculously filled with wine<sup>d</sup>, and in the orgiastic chant of the 'sixteen women<sup>34</sup>,' quoted already<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Laconia.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 163.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Messenia.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. s.v. Elis.

<sup>e</sup> Pausanias, 5. 16, gives a long ac-

count of the functions and origin of this college of the *ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες*, from which it would appear that they did not originate in the Dionysiac worship; but one of the two choruses into which

In Achaia there is the record of Dionysiac choruses and orgiastic initiations at Aigai, and we may surmise the ministrations of Maenads in the festival<sup>a</sup>.

In the records of the worship in the island-states, so far as they have been gathered, there is no direct mention of *Βάκχοι* or *Βάκχαι*; but legends and cult-appellatives speak clearly enough as to the prevalence of an ecstatic ritual in many of these. The Delian story of the Oinotropi, the daughters of Anios, who can turn everything that they touch into wine, may be interpreted as proof that the Maenads with their miraculous powers were once active on this island<sup>b</sup>. Aelian preserves a legend about the Bacchic madness of the Chian women<sup>70</sup>. And appellatives of Dionysos such as *Ῥμάδιος*, 'the devourer of raw flesh,' in whose cult in Chios and Tenedos a human victim was at one period torn to pieces and offered, and *Ἀνθρωπορραίστης* in Tenedos, 'the render' or 'the smiter' of men, are echoes of the frenzy of a cannibal or murderous orgy that had once been a feature of the island-worships<sup>86 a</sup>. In Rhodes the god was invoked as *Βακχεῖος* and *Θωνοίδας*<sup>71</sup>; the latter term evidently refers to the Bacchic orgy; and as regards the former we may assume that where the god was officially and distinctively styled *βάκχος* or *βακχεύς* or *Βακχεῖος*—as he was in many places, and probably more than we have record of<sup>73</sup>—there was a thiasos of *Βάκχοι* or *Βάκχαι* attached to his service. This view is supported by the Sicyonic cult already described<sup>c</sup>, in which *Βακχεῖος* is the violent god by contrast with *Λύσιος*, and the influence of the orgiastic Theban ritual is attested<sup>45 e</sup>, and also by an inscription of Knidos recording the arrangements agreed to between the magistrates and the *Βάκχοι* to safeguard the purity of the temple of Dionysos *Βάκχος*<sup>73</sup>. Therefore the facts of cult agree with the interpretation of the name *βάκχος*, that is the best that philology has hitherto put forth, which derives it from *Ἰαχέιν* (*ιακχέιν*, *Φιφακχος*, *Ἰακχος*), and explains it as

they divided themselves was called 'the chorus of Physkoë, the beloved of Dionysos, who was the first to institute his worship in Elis.

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Achaia.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 163.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 131.

'the god of the loud clamour,' like Βρόμιος<sup>a</sup>. We have also the name of the month Ἀγριώνιος recorded for the calendars of Sparta, Kos, Kalymna, and Rhodes; and this points to the existence at one time of the festival called the Ἀγριάνια<sup>75</sup>, which was probably always orgiastic<sup>b</sup>.

But no island-community preserved so faithfully the primitive tradition of Bacchic enthusiasm as Crete. We have seen reason for believing that in the 'Minoan,' or pre-Hellenic days the whole island was devoted to the orgiastic worship of a great mother-goddess<sup>c</sup>. At an early period, probably before Homer, the Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos-cult was engrafted upon this, having arrived from Asia Minor, perhaps through Carian influences. The ecstatic vein, therefore, in the Cretan Dionysos cult would be nourished by a double source. And the aboriginal enthusiasm of the religion, however it abated elsewhere, seems here to have remained fresh and strong: so strong was the Dionysiac atmosphere that it transfigured the person of Zeus himself, who becomes merged in Zagreus, and takes the character of a mystic 'enthusiastic' god, who dies and rises again as a little child, who is swung in a cradle in a tree, and round whom dances a wild thiasos of armed men<sup>d</sup>. Therefore we are not surprised to learn from Firmicus Maternus that even in the latter days of Paganism 'the Cretans solemnize a divine funeral festival, and organize a sacred year with trieteric rites, performing everything that the boy-god did or suffered. They rend a living bull with their teeth, and they simulate madness of soul as they shriek through the secret places of the forest with discordant clamours<sup>82</sup>.' It is not clear whether this is the description of a state-ritual or the ceremonies of a private religious society; but the statement seems to intend the former, and proves the unabated strength of the ancient religious passion, which was the more likely to maintain itself in Crete in proportion

<sup>a</sup> Other orgiastic epithets<sup>71</sup>, attested but without any note of locality, are Ἰυγγίης 'the god of the giddy dance,' Εὔσιος and Εὔσιος 'the god of the cry Εὔοι.' The suggestion recently made that Βρόμιος might mean the 'beer-god'

has little or no *vraisemblance*, vide supra, p. 121.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 182.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. 3, pp. 295-296.

<sup>d</sup> Vide vol. 1, pp. 36-37.

as the Cretans in the latter centuries had sunk mentally and morally below the average Hellenic world. We can consider a little later what was the meaning of all that which Firmicus Maternus describes, and whether he had any right to suggest that the frenzy was simulated.

In Asia Minor, the Greek Dionysos, though he retained a distinct recognition and remained a distinct personality in many of the state-cults<sup>a</sup>, was greatly overshadowed by the figure of the great mother-goddess of Anatolia, and tended to merge himself in his Phrygian counterparts, Attis and Sabazios, whose names were probably of more avail throughout this region than his. The ruling character of the Phrygian religion was its spirit of violent enthusiasm, and on such a soil the Hellenized god was likely to revert to his aboriginal instinct. In Lydia he entered the service of the local goddess 'Hipta<sup>63 c, d</sup>', probably one of the many forms and names of the power known generally as Kybele; and the Lydian rites had the same orgiastic character as the Phrygian; we find the Bacchanals, who revelled in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos, called indifferently, *Μιμαλλόνες, βασσάραι, Λυδαί*, 'with their hair dishevelled, and some of them crowned with serpents<sup>61 f</sup>.' We are told of the Lydian women's thiasoi and their dances in the service of Dionysos<sup>63 e</sup>; and Himerios asserts that the Lydians 'went mad and danced in his honour, when the sun brought back the spring<sup>63 a</sup>.' Lucian, a better authority, attests how impassioned were the people of Ionia and Pontos for the mimetic Bacchic dance at certain times of the year<sup>63 f</sup>; and the close resemblance marked by Plutarch between the rites and legends of Adonis and Dionysos may have been due to their original affinity of character or to the reciprocal influence of the two worships<sup>62 o</sup>. The god appears to have been attracted also into the orgiastic circle of the Cappadocian goddess *Mā*, so that his title *Μάσαρις*, by which he was known in Caria, was thought to have been derived from her<sup>63 b</sup>.

Apart, then, from the special cult-records, which are scanty,

<sup>a</sup> For instance at Mylasa, where the priest of Sabazios dedicated a monument 'to Dionysos and the Demos,' Geogr. Reg. s.v. Caria (Mylasa).



we are justified in concluding that the Dionysiac worship retained its enthusiastic and ecstatic character in Asia Minor. We have noted the state-institution of the thiasoi of the Bacchai at Magnesia<sup>a</sup>; and a recently-discovered inscription of the late Hellenic period proves the same fact of Miletos<sup>b</sup>: it is a grave-epitaph that speaks thus—‘Oh, Bacchai of our city, give your last greetings to your holy priestess—this is the virtuous woman’s due—she led you to the mountains and sustained all the mystic service and the holy rites, journeying in behalf of the whole state.’

The facts collected above are no doubt insufficient for a certain and general conclusion; but they prompt us to believe that the orgiastic and ecstatic ritual was not confined to the private thiasoi; and that the state-cults in fact were not so wholly tempered and sobered by the Hellenic spirit as some writers have supposed, but preserved a certain fervour that marked Dionysos out from the deities of the older Hellenism. And this view accords with the general statement of Diodorus Siculus: ‘in many of the Hellenic states every other year Bacchic bands of women collect, and it is lawful for maidens to carry the thyrsos and to join in the enthusiasm; while the women, forming in groups, offer sacrifices to the god, and revel, celebrating with hymns the presence of Dionysos<sup>64</sup>.’

Before discussing the inner significance of the Bacchic ‘orgia,’ we may note at once a certain salient fact, the prominence of women in the ritual. Not only in the orgiastic but in the more sober service we find the ministrations of women strikingly frequent; and we may add other examples to those just collected. In Attica noble maidens served as *καθηφόροι* in his worship<sup>69 a</sup>; and we learn from Demosthenes much that is interesting concerning the order of the ‘Gerarai’, the fourteen ‘reverend women’ who assisted the queen-archon in her mystic function in the Anthesteria. They were bound by a strict oath of ritual purity, and were probably selected from families that claimed to descend from the earliest Attic votaries of Dionysos. Of unique importance from this point of view is the solemn marriage of the queen-archon and

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 152.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. ‘Asia Minor Coast, Miletos.’

Dionysos, the central act of the political worship of the god<sup>69, 124 a</sup>. In Kos we find the priesthood of Dionysos *Θυλλοφόρος* in the hands of a woman<sup>13</sup>; on Mount Taygetos, in the town of Brasiai, a certain temple of the god was only accessible to women, and the whole of the ritual was in their hands<sup>71</sup>. This is, indeed, the only example of the exclusion of men in this worship, in which the priest is after all more common than the priestess, and one hears frequently of the male votary, the *βάκχος*, as well as of the Bacchai. But the woman-ministrant was more essential generally to this cult than to that of any other male divinity, and was never excluded as she frequently was in the others. And the myths are here, as we have seen, in full accord with the ritual. Besides those which have already been noted, the lesser known local legends of Attica illustrate the same fact. The daughter of the good Ikaros, Erigone, is a personality that belongs to the earliest Bacchic legend and ritual of Ikaria; the daughters of Semachos, the eponymous hero of the deme of Semachidai, were among the first who entertained him on his entrance into Attica, and from them were descended a certain order of his priestesses<sup>69 a</sup>; the daughters of Eleuther were among the early victims of the Bacchic madness. Even the god himself in his own nature shows a bias towards the feminine; and doubtless the strange scene in the *Bakchai* of Euripides, describing the dressing-up of Pentheus, rests ultimately on some actual ritual in which the image was dressed in apparently female attire. Apollodoros tells us that Dionysos learned his mysteries and borrowed his costume from the Phrygian goddess Kybele<sup>621</sup>; this idea was suggested, no doubt, by the later contamination of cults; but at any rate the *βασσάρα*, from which he derived his name *Βασσαρεύς*, was a woman's dress, regarded as Thracian or Lydian<sup>61 f</sup>, and Aeschylus and Euripides make Lykourgos and Pentheus taunt the god for his womanly appearance (*ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις*);. There seems, besides, to have been a story current somewhere, which Apollodoros preserves, that 'Hermes took the infant-god to Ino and Athamas and persuaded them to bring him-up as a girl<sup>61 d</sup>'. There is certainly more in this than mere mockery

of the effeminate nature of the wine-god: the putting on female apparel had, and has still in places, a ritualistic value and significance, as I have pointed out in another place<sup>a</sup>; for the reproductive magic of vegetation the female garb, bringing with it the female power, may be sometimes essential, and therefore the god who was expected to perform vegetation-magic, and the priest who officiated for him, might find it expedient to assume the female dress. One may thus explain the interesting cult in Macedon, recorded by Polyainos, of Dionysos *Ψευδάνωρ*<sup>61d</sup>, 'the sham man,' his manhood being disguised in women's garb, for the legend that he tells about it, though irrelevant and invented on the pattern of an Argive story, seems to show that there was some confusion of sexes in the ritual.

We can now consider what was the true significance of the Bacchic 'enthusiasm' or orgy. The phenomenon of religious ecstasy, frequent in so many religions, ancient and modern, primitive and advanced, has been well analysed by Rohde<sup>b</sup>, who shows that its proper mental effect is a transcending of the limits of ordinary consciousness and the feeling of communion with the divine nature. This was certainly the Greek view: the 'enthusiast' is *ἐνθεος*, 'full of the god,' the Maenad takes to herself the very name of the god. Also the 'enthusiast' possesses for the time the power and the character of his deity, as Plato tells us in the *Phaedrus*<sup>c</sup>; the Maenads bring milk and honey from river and rock, the daughters of Anios can turn everything they touch into wine<sup>73</sup>. And there is method in the madness; for the wild movements of the Bacchai, the whirling dance and the tossing of the head, the frantic clamour and music of the wind-instruments and tambourine, the waving of the torches in the darkness, the drinking of certain narcotics or stimulants, are recognized hypnotic methods for producing mental seizure or trance<sup>d</sup>;

<sup>a</sup> *Arch. für Religionswiss.* 1904, p. 89: for examples of the interchange of dress between the sexes at certain festivals, vide *ib.*, p. 75.

<sup>b</sup> *Psyche*<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 14-22, &c.

<sup>c</sup> p. 253 A.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Rohde, *op. cit.* 2, p. 11. No doubt drunkenness entered into the Greek maenads are not accused of it. The use of wine in the ritual may be connected with vegetation-magic: Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup>,

and the drinking of the blood and eating the raw flesh of an animal that incarnated the god is also a known form of divine communion. And what are we to say of the 'silence of the Bakche,' alluded to in the strangest of Greek proverbs<sup>80 b</sup>? Is it the exhaustion that follows upon over-exaltation, or is it the very zenith reached by the flight of the spirit, when voices and sounds are hushed, and in the rapt silence the soul feels closest to God? That this was a method for attaining the highest and deepest communion was known to the ancient theosophists<sup>a</sup>; and this mysterious proverb suggests that it may have been known to the followers of the wild Thracian god. But what was the object of it all? Was the sense of communing with the deity, of absorption into the infinite, the end in itself? Rohde tends to regard this as the true explanation and the sufficient motive. Plato might agree with this view, for he tells us that 'the madness sent by God is better than the moderation of men<sup>b</sup>'; or Euripides, who praises the happiness of him 'who knoweth the mysteries of gods, is pure in life, and, revelling on the mountains, hath the Bacchic communion in his soul<sup>82 n</sup>.' But this religion in Greece is the immediate offspring of a primitive and barbaric parent; and we find among contemporary primitive people that the religious ecstasy is not usually an end in itself, but is excited for some practical object. The practitioner works himself up into a frenzy in order to prophesy, to drive away the demon of disease, or to control the weather; the sense of 'mana' or divine magnetism that he acquires is no doubt a pleasurable sensation, and he often may 'work himself up' spontaneously in order to acquire more; but the spiritual electricity with which he is charged is intended to be put to a practical use. We may suspect the same of the Maenad-ecstasy, at least in its earlier history. The poets and the myth-makers remembered that in their enthusiasm the Bacchai could turn the wilderness into a garden 'flowing with milk

3, 239, gives an example from Dom Martin of women getting drunk to make hemp grow.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Sudhaus, *Leises w. Lautes Beten*

in *Archiv Relig. Wiss.* 1906, p. 200: Dieterich, *Mithras-Liturgie*, p. 42.

<sup>b</sup> p. 244 D.

and honey': Plato himself pretends to believe it, and later superstition attributed such power to the Edonian and Lydian enthusiasts<sup>73</sup>. And such miracles, even with no record of Bacchic frenzy as an accompaniment, were regularly performed in certain temples and at certain festivals of Dionysos<sup>a</sup>. Their utility must have made them exceedingly popular, and they may give the clue to the original significance of the orgy. At Melangeia in Arcadia the orgies of Dionysos, who seems to have been associated here with the nether-world Aphrodite, were in the hands of the *Μελιασταί*, sacred functionaries whose name may express the magic by which they could foster the growth of the ash-tree<sup>b</sup>, just as the name of one of the thiasoi of Maenads at Magnesia, *Πλατανιστηναί*, expresses their power over the growth of the plane-tree<sup>68 a</sup>. In fact, the Bacchoi and Bacchai charge themselves with supernatural energy, primarily to work vegetation-magic. We have discovered hints and signs of this in the old Thracian ritual-legend, which accord with the statement of Philostratos about the Edonian Bakchoi<sup>73</sup> and with evidence derived from the Bacchic ceremony in modern Thrace, described by Mr. Dawkins, of which a sacred ploughing formed part<sup>c</sup>. It is well known that whipping is a commonly used practice in vegetation-rites, whether to increase the fructifying power of the patients, in cases where the rods were cut from a tree or a plant of a specially quickening potency, or more usually perhaps to drive out from the body impure influences or spirits, so that it may become the purer vehicle of divine force. Therefore Lykourgos pursued and struck the Maenads with ox-thongs; the women at Alea in Arcadia were scourged in the festival of Dionysos<sup>87</sup>; and there is reason to think that the modern Bacchanalian mummers at Bizye were at one time accustomed to be whipped in the course of the miracle-play<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> At Elis in the feast of Thyia, three wine-jars placed sealed in the temple were miraculously filled with wine in the night (Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Elis): at Teos a fountain was miraculously supplied at certain times<sup>45 m</sup>; cf. the similar marvel in the festival at Aigai (Geogr.

Reg. *s.v.* Achaia); at Andros<sup>101 f</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Arcadia.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 107.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Dawkins, *op. cit.*; compare the whipping of Charila, the Delphic heroine, in a ritual full of vegetation-magic (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 12, p. 293 E),

A most potent method of charging oneself with divine force was the sacramental drinking of blood. We find examples of this here and there in native Hellenic ritual, but it was a salient and constant characteristic of the Maenad ecstasy. The tragedy of Euripides is eloquent concerning the joy 'of the banquet of raw flesh,' and the Christian fathers and the scholiasts attest the long survival of this practice in the orgiastic ritual. With the passage quoted above from Firmicus Maternus we may compare the sarcasm of Arnobius concerning the Bacchanalian 'omophagy': 'that I may exhibit you as full of the majesty of the godhead, you mangle with bloodstained lips the inward parts of bleating goats<sup>81</sup>'; and Clemens speaks to the same effect: 'the Bacchoi worship orgiastically the "mad" Dionysos, celebrating the mad service by devouring raw flesh, and they solemnize the distribution of the flesh of the murdered victim, crowning their heads with snakes and raising the cry of *Euoi*<sup>81</sup>.' In fact, 'omophagy' and the rending of the living flesh are associated by Plutarch<sup>84</sup> with fasting, lamentation, and *αἰσχρολογία*, or indecent badinage, as characteristics of worships which he would regard as demoniac; but we can see that he draws his terminology mainly from the Dionysiac orgy. The victim that was torn to pieces might even be a human being. The legend that the women of the Minyai rent asunder a 'tender child as if it were a fawn' reflects an old ritual that evidently survived here and there in the historic period; we gather from Porphyry, who quotes Euelpis of Karystos as his authority, that in Chios a man was rent asunder in the sacrifice to Dionysos *Ὠμάδιος*, 'the eater of raw flesh,' and the similar charge of a Dionysiac human sacrifice is brought against the Lesbians by Clemens<sup>86 a</sup>. Similarly, the cult-term *ἀνθρωπορραίστης*<sup>a</sup>, attached to the god in Tenedos, must be

and of the handmaiden in the Mysteries of Mater Matuta at Rome which Plutarch compares with 'the things that are done by (or to) the nurses of Dionysos' (*Vit. Cam.* 5).

<sup>a</sup> This epithet might throw light on the mysterious word *Βραιτα* which seems to occur in the Delphic hymn (Geogr. Reg. s. v. Phokis): this has been

connected by M. Weil, who published the hymn, with *βραῖω* [*βραιω*] in the sense of 'the render,' and this is less hazardous than Miss Harrison's derivation of it from the late word Braesum = 'grain used for making beer,' *Proleg.* 418, a word neither Greek nor probably Latin. But the reading *Βραιτα* in the hymn is doubted, vide Volgraff in *Mnemosyne*,

interpreted as the 'render of men<sup>79</sup>,' and in fact, according to Porphyry, the human sacrifice to Dionysos 'Ὠμάδιος existed once in Tenedos as in Chios<sup>80 a</sup>. Therefore we can understand why, when the Greeks discovered a Celtic god worshipped in an island at the mouth of the Loire by wild women, one of whom was yearly dismembered in his service, they identified him at once with Dionysos<sup>84</sup>.

We must now endeavour to discover the original meaning of this savage ritual. We find that the animals to which it is said to have been applied, the bull, the goat, the fawn, are those which are known to have been at times regarded as incarnations of this divinity. That this sacred character belonged to the bull in Thraco-Phrygian religion has already been shown; and the Greeks were familiar with this conception, for the Elean women in their liturgy hailed the god as 'the worthy bull,' and the men of Tenedos embodied it in a quaint ritual, selecting a pregnant cow and tending her with great reverence until the calf was born, which they then dressed up in the buskins of the god and solemnly sacrificed, doubtless in order to devour the flesh, while the people pretended to stone and to drive into exile the official who slew the calf-god. As regards the goat<sup>85 a-c</sup>, we have similar evidence that is sufficient, though not at first sight so obvious; the legends concerning Dionysos *Μελάναιγος* in Attica—which seem to have come over with the cult from Boeotia—prove him to have been regarded as clothed in the black goat-skin<sup>69b, c</sup>; we hear of *τραγηφόροι*, sacred maidens who wore goat-skins in a Dionysiac orgy<sup>85 a</sup>; legend has preserved us a glimpse of Argives similarly attired in his service<sup>a</sup>; and the goat-god may well be believed to be at the beginning of the development of Attic tragedy. Now when the divinity and his worshippers wear the skin of a certain animal in ritual, we may believe that they did

xxxiii (1905), 4, who thinks he detects χ among the letters and suggests *μισσοχαίρα*.

<sup>a</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s.v. Argolis*. M. Reinach quotes Pausanias, 2. 13, 6, as proving the Dionysiac character of the sacred goat at Phlius, which was honoured with a

gilded bronze statue and with certain rites, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, 2, p. 99: his view is probable, as the goat was there honoured for the purposes of the vintage, and near it stood the statue of Aristias the satyric dramatist, the son of Pratinas.

so because of a prevailing sense of a mystic and intimate relation between the god, the victim, and the votary. In this case this is further proved by the cult-epithet *Ἐρίφιος*, 'the kid-god,' attached to Dionysos in Laconia, and by the legend that the divine babe was transformed into a kid by Zeus to save him from the wrath of Hera<sup>85 c</sup>. We have also sufficient reason for supposing that the fawn, when dismembered in the orgiastic ecstasy, was being regarded as his embodiment; and hence *νεβρίζειν*, 'to play the fawn,' became a mystic term in Bacchic phraseology, conveying some allusion to the death of the deity, a religious problem to be considered directly.

We can now be sure as to the motive of the dismemberment. It was an essential part of the 'omophagy,' the frantic and hurried devouring of the raw flesh and hot blood, in which a divine spirit was supposed temporarily to reside. The wild excitement, going with a fear lest the spirit should escape, allowed no time for the formal mode of sacrifice and the slower processes of cookery<sup>a</sup>. No doubt the votaries at one time believed, what Arnobius says of them sarcastically, that the bloody banquet filled them full of the majesty and power of the divinity<sup>81</sup>; and for them, as Lactantius Placidus declares, the blood of the goat was 'sacred blood<sup>85 b</sup>.' Even where no 'omophagy' and no sacramental meal are reported, we can conclude that it formed or had formed the natural conclusion and object of the rite, if the other characteristic features are found. Thus, when Galen informs us that 'those who revel in honour of Dionysos rend vipers asunder, when spring has come to an end and summer is beginning<sup>81</sup>,' we may assume that the purpose of this rending was to devour the sacred flesh of the snake, in which at the beginning of the hot season the god was supposed to incorporate himself. Dionysos, in the Hellenic religion and religious consciousness, was but slightly associated with the snake; but very intimately, as we have seen, in the Thrako-Phrygian<sup>b</sup>. The

<sup>a</sup> The same idea probably underlies the sacrifice to Despoina in Arcadia, mentioned vol. 3, p. 211.

<sup>b</sup> For monumental illustration vide *infra*, p. 261.



most strikingly clear example of the ritualistic incarnation of the deity in the sacrificial animal is afforded by the strange ritual in Tenedos<sup>79</sup> described above<sup>a</sup>, and here we may assume with perfect security that the Dionysos-calf was sacramentally devoured. We may note in passing that this Tenedian rite is quieter and more civilized than the 'omophagy,' though not less mystic; and it is very doubtful if this savage rending of living flesh and drinking of hot blood survived in any ritual that could be called open and public; it was probably confined to certain thiasoi of Maenads and Bacchoi who, though they may have performed their functions for the benefit of the state and belonged to the establishment, revelled in remote places and apart; the uninitiated being bidden, as we gather from Euripides, to keep themselves aloof<sup>b</sup>.

We may further conclude from the legends of Orpheus, Pentheus, and the Minyan and Argive women<sup>77-78</sup>, as well as from the ritual of Chios already considered, that there had once been in vogue a Dionysiac ritual in which the human victim was rent asunder and devoured, and that this was nothing less than a cannibalistic sacrament of the Mexican type<sup>c</sup>, though probably only a simulation of this savagery survived in Chios and Tenedos<sup>86a</sup>. For according to the other analogies, the human victim must have been at one time regarded as the embodiment of the deity, and therefore to be devoured. And thus we should say that the child dismembered and eaten by the pre-historic Minyan and Argive women<sup>77</sup> personated the child-Dionysos. The version of the Pentheus-story presented by Oppian preserves an important trait; the Maenads pray that they may not only rend Pentheus, but also devour him<sup>76d</sup>; and this was no doubt the original intention of the rending in his case as in the others. It is now recognized that Pentheus is in his original character

<sup>a</sup> Vide p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> *Bacch.* 69 ἔκτροπος ἔστω κτλ.; cf. R. 83, where the ὠμοφαγία is spoken of as part of a μύησις.

<sup>c</sup> M. Reinach, *La Mort d'Orphée* (*Cultes*, &c., 2, pp. 91-92), refuses to admit cannibalism of any primitive

Greek state or even of Thrace; but he does not appear to have sufficiently considered the whole evidence concerning Chios, Tenedos, and Thrace; he is right of course in refusing to regard the sacrifice of the bull-calf in buskins as direct evidence.

no secular hero, a royal enemy of the god, but the god himself<sup>a</sup>, or rather the priest that incarnates the god; hence he is led solemnly through the city in the same female attire that the deity himself occasionally wears, he is hung on a tree and pelted at, and we find the image of Dionysos commonly hung on trees; then follows the dismemberment, and then—we may suspect—either in reality or simulation ‘the sacrificial banquet of men’s flesh’<sup>b</sup>. For a strong corroboration of this theory we should note the important statement of Pausanias that the Pythian oracle bade the Thebans honour that tree on which Pentheus was hung ‘as if it were a god,’ and that two of the most sacred idols of Dionysos at Corinth were made out of its wood<sup>76 d</sup>.

The religious idea latent in this strange ritual and the momentous influence that it might work upon dogma and faith is the most serious problem of this chapter of old-world religion. But before considering it we should note first the few other examples of human sacrifice in Dionysiac ritual or legend. At Potniai the worship of Dionysos *Αἰγοβόλος* was associated with a double tradition of the same rite; the priest of the god had once been slain by the inhabitants in drunken fury, and a plague fell upon the land, to remedy which the Delphic oracle commanded them to sacrifice a ‘beautiful boy’ yearly to the offended divinity; but a few years afterwards Dionysos allowed them to substitute a goat<sup>76 e</sup>. The boy-sacrifice may have been an offering of the ordinary piacular type; but we may interpret the slaying of the priest as an immolation of the human representative of the god. In the first place the goat which was substituted for the human life appears to have been a divine incarnation; for we can best explain the unusual title *αἰγοβόλος*—‘goat-shooter’—on the theory that the animal was hung up as a mark to be shot at, just as the figure of Pentheus served as a target for the Maenads<sup>c</sup>; and the same

<sup>a</sup> Vide Bather’s exposition in *Hell. Journ.* 1894, ‘The problem of the Bacchæ’: he is mistaken in my opinion in regarding the death of Pentheus as the ordinary immolation of the decaying deity; on the contrary Pentheus incar-

nates the young god: his rending was sacramental and probably only biennial.

<sup>b</sup> Wisdom of Solomon, xii. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Bather in *Hell. Journ.* 1894, p. 260; he takes the same view as regards the story of the priest, but does

idea probably inspired the shooting in each case. Secondly, the resemblance of this story with the Attic legend of Ikarios is more than a mere coincidence: the good Attic hero, the friend and double of the deity, who distributes wine to the shepherds as he journeys through Attica on a waggon, is murdered, because some of them drank themselves unconscious, and their relatives, who thought they were poisoned, took revenge<sup>a</sup>; the dead body of the holy victim was buried under a tree or flung into a well. We are reminded here of the Thessalian ritual-legend of Boutes—a close parallel to the Thracian legend of Lykourgos—who pursues the Maenads by the sea and finally throws himself into a spring<sup>67</sup>. When we remember that in the Thracian legend Dionysos himself leaps into the sea, that in the Argive he hides in a lake through fear of Perseus, from which in the later ritual at Argos he was periodically summoned by the sound of the trumpet<sup>69</sup>, and when we compare these with modern survivals of similar rituals in Dionysiac lands, such as the throwing of the straw-man into the water in Macedonia<sup>b</sup>, the same treatment of the Dionysiac king in modern Thrace, who, with his distribution of wine and grain from his two-wheeled cart, has been posing as the god<sup>c</sup>, we cannot but conclude that Ikarios and Boutes are the same priestly incarnations who are immolated or who immolate themselves, and that the legend of the priest of Potniai, though incomplete, springs from the same ritual.

And if the Maenads themselves were at times possessed with the god, a Maenad might occasionally fall a victim in a ritual-sacrifice inspired by the same idea. But the only record that seems to point to this is one from the Boeotian Orchomenos<sup>77</sup>; here, down to the days of Plutarch, there existed a college of sacred women called Ὀλεῖαι, reputed to be descendants of the three daughters of Minyas, who 'in madness craved human flesh' and devoured one of their own children: in the festival of the Ἀγριώνια, every other year, these Ὀλεῖαι were pursued by the priest of Dionysos with a drawn sword, and any one that he

not note the evidence from the title αἰγοβόλος.

<sup>b</sup> Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>a</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 130 and *Poet. Astr.* 2, 4.

<sup>c</sup> Dawkins, *Hell. Journ.* 1907, p. 202.

could catch was slain; and Plutarch asseverates that one of them was actually immolated in this fashion in his own time<sup>a</sup>. This pursuit by the incarnation of the god descends as we have seen from the Lykurgean ritual of Thrace. And we have a right to suspect that the Maenad was originally slain sacramentally; but, as often happened, the ritual came to acquire a different meaning for the people, who regarded the death of the Ὀλεῖαι as a piacular atonement for their ancestral sin, which for the ancestral conscience was no sin, but a holy, though fearful, act.

The same ancient religious act may be the secret source of other legends that have become obscured and strangely perverted in the course of time. The most interesting of these is the Corinthian story about the beautiful boy, Aktaion, who was beloved by one of the Bakchiadai and torn to pieces by them when they were trying violently to abduct him from his father's house. We have here a secular legend of lust and murder; but beneath this disguise we detect its ritual significance, which is suggested by the names 'Bakchiadai' and Aktaion, the latter pointing to a ἱερὸς λόγος that may have descended from Minyan Boeotia<sup>b</sup>. Again, in Aelian we have the story of the slaying of the priest of Dionysos at Mitylene presented in a peculiar and half-secular form<sup>76</sup>, and at Amphikleia, where a Bacchic mystery existed, Pausanias<sup>c</sup> gathered the tradition of a child, who was kept in a chest and guarded by a snake, being slain by his father. We may suspect a Dionysiac figure and ritual latent here. And the legend and ritual of human sacrifice, real or simulated, long clave to the Dionysiac worship. Once, indeed, the advent of the god is associated with the abolition of the cruel rite, at Patrai, where he entered as Aisymnetes, 'the arbiter'<sup>88</sup>; but the Hellenic spirit failed to civilize him utterly;

<sup>a</sup> We find the Ὀλεῖαι officially employed at Delphi, vide vol. 4, p. 294: we may conjecture that the name designated the 'destructive' ones, and they seem to have been associated with the Ψολδαίς, the 'sooty' ones (perhaps in reference to the mourning garments

worn in the festival), who are mentioned by Plutarch in the same context, vide infra, p. 235.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1212; Plut. *Narr. Amat.* 2.

<sup>c</sup> 10, 33, §§ 9-10.

even at Patrai they remembered that Dionysos Καλυδώνιος once demanded a maiden<sup>86</sup>, and Themistocles may have felt obliged to satisfy Dionysos Ὠμηστής with the slaughter of Persian captives<sup>86 a</sup>; and a human sacrifice survived long at Lesbos, according to Clemens, who cites his authority<sup>86 a</sup>. The examples that have been quoted conform to two well-known types, that of the gift to the god or the *piaculum* and that of the sacrament. And we have seen reason to believe that both existed in the aboriginal Thracian religion.

From this type of the sacramental ritual, prevalent over a fairly wide area, and at one time no doubt clearly understood, must have necessarily emerged the belief that the god himself periodically died. The omophagy and the rending themselves were often explained by the later mythographers as merely a mimetic commemoration of the actual death that the deity once suffered at the hands of his enemies. But who were his enemies? The Orphic and later Greek theology, composed at a time when the true significance of the divine death had fallen into oblivion, brought in the figures of the Titans as the evil and destructive powers. But those who rent and devoured him should be, according to the primitive logic of the ritual, his most ardent votaries and lovers; and the Paris scholiast on Clemens is unique in preserving the aboriginal tradition that those who slew Pentheus and Orpheus were the same as those who tore—and, we may add, devoured—Dionysos, namely, his own Maenads, who alone would crave such ecstatic communion with the god<sup>83</sup>. We may thus understand another statement of the same scholiast that the Lenaic ode, or the song sung by the 'Lenai' or wild women, dealt with the theme of the rending<sup>122</sup>. It may be that the Orphic sects succeeded in engrafting upon the Greek tradition here and there certain growths of the hieratic legend of Egypt, and that the Titans were assigned this part in the sacred drama of Dionysos as the nearest Greek counterparts to the evil power Set, who plays the destroyer in the similar story of Osiris. Pausanias believed that Onomakritos, the Orphic mystery-monger, was responsible for the innovation<sup>76 a</sup>, and the Orphic sect in Crete may have been exposed to

Egyptian influences from an early time. Apart from the fallacious generalizations of Herodotus<sup>a</sup>, who entirely identifies Dionysos with Osiris and derives the Bacchic-Orphic 'orgies' from Egypt, we have an indication offered by Cretan ritual. In the passage bearing on it which has been already quoted from Firmicus Maternus<sup>82</sup>, the mystic chest is mentioned as playing a part in the Cretan orgy, 'in which the sister had buried the heart.' The later Orphic writers attributed this part to the sister Athena<sup>b</sup>; but it may well be that the great sister-goddess of Egypt has cast her shadow upon Crete.

We have also certain evidence, though derived from so late an authority as Nonnus<sup>c</sup>, that the votaries of Dionysos were accustomed in the mystery to daub their faces with gypsum<sup>129h</sup>; and it was all the easier to misname them 'Titans' because the word for gypsum, *τίτᾶνος*, suggested the other name<sup>d</sup>; hence arose the later legend that the Titans also disguised themselves with a coating of gypsum when they made their attack on the infant god<sup>83</sup>. It is clear then that the explanation of the omophagy as a mimetic representation of the myth of Zagreus and the Titans is false and merely an afterthought; in later times there may indeed have been real mimetic dances, as in Ionia, where the dancers enacted the parts of the Titans<sup>63f</sup>, but according to the original meaning of the omophagy the votaries were his ecstatic adorers participating in the sacrament.

We have now to consider the question whether this sacramental rending of the god was ever adopted into the official ritual of any Hellenic state. Plutarch speaks vaguely, as if 'deaths,' 'rendings,' 'resurrections' were common in the Dionysiac ritual drama of Greece<sup>35b, 84, 89</sup>; but we are not sure that he is not drawing mainly on his experience of the private 'thiasoi.' We may, however, infer that the sacramental death of the god was part of the religious service of some of the cities of Crete, for the words of Firmicus Maternus seem

<sup>a</sup> 2, 42, 81, 144.

<sup>b</sup> For references see Lobeck's *Aglao-  
phamus*, p. 559.

<sup>c</sup> See Weniger in *Archiv f. Relig.  
Wiss.* 1906, p. 242.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. also Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*,

pp. 490-495, with whose statement on this point I agree on the whole. Dr. Dieterich, *Rhein. Mus.* 1893, p. 280, had suggested that the Orphic mystai were misled by the fallacious connexion between the word *τίτᾶνος* and 'Titanes.'

to imply a public recognition, even regulation, of the wild omophagy. The same inference may be drawn concerning Delphi and the trieteric service of the Thyiads there. We have indeed no direct statement of the rending and devouring in their service on Parnassos<sup>a</sup>; but indirect indications that the Thyiades celebrated there this primitive rite of communion, and that the god was deemed to die in their hands, are not wanting. In the first place, we find Plutarch appealing in his treatise *De Iside et Osiride* to the lady whom he calls Klea, the leader of the Delphic Thyiads<sup>66</sup>, who had also been initiated into the mysteries of Osiris, to bear witness that Osiris and Dionysos were the same deity; and among the proofs of their identity he mentions the dismemberment of Osiris<sup>69</sup>. Again, we have mention of the presence at Delphi of those mysterious Minyan women, the Oleiai, whom we have seen reason to interpret as the renders of the divine infant. We have also the well-attested record of the tomb of Dionysos at Delphi, a structure shaped like a 'bathron<sup>b</sup>,' with an inscription upon it, 'Here lies Dionysos the son of Semele<sup>35e</sup>,' standing near 'the golden statue of Apollo, or, according to other writers, near the tripod<sup>35f, 1</sup>'; while Plutarch simply says that the remains of Dionysos were buried near the oracular shrine<sup>89</sup>. Now both he and Clemens associate this grave with the story of the Titans' outrage<sup>35f, 89</sup>, and we can conclude from a note by Tzetzes that this account was current in the later period; and we can best explain the intrusion of the Titanic legend here if we suppose that the dismemberment was a real motive of the Thyiads' mystery on Parnassos; nor are we obliged to have recourse to the hypothesis that a mimetic representation of the Titans playing this part was included

<sup>a</sup> Weniger's statements concerning the death of the god on Parnassos are over-positive and very fanciful, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 1906, pp. 235, 238: they were first put forth in his monograph *Collegium der Thyiaden zu Delphi*, 1876.

<sup>b</sup> Only a late and very inferior authority, Tatian, identifies this with

the omphalos<sup>35g</sup>, but *σποός* and *βάθρον*, the words used by Philochorus, imply quite a different shape: there is neither archaeological nor literary evidence of any value that Dionysos was ever connected with the Delphic omphalos, as Miss Harrison supposes, *Prolegomena*, p. 558; cf. my *Cults*, vol. 3, pp. 243-244.

here in the ceremony<sup>a</sup>. On partly the same grounds we may assume that the death of the god was an act in the Theban ritual; for we are told by Bishop Clemens that 'the grave of Dionysos is shown at Thebes, where there is also the tradition of his dismemberment<sup>35 m</sup>.' Though the writer is a late authority, the whole passage in which the statement occurs is based on real facts; and the indirect evidence from the Pentheus legend which has been noted above corroborates it at this point. At Patrai the legend of the childhood of Dionysos and his sufferings at the hands of the Titans was part of the local mythology<sup>76 a</sup>; and it is very likely to have arisen from local ritual familiar to the community. Finally, we have the interesting example of the sacramental offering of the bull-calf at Tenedos, indicating the death of the new-born god.

These are at present all the instances for which reasonable evidence may be found, indirect indeed, but sufficient to justify belief. But some scholars have tried to reveal the same act in the ritual of two other states, Athens and Rhodes. In the Athenian Anthesteria the 'Gerarai' or holy women assisted the Basilissa or queen-archon at a mystic ceremony in the temple of Dionysos ἐν Αἰμυαῖς, which was only opened once a year. They were fourteen in number, and the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* states that their number corresponded to that of the altars of Dionysos. Upon this frail foundation the following hypothesis has been reared by M. Foucart<sup>b</sup>: the fourteen holy women performed certain mystic rites on fourteen altars in the Limnaion; their service was nothing less than a drama embodying the resurrection of Dionysos, whose body had been torn into fourteen pieces by the fourteen Titans; each member was placed on each altar, and the whole divine body was reorganized and the god raised again to life by the holy women; the ritual and the sacred legend was an importation from Egypt from the religion of Osiris, who was himself torn into fourteen pieces by Set or Typhon<sup>c</sup>. Other scholars, without maintaining the theory or raising the question of

<sup>a</sup> This appears to be Weniger's theory, pp. 139-142.  
loc. cit.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*,

<sup>b</sup> *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, p. 295, n. 3.



Egyptian importation, are still inclined to associate the fourteen altars with the legend of the death of Dionysos in the hands of the Titans<sup>a</sup>. But the theory collapses at once at the touch of criticism. In the first place it demands as its prime postulate that there should be fourteen altars in the Limnaion, a peculiar fact if true and requiring a special explanation. But no authority attests this. It is only the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, quoting from Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who mentions the fourteen altars at all, and he mentions them so vaguely that, for all we can say, he may be alluding to the number of altars of Dionysos that the whole city included, each of which requiring a single 'Gerara' or holy woman. And that there should happen to have been fourteen altars in Athens may have been merely a fortuitous fact, no more mystic than the fact that the altars of the god at Thebes should have numbered nine<sup>89 a</sup>, or that there should have been nine men and nine women attending upon Dionysos *Αἰσυμνήτης* at Patrai<sup>88</sup>. Or if we must resort to Egypt or the Titans for an explanation of the number fourteen, how shall we explain the number of the sixteen sacred women in the Dionysiac worship at Elis<sup>34 c</sup>? One must after all leave something to chance and practical convenience in our explanation of these numerical points. Or if one insists that some mystic lore is buried in them, one should not go for light to the story of the Titans. For no Greek ever believed that there were fourteen Titans engaged in the murder; it was only the Orphic tradition that spoke of seven Titans and seven Titanesses<sup>b</sup>, and it never accuses the female but only the male powers of the outrage on the infant god, who was 'divided into seven parts' by the seven murderers<sup>c</sup>; while a much older authority, the fragment of a Homeric hymn, seems to speak of a dismemberment into three parts, if we can trust a most probable emendation<sup>101</sup>. Nor is it easy to understand why, if the chief object of the ritual was to reconstitute the body of the god, the dismembered parts

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Louis Dyer, *Gods of Greece*, p. 131; Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 400.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 505.

<sup>c</sup> Procl. in *Tim.* p. 184 Ε ἑπτὰ δὲ πάντα μέλη κούρου διεμοίρησαντο.

should be distributed over fourteen altars: one would suppose that they would rather be gathered together upon one. Again, reasons will be given for supposing that the dismemberment of the god was only enacted in a trieteric ritual, and, if we may take the Delphic practice as typical, in the depth of winter. But in the Attic festivals there is no trace of the trieteric observance, and the Anthesteria fall near the beginning of March. Indeed, if this mystic event had ever been commemorated in Attic ritual, it is more likely to have occurred in the primitive celebration of the Lenaia, the mid-winter festival of the wild women; and this surmise is somewhat strengthened by the comment offered by the scholiast of Clemens on the word *ληναίζοντες*<sup>122</sup>, 'a rustic ode was sung over the wine-press—*ληνῶ*—including the theme of the rending of Dionysos.' But the citation does not contain any clear reference to any Attic festival; and the association of the verb *ληναίζειν* with *ληνός* shows ignorance<sup>a</sup>.

There is in fact nothing in the records of Attic religion to suggest that in this community Dionysos was believed to die a ritual-death<sup>b</sup>: though it is very probable that the mystery of Thrace, Thebes, and Delphi was once enacted among the Athenians also. If this had been so, we may still assert that such ritual would have nothing to do with any Orphic fiction about Titans.

As regards Rhodes, M. Foucart<sup>c</sup> finds evidence for the same solemnization in a phrase that occurs in an inscription of a Bacchic thiasos—*ἀ τῶν βακχείων ὑποδοχά*<sup>103 a</sup>—which he interprets as 'the reception into the city of the remains of Bacchos'; but this interpretation accords with no known usage of the word *βάκχειος*; and the expression can be more naturally explained as 'the reception of the Bacchic votaries into the city.' We shall find, indeed, the Rhodian worship recognizing the temporary slumber, possibly the temporary

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 208.

<sup>b</sup> Foucart's other argument—that the fact of the temple in the Limnaion being open only once a year shows clearly the belief that for the rest of the year the god was dead—can hardly be serious.

A powerful god who remains dead for the whole year save for one day has not yet been discovered by comparative religion.

<sup>c</sup> *Associations*, p. III.

death, of the god; but this is an idea quite distinct from that of his dismemberment in the hands of his worshippers. So far as we are able to trace it at present, the area of prevalence of the latter practice was not wide; owing to the apparent savagery of the ritual and a certain fastidiousness of the Hellenic spirit, it may have generally died out of the worship that was sanctioned by the state, surviving mainly in private and independent religious societies.

The inward significance of this strange religious act is still a matter of controversy. The explanation here adopted, that in its primary meaning it is an ecstatic sacramental act of communion, seems incontrovertible, but may not be a complete account of it. As the Christian ceremony is sometimes interpreted at once as a mystic process of union with the divinity and also as commemorative of something that happened, so the Bacchic was and sometimes still is regarded as mimetic or commemorative of something that happened in nature. Cornutus, the dull compendium-writer, supposed that the rending was symbolic of the bruising and pounding of the grapes<sup>a</sup>. And many modern scholars have seen in this death of the god an emblem of the decay of vegetation<sup>b</sup>; while a recent writer has attempted to explain the Titans in the Delphic ritual as the Frost-giants of Parnassos who rend the tender body of the vegetation-god<sup>c</sup>.

Against all such theories, implying a natural symbolism in the sacramental act, there is one fatal objection. We are almost certain that this rending and omophagy of the divine infant or animal was originally trieteric<sup>d</sup>. The mysterious lines at the beginning of the fragmentary Dionysiac hymn seem to imply that the trieteric festivals were instituted because the deity 'had been cut into three parts'<sup>101</sup>; and we know that the Delphic ceremony and part at least of the Theban Agrionia, in which we have seen reason to surmise that a similar ritual was once enacted, were

<sup>a</sup> *Epidr.* c. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. i, p. 1040.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Weniger, *op. cit.*

<sup>d</sup> It may be that the sacramental rending of the vipers reported by Galen was an exception to the rule; but his words admit of doubt, vide *supra*, p. 166.

performed every other year. The same is reported also of the savage sacrament in Crete<sup>82</sup>. It appears also, from Ovid's account of them<sup>101</sup>, that the trieterica were always held in the winter<sup>a</sup>. Now there is nothing in nature that regularly takes place in the winter of every alternate year that primitive man could possibly observe. Therefore Rohde seems to this extent right in denying to the trieterica any nature-significance at all<sup>b</sup>. He connects them merely with the belief that the god has his periodic 'epiphanies' and disappearances, and that every other year he comes back to sojourn among men. This is merely the explanation given by Diodorus<sup>65</sup>, a doubtful authority, whose statement may have been inspired by nothing more than the prevalent belief that the Delphic trieterica were specially favoured by the divine presence and communion. But the Eleans maintained that their festival of the *Θυῖα* was similarly graced, and there is nothing to suggest that this was trieteric<sup>c</sup>. Now the ἀφανισμός or disappearance of the god is rightly connected by Rohde<sup>d</sup> with his death and sojourn in the lower world, just as Plutarch associates it with his *φθορά* or decay<sup>35 b</sup>; it is strange then that in a festival which, according to Rohde's theory, is a celebration of his epiphany or return to the upper world, the death of the deity should have been the central act, and that the trieteric Dionysos should have been always regarded as pre-eminently chthonian<sup>35 d</sup>; thus the orgies on Kithairon were held at night<sup>68 a</sup>, and the trieteric celebration at Orchomenos, which was part of the Agrionia, seems to have had much of the air of a service of gloom and death where the men wore black garments<sup>77</sup>; in fact the same festival at Argos appears to have been called *νεκύσια* or 'feast of the dead'<sup>75</sup>, and so far are we from being

<sup>a</sup> The Delphic trieterica were held when snowstorms were rife; it is generally assumed that they began in the month Dadophorios, the first of the Delphic winter-months (see Voigt in Roscher; op. cit. p. 1043; so Weniger, *Ueber das Collegium der Thyiaden*): the festival Δαδοφόρια (Collitz, *Dialect-Inschr.* 2561 D, 5) which gave its name

to the month would certainly well describe the torch-lit revels of the Thyiades. The evidence establishes a strong probability, in the absence of a direct calendar-record.

<sup>b</sup> *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> 2, pp. 12-13, n. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s. v. Elis; cf. R. 34<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> loc. cit.

allowed to regard it as commemorative of any reappearance of the divinity that a specially recorded motive of it was the flight and disappearance of Dionysos, who, as the women after vain pursuit and search declared, had 'fled to the Muses<sup>75</sup>.' But more general evidence against the view that the god was normally or even occasionally regarded as absent and inaccessible for the greater part of two years can be drawn from the ritual-calendar of the Greek states and the highways and byways of Greek literature. The pious poetaster of late Orphism may speak of the nether Bakchos as 'sleeping in the sacred palace of Persephone and lulling the holy Bacchic ritual for a two-years' space<sup>35 d</sup>'; and this was true of the Parnassian and other special orgies; but meantime the Bacchic 'Komos' and festivals went on merrily throughout the winter, spring, and autumn of each year, if not in all cities, yet in many of which we are told. Even at Delphi, the chief centre of the trieteric service, the god was supposed to preside over the three winter months of each year<sup>66 a</sup>, nor even then wholly to depart, as we find the poet of the Delphic hymn invoking him to come to them 'in the holy season of spring'; and the Labyadai sacrifice to him in the summer month Apellaios which corresponds to the Attic Hekatombaion<sup>a</sup>.

The explanation then of the trieterica as a commemoration of the epiphany of the deity seems to contradict the facts. Nor has Schömann's surmise much plausibility, that they may have been instituted in accordance with some calendar organization whereby the lunar reckoning was brought into nearer harmony with the solar every other year<sup>b</sup>. We may accept such an explanation for the Greek 'ennaeteric' festivals, for we know that the Greeks corrected their calendar every eight years<sup>c</sup>. But there is nothing to suggest that they ever

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Phokis. M. Homolle's theory that Dionysos was supposed by the popular belief to be dead at the end of his three months' reign at Delphi (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 67) is the more perplexing the more one tests it; it is in no way borne out by Plutarch's simple statement that at the

beginning of winter they hushed the paian at Delphi and aroused the dithyramb<sup>66 a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *Griech. Alterth.* 2, p. 425, n. 1; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* 2, p. 956, maintains the same opinion.

<sup>c</sup> *Macr. Sat.* 1, 13.

did this every other year. And it is not with Greeks but with uncultured Thracians that we are here concerned. For we have strong reasons for believing that the trieteric Dionysia belong to the aboriginal Thracian religion. We are definitely told so by Ovid and Diodorus<sup>61c, 64</sup>; and we may accept it on general grounds, as we can only thus account for the prevalence and prominence of this phenomenon in Dionysiac ritual<sup>101</sup>, especially at Thebes and Delphi, where Thracian tradition remained powerful. But the barbarous tribes of Thrace were scarcely capable of such accurate solar observations as would compel them to correct their lunar calendar every other year.

Occasionally in other Greek cults we find a trieteric arrangement of sacrifices<sup>a</sup>, suggested, it may be, by casual local convenience or exigencies of finance<sup>b</sup>. But no casual or superficial motive would account for this ancient ritual-law, which Greece appears to have received from Thrace when it received the Thracian god. We must try to discover some serious and obvious cause that would be likely to operate in a primitive community. Most modern writers seem to have despaired of finding one<sup>c</sup>. Yet we ought not to suppose the problem insoluble or specially tortuous and cryptic; for most early festivals have reference to certain obvious occurrences that affect the practical life of man. And I venture to suggest, as a new hypothesis, that the 'trieterica' are to be associated with the original shifting of land-cultivation which is frequent in early society owing to the backwardness of the agricultural processes<sup>d</sup>; and which would certainly be consecrated by a special ritual attached to the god of the soil. It is recorded of some of the tribes of Assam that 'they shift their cultivation year by year . . . in a ceremony intended to determine by magical rites the proper site for the new cultiva-

<sup>a</sup> Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 508, gives an example from the Tetrapolis: Gruppe, *op. cit.*, gives others.

<sup>b</sup> For examples of European agrarian feasts, originally annual, becoming under pressure triennial, quinquennial, or sep-

tennial, vide Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 533.

<sup>c</sup> E. g. Mommsen, *ib.* p. 25, n. 2; Voigt in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 1039.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Hansen, *Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen*, I, pp. 125-126.

tion<sup>a</sup>. This may give us a clue to explain the 'trietERICA.' The ancient Thracians may have shifted their corn-land every other year, as we surmise from Tacitus' statement was the practice of the ancient Germans. Then in the winter-season, before the sowing of the new soil began, the Maenads, who held the vegetation-magic in their hands, would be called upon to charge themselves with unusual potency from the fountain-head of all life: this they could best effect by devouring the animal body that incarnated their high god. Accordingly we should say that the trieteric death of Dionysos was no religious drama in the proper sense, no pageant of nature-symbolism, no immolation of the worn-out god of vegetation, but ritual-magic performed with the ulterior object of assisting the growth of new crops, the sacramental devouring of the infant deity incarnate in the human child once and afterwards in the young calf or goat. At a later stage myths will arise about it, which for our present purpose are irrelevant, though they may have given birth to a higher theology.

In other Dionysiac ceremonies the divine incarnation may have been put to death or made away with in some fashion that was in no way sacramental, but more in accordance with certain well-known types of vegetation-ritual. We have noticed already a group of stories that appear to have arisen from the practice of throwing the divine incarnation or puppet into the water, with the purpose of ridding the land of the decaying spirit in order to bring in a fresher and more vigorous incarnation<sup>b</sup>. Thus Lykourgos drives Dionysos into the sea, Perseus flings him into a pond; Ikaros is thrown into a well, the dismembered Orpheus into the sea, while Boutes of his own accord leaps into a well<sup>67</sup>; in modern Macedonia the straw-man is flung into a well, and in Bulgaria, a country which has probably absorbed much of the ancient Thracian population, the god 'German' is bewailed and flung into the river<sup>c</sup>. The practice existed in other Hellenic cults older in Hellas than

<sup>a</sup> *Anthrop. Journ.* 1906, p. 92: 'The "Genna" amongst the tribes of Assam,' by T. C. Hodson.

<sup>b</sup> For examples vide Frazer, *Golden*

*Bough*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, p. 256.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Kazaroff, *Zur Religion der alten Thraker* [ii.] in *Klio*, 1906, p. 169.

the coming of Dionysos. And we must believe that it was an aboriginal tradition of the Dionysiac ritual, a growth of the lower stratum of religion surviving in the higher. We have, indeed, no clear indication that it was practised in the historic period; but, perhaps, a piece of indirect evidence in the record of the Boeotian Agrionia<sup>75</sup>: Plutarch tells us that the women votaries in that ceremony went about searching for the god as if he had run away, and 'then desisted, saying that he had taken refuge with the Muses and was hidden.' What have the Muses to do with the flight of Dionysos? And why does Sophocles lay to the charge of Lykourgos the additional sin of 'provoking the Muses' in his outrage on Dionysos? The explanation may be that the Muses here represent the Thracian water-nymphs, the companions of the Thracian god who, when he is thrown into the water, is naturally supposed to take refuge with them. It appears possible then that the rite survived in the Boeotian festival. It is likely also that the death of Pentheus, of which the significance has already been discussed, is to be connected with the Agrionia<sup>a</sup>, a name which may have been derived from 'the pursuit' or 'hunting' of the god or his incarnation Pentheus or one of the Maenads. It may have been with intention that Euripides towards the end of his great tragedy exclaims, 'The King is a mighty hunter.' And what appears to be the same festival at Argos, called there the *'Αγρίνια* or *'Αγρίνια*, was associated with the legend of the Proitides who were chased over the mountains by Melampus and his sacred troupe.

We are not able to say that in Greek ritual generally there was any clear observance of the death of the Dionysos, except in the winter trieterica, which, as we have seen, is not the ordinary death of the decaying deity of vegetation. But in the annual ceremonies the idea of his periodic disappearance or slumber beneath the earth or water may have been fairly prevalent, and to this would be inevitably linked the belief in his speedy resurrection or return. And we have now to inquire how far and in what way this latter was enacted in Greek ritual. We can hardly avoid associating it, at the first aspect of it, with

<sup>a</sup> This is also Bather's opinion in the article referred to above, *Hell. Journ.* 1894.



the most thrilling of all our primitive experiences of nature, the return of verdure and spring. And in Phrygia and probably in Lydia, the passing away of Dionysos and his return or resurrection were beliefs that obviously reflected the impressions made by the changes of the seasons; for we are expressly told that the Phrygians believed that the god was asleep in the winter and arose when the summer returned<sup>35 a</sup>; and the Lydians greeted his reappearance in spring with joyous choruses<sup>63 a</sup>. Hence in Phrygian religion his personality is partly fused with that of Attis, whose resurrection was the occasion of a spring-festival of great moment for the Graeco-Roman world.

With the return of Dionysos appears to have been coupled the resurrection of Semele, and the beautiful fragment of Pindar's ode singing of the joys of spring and the reappearance of the goddess implies that this was an event of that season<sup>129 h</sup>. It is therefore most probable that whatever Hellenic ritual there was that commemorated or enacted or magically caused the awakening of the god would belong to the ceremonies of early spring. The most interesting and clearly recorded is a rite observed in the Argolid: according to Plutarch 'the Argives blew trumpets and summoned Dionysos to arise up from the waters, and at the same time they threw a lamb into the bottomless pool as an offering to the "warder of the gate"'; the trumpets appear to have been kept concealed somehow in thyrsoi<sup>89</sup>. Plutarch does not give us the exact locality of the rite; but we can discover it, for he speaks of ἡ ἄβυσσος, and this is naturally to be identified with the Lake Alkyonia near Lerna, which Pausanias describes as baffling all the attempts of Nero to fathom it, and into which, according to the local legend narrated to the traveller, Dionysos descended in order to bring back Semele from the lower world<sup>129 h</sup>. It was into these mysterious waters that Perseus flung the dead Dionysos<sup>351</sup>. We can reconstruct the ritual out of these scattered indications, and detect the ideas associated with it. We can believe that the practice, or the memory of it, survived in this locality of throwing the dead or decaying image or incarnation into the water, perhaps in the autumn or winter,

whereby the myth might be developed that Dionysos descends into the lower world and becomes one with the lord of souls; that later the trumpet was blown over the water, the warder of the gates of Hades placated, and in response to this magic evocation Dionysos was supposed to ascend, bringing with him Semele back into light; and from this mention of the goddess in the ritual-legend we can conclude that this evocation and the ceremonies connected with the resurrection took place in spring. Part at least of the drama, which touched on the secrets of the ghost-world, was the theme of a mystery which, as we learn from Pausanias, was enacted by night; finally, a late inscription suggests that Dionysos was here brought into mystic union with the earth-goddesses Demeter and Kore<sup>a</sup>, as elsewhere in this vicinity we find him associated with the elder goddess<sup>b</sup>.

It is possible that the essential features of this Argive ceremony were introduced from Argolis into Rhodes; for a recently discovered inscription in this island speaks of a functionary 'who rouses the god with the water-organ<sup>89</sup>'; and we glean the interesting fact that the earliest recorded use of this mighty wind-instrument in European religious service was to awaken the dead or slumbering god. The inscription breaks off at a point where it seems about to tell us more that would be valuable; for the last words contain a reference to the *κάθοδοι* of the god, by which may be intended his periodic descents into the lower world<sup>c</sup>.

It may be that in the Attic festival of the Anthesteria and in the other Greek Dionysiac festivals that fell in the early spring, there was some similar evocation of the deity; but recorded evidence is lacking.

The idea that the god of vegetation is asleep or dead at certain seasons, and again at others has arisen, is so natural, and at certain stages of mental culture so prevalent, that it needs little exposition here. And the ritual in Greek worship that expressed it, and to some extent assisted the great change in the natural world, may descend from the primitive stratum

<sup>a</sup> Demeter, vol. 3. R. 115<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Demeter, Geogr. Reg. vol. 3.

p. 370.

<sup>c</sup> Vide infra, p. 193.

of the Thracian religion. We gather at least that in Thrace the divinity was believed to die and to pass into the nether realm; but we hear of no rites of evocation in the spring. But of the sister nation, the Phrygians, the Dionysiac winter-rites of burial, *κατεννασμοί*—and the spring-ceremonies of resurrection, *ἀνεγέρσεις*—are clearly recorded by Plutarch<sup>36 a</sup>. We may often hesitate to use the later records of Phrygian religion as evidence for the Thrako-Phrygian period; for no doubt the Kybele-Attis worship, probably autochthonous in Phrygia, has coloured the ancestral European tradition of Dionysos-Sabazios. And the natural resemblance between Dionysos and Attis was sufficiently close, while either may have borrowed part of the legend and features of ritual from the other; for instance, the pomegranate grew from the blood-drops of Dionysos<sup>a</sup>, as the violet from the blood of Attis, and the trumpet was used in the spring-ritual of the Hilaria on the day before the resurrection of Attis<sup>b</sup>, as it was used in the Argolic ceremony of the evocation of the Hellenic god. But the Phrygian Dionysiac ritual described by Plutarch in the passage just cited cannot be regarded as derived from the worship of Attis; for in the latter the funereal ceremonies of sorrow took place only a day or so before the joyful resurrection in the spring-festival, just as our Good Friday immediately precedes Easter; whereas the burial service of Dionysos in Phrygia was a winter-ceremony, and only the evocation or the resurrection belonged to the spring or early summer, thus revealing more simply the nature-import of the rites. We should either then regard this rule of the Phrygian Dionysiac calendar as belonging to the Thrako-Phrygian tradition or as due to later Hellenic influences. And whichever view we take, here is evidence for believing that in Hellenic ritual also the evocation of the god belonged to the spring, and the ceremonies connected with his passing away or ejection to the darker season of the year<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. *Protrept.* p. 16 P, probably an Orphic legend suggested by the Phrygian.

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 389, Kybele, R. 57<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Bather, in his paper on 'the problem of the Bacchae' (*Hell. Journ.* 1904, pp. 259-262), supposes that the ejection and death of the old god was imme-

A further consideration of importance which the facts just set forth suggest, is that the resurrection or return of Dionysos in Hellenic ritual is not correlative to his violent sacramental death or rending, which was biennial only, but to his annual passing away or falling asleep or death which might be expressed in a winter ritual of the burial or the casting out of the puppet <sup>a</sup>.

If the inquiry so far has given us a real clue, we can deal more hopefully perhaps with the last problem of the Delphic ritual, 'the awakening of Liknites.' Plutarch is here our sole authority, and though we may trust whatever he tells us about Delphi, his statement is very vague about this matter: 'the Delphians believe that the remains of the dismembered Dionysos are stored up in their keeping by the place of the oracle; and the holy ones offer a secret sacrifice in the temple of Apollo whenever the Thyiades awaken Liknites <sup>89</sup>.' Liknites we know as the babe-Dionysos, whose cradle is a winnowing-fan shaped like a shovel.

Other questions will arise about this Liknites; but this is now the most pressing: did this ceremony of the awakening form part of the biennial winter-service of the Thyiades on Mount Parnassos, which we saw good reason to believe included among its main functions the sacramental dismemberment? It is generally assumed that this was the case because of the mention of the Thyiades <sup>b</sup>. We know that the Thyiad ceremonies on Parnassos fell in the winter; and if they aroused the infant-god of vegetation towards the end of the whole service, when the shortest day was passed, they were practising a well-known form of vegetation-magic to

diately followed by the bringing in of the new in the Boeotian Agrionia; and he regards that as a spring-festival. But in spite of the many parallels that he quotes, we cannot find in the Agrionia or in the story of Pentheus any clear hint of the bringing-in of the new god: it was probably a gloomy winter festival, as we gather from Plutarch that part at least of the ritual was triennial <sup>77</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Mannhardt, op. cit. 1, p. 411 for examples of burying and drowning the image of decay towards the end of winter.

<sup>b</sup> Voigt, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1, p. 1043; Rapp. *ibid.* 2, p. 2248; Weniger, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1906; cf. his *Collegium der Thyiaden zu Delphi*.

assist the birth of the new year and to accelerate the advent of spring<sup>a</sup>. Only we must then regard the Delphic winter-festival as exceptional, in that the death and the re-birth of the deity were enacted in the same complex service, whereas from other states in Greece we have the evidence considered above that seems to point to their separation by some interval of time. Nor need we be surprised to find the same rite performed in different places at somewhat different times. Again, on this assumption there would seem to be another exceptional fact to note in the Delphic mystery: the young god that is summoned back to life will be the infant that was recently dismembered and devoured; the dismemberment and the evocation are here correlative facts, as we do not find them to be elsewhere. And it may appear natural to give to Plutarch's vague words some such interpretation as this: we may imagine that the story about the burial near the tripod of the remains of Dionysos after the Titans' outrage arose from the actual fact that the remains of the animal-incarnation, sacramentally devoured by the Thyiades on Parnassos, were brought down and stored in the so-called grave of the god; and that the holy ones then proceeded to perform some mystic ceremony, let us suppose some ritual of evocation, when the Thyiades began the final scene of the complex service on Parnassos, the drama of the infant's resurrection. But we ought to remain aware that most of this is a construction of our own, also to admit that the word *ἐγείρειν* seems to refer more naturally to the peaceful slumber of the infant than to the violently dismembered body; and that for all Plutarch tells us, the ceremony of the awakening may have been an annual spring ceremony analogous to the Phrygian *ἀνέγερσις* in spring<sup>b</sup>, which was correlative to the *κατεννασμός* of the god in winter. On the former assumption the deity is aroused only every other year; and it is

<sup>a</sup> For examples of such rites near the beginning of the New Year vide Mannhardt, op. cit. 1, p. 537; 2, p. 183.

<sup>b</sup> The Thyiades might well have been employed on other occasions than the

trieteric winter-festival; we know that they assisted, for instance, at the ennae-teric mystery of Herois at Delphi, which probably took place in the spring.

difficult to reconcile such ritual with popular needs and belief<sup>a</sup>.

Meantime we may note that the ceremony of the birth of the infant in the *λίκνι* occurs in the modern Dionysiac feast at Bizye, and in the same ritual as the death of a sacred personage; and that this is solemnized near the beginning of spring. But it would be too hazardous to use this evidence confidently for the reconstruction of the festal calendar of ancient Greece.

At all events, if we find evidence elsewhere of a ceremony in which the holy infant was carried round in a *λίκνον*, we ought not to bring it into any connexion with a previous sacramental death of the god, but merely with the ordinary legend of the birth<sup>b</sup>. We have no clear local records of the ritual of the *λικνοφορία*, but Servius' note on the phrase of Vergil's proves that it was commonly known, and its survival in modern Thrace is an indication of its former prevalence. The Phrygian Sabazian mysteries included a sacred birth, and probably the carrying of the infant in the winnowing-fan, as Demosthenes taunts Aeschines with taking part in these, and rejoicing in the title of *λικνοφόρος* that the old women gave him<sup>34 a, 62 a, d</sup>. We hear of a *λικνοφόρος* also in a Dionysiac festival of Chaironeia<sup>102 e</sup>; and we have some numismatic evidence of the prevalence of the rite in the Greek cities of Asia Minor<sup>c</sup>. We can scarcely doubt that the legend of the birth or of the advent of the holy infant was commemorated in some way at Thebes: the so-called 'thalamos of Semele,' which Euripides speaks of in the *Bakchai* as a ruin 'smouldering still with the fires of Zeus,' and as a holy sanctuary, and which remained an inviolable enclosure down to the days of Pausanias<sup>d</sup>, may have been a sacred building in which the

<sup>a</sup> For examples of 'awakening the sleeper' or the sleeping divinity in May, vide Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 222.

<sup>b</sup> Servius says that he was placed in the *λίκνον* as soon as he issued from his mother's womb<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Vide infra, p. 259.

<sup>d</sup> 9. 12, 3. If this chamber was

identical with the burned Mycenaean building recently discovered, we might dare to believe that the story of the fire-birth arose from a real conflagration of the chapel where the birth was periodically solemnized, vide *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1907, p. 97.

holy drama was annually or biennially enacted. For we may trust a late Orphic verse that speaks of 'the travail of Semele' as an integral part of the mystic trieteric service<sup>101 b</sup>. And we may gather from this that the ritual of the birth belonged usually to the winter celebrations; and though part of the *τριετηρικά*, it might also be annual. We may also surmise that the communities which specially claimed the honour of being the birthplace of the god would fortify their claim by some ritual in which the holy babe appeared, which itself probably suggested the local legend: the fragmentary Homeric hymn mentions among these some of the centres of the worship that were famous early or late, Thebes, Elis, Naxos; and to these he adds the obscure names Drakonon and Ikaros<sup>89 c</sup>, the latter being the island, the former a promontory of that island, that lay near to Samos on the west, and that contained the small city of Oinoe whose coins suggest a Dionysiac cult<sup>a</sup>. The legend and perhaps the ritual of the birth survived here in this little island till the time of Theokritos at least, who expressly states that 'on snowy Drakonon Zeus loosened the mighty muscle of his thigh and laid the child down<sup>89 c</sup>.' No doubt other cities, like Teos, for the same reason might assert the same claim; and we may believe that many local birth-legends of Hellenic divinities arose in the same way.

The advent of the child-god may have been presented in certain localities on the coast by some ritual in which he was supposed to have been brought up from the sea in a chest. Pausanias records a legend peculiar to the small town of Prasiai, on the Laconian coast<sup>88</sup>: the inhabitants declared that when Semele gave birth to Dionysos, she was put with her infant into a *λάρναξ*, an oblong chest, by Kadmos, and thrown into the sea; the waves washed them up on this part of the coast, whereupon Semele died, and Ino soon after arrived to tend the infant. This, and the exactly similar story of Danae and Perseus, must have arisen from some act of ritual that is not otherwise recorded. Is it a mere coincidence that Ino the nurse, a Minyan Dionysiac heroine, herself also in another religious legend leaps into the sea with the infant

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. Coin-list s.v. Crete and the Aegean Isles.

Palaimon<sup>a</sup>? And the local mythology collected by the careful Pausanias presents us with two other stories that seem to belong to the same type, though neither of them present all the essential features of it. One is a legend of Patrai, already noticed, recounting how Eurypylos after the Trojan war arrived here by sea, bringing 'a strange daimon' in a *λάρναξ*; the deity inside the chest received the name of Dionysos *Αἰσυμνήτης*, and once a year only was the sacred *λάρναξ* carried out of the temple by the priest<sup>88</sup>. On the crucial question, whether the puppet or image inside was that of an infant, the record is silent; but any chest that the priest could carry was not likely to contain a full-sized figure of the deity; and it is relevant to remember that Patrai claimed to be one of the nursing-places of the babe<sup>76 a</sup>. Another significant detail in the narrative of Pausanias is the fact that in the annual solemnity, when the priest took the *λάρναξ* out of the temple by night, the worshippers went down to the river side, and having bathed themselves, came back crowned with ivy to the temple of Dionysos: the words of Pausanias appear to intimate that they took the sacred chest with them in their procession to and from the river. The other story of a mystic child in a chest that may with some conviction be explained as suggested by Dionysiac ritual, is the legend of Amphikleia in Phokis, mentioned above<sup>b</sup>.

Now we should seek the explanation of these legends of the type of that of Brasiai in some ritual that is known

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 2, p. 638 n. a. Usener, *Sinfut.*, 99-105 ignores the ritual element in these stories, is inclined to treat them as sun-myths—an explanation very inappropriate to the Dionysiac examples—and as remnants of a flood-legend; but the essential traits of a flood-story are lacking in most of them. Palaimon-Melikertes, a holy child of chthonian character, like Sosipolis at Elis, was probably of Dionysiac affinity, though his myth and ritual preserve this but faintly: as Dionysos was *Ἀνθρωπορραίστης* and worshipped with human sacrifice in Tenedos<sup>79, 86 a</sup>, so Palaimon was

*βρεφοκτόνος* there, *Lyk. Kass.* 229; and the late inscription of the Iobakchi at Athens shows that Palaimon was one of the figures personated in a Bacchic mystery<sup>84 e</sup>. O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 1, p. 135, suggests the Dionysiac character of Melikertes, but his argument is unconvincing.

<sup>b</sup> *Supra*, p. 170: the similar story about the child Erichthonios in the chest, confided to the daughters of Kekrops, suggests that the motive belonged to a stratum of Hellenic ritual-legend older than the advent of the Dionysiac cult.



to have been practised. One may at first be tempted to recall the ceremony occasionally found among primitive communities of sending out a figure that personifies Sin in a bark to sea, so that the land may be delivered from the sins of the people<sup>a</sup>. But if such a rite had ever been in vogue among the Hellenes, it seems inconceivable that they should have chosen the infant Dionysos to support such a character; we should rather have expected some repulsive figure of decay. In fact, this 'wild dedication' of a new-born god, with or without his mother, in a floating chest to 'unpathed waters, undreamed shores,' is, so far as I can find, without a parallel in anthropological record. We may then rather believe that this never occurred in any real Hellenic ritual, but was merely a fiction invented to explain, as it were from the wrong end, a real and intelligible rite: namely, the taking down at certain periods the image of the infant deity in a chest to the sea coast or to the river side, purifying it, and bringing it back in triumph as if the revived divinity were newly arrived from the sea: something like this appears to have been done at Patrai. Then a legend would be likely to arise to answer the question how the infant-god came to be found floating in the waves of the shore. And such a ritual, combined with the possession and worship of a grave of Semele, would well explain the local story of Brasiai. Unfortunately there is no indication of the season of this observance; we may conjecture that it took place in early spring or the end of winter.

Another rite in which Dionysos appears as coming back to his worshippers from the sea was observed at Smyrna every spring: Aristides the rhetorician speaks of the Dionysia which were celebrated there in the first hour of spring, when 'a holy trireme was borne around the market-place in honour of the god'; and he connects the custom with a naval victory which the Smyrnaeans won over the Chians who attacked their city at a time when they were holding Bacchic revels on the moun-

<sup>a</sup> Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 593, as based on some ritual of 'Regenzauber'; but he offers no theory to explain what is essential in them.  
 Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> 3, p. 106. Gruppe, op. cit. p. 1171, n. 1, regards these legends

tain<sup>a</sup>. Philostratos slightly supplements the account ; we gather from him that the usage was observed in the month Anthesterion, and that the ship came up from the sea steered by the priest. We have in Aristides' narrative an example of the usual tendency of the cultivated Greek mind to explain away primitive ritual as if it were commemorative of some striking fact of history. We can discern that the procession of a ship through the villages and towns in spring is a primitive European ritual, when we compare this Hellenic record with the mediaeval and modern parallels which Mannhardt has gathered from the vicinity of the Danube and the Scheldt<sup>b</sup>. But the details that he has collected do not reveal clearly the intention of the rite. Was the spring-deity supposed to have just arrived from the water, and to be touring through the country in his ship? Was it a magic rite to assist the deliverance of the rivers from ice, so that water-traffic might begin? Or was it a mode of collecting the sins of the peoples and sending them forth to sea? The record seems to lend itself now to one now to the other interpretation. And still more indefinite is the account of the Smyrnaean practice. The trireme may have brought up from the sea the revived image of the young god. But theorizing is useless here, because we do not know where the ship came from or what was finally done with it, or whether it was essentially connected with Dionysos at all, or only perhaps some primaeval custom that happened to coincide in season with his festival. Yet the story of the Homeric Hymn and some archaeological evidence convince us that somewhere in the Hellenic communities a ritual was practised in which the image of the god traversed the waters and the land in a ship.

Another interesting ceremony of which we have some scanty records was the resurrection of Semele. The ode of Pindar

<sup>a</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Smyrna.

<sup>b</sup> Op. cit. p. 593. To these we may add the Babylonian rite in the great spring-festival, when the marriage of Marduk was celebrated and his image was carried in a ship on wheels—vide *Verhandl. des ii. Internat. Kongr. f.*

*Allg. Relig. Gesch. Basel, 1904, p. 274.* Cf. the interesting Minoan seal from Mochlus showing a goddess under a tree arriving in a boat at a shrine, *Trans. Congr. Hist. Relig. 1908, vol. 2, p. 196.*

referred to above suggests that this event was celebrated at Thebes in some annual service of early spring<sup>a</sup>; and this, according to Plutarch, was the motive of the festival at Delphi, held every eight years, called the 'Ἡρωίς, in which the Thyiads appear to have enacted the return of the goddess<sup>66 e</sup>, who was no doubt called the 'heroine' from the association that this word bore with the lower world<sup>b</sup>. The ritual might take the form of a passion-play, a mystic drama in which the part of the goddess might be supplied by a puppet or impersonated by one of the sacred women. We have indications from elsewhere of a similar ritual being enacted by a troop of Maenads: in the inscription found at Magnesia on the Maeander and already noticed, we observe that one thiasos of the Maenads who were sent from Thebes was called the *Καταβάται*<sup>68 a</sup>. The only likely interpretation of the term is that they were so called because they periodically performed some descent into the lower world<sup>c</sup> with a view to assist in the resurrection of Semele or her son. What may have come to be regarded as a mere miracle-play was no doubt once intended as a piece of ritual-magic. And we here discern another parallel between the Dionysiac and the Phrygian ritual of Attis, in which a sad service called the *Κατάβασις* was held just before the joyful day of the resurrection<sup>d</sup>.

We have also new evidence that may point to the same mystic ritual practised in another Ionic state, namely a recently discovered inscription of Priene<sup>105 a</sup>, which speaks of the priest of Dionysos as 'the leader of those who bring down the god at the *Καταγωγή*'; and from the name of this ceremony the deity himself was called *Καταγωγίος*. Now there are two other examples, already quoted, of the ritual-significance of this word, which might guide us here: Athenaeus and Aelian drawing from the same source speak of the ceremony of the 'Ἀναγωγή in the worship of Aphrodite at Eryx, when the goddess was supposed to put forth to sea—*ἀνάγειν*—for Libya, and

<sup>a</sup> p. 183.

<sup>b</sup> A local legend seems to point to a festival of the same significance at Troizen, Geogr. Reg. s.v. Troizen.

<sup>c</sup> A parallel to this use of the word is afforded by the title of the Orphic poem, *Κατάβασις εἰς Αἴδου* (Suid. s.v. 'Ορφεύς).

<sup>d</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 386, Kybele, R. 50.

again of the *Καταγώγια* which followed nine days after when she returned or 'put into shore' at Ερυx<sup>a</sup>; but at Syracuse the same word—*Καταγώγια*—denoted the commemoration of the descent of the goddess into the lower regions, escorted probably by her worshippers<sup>b</sup>. On the analogy of the former example, we shall explain the festival of Priene as a spring-festival parallel to the trireme-celebration at Smyrna, when the deity was supposed to arrive at the city by sea; on the analogy of the latter, as commemorating the descent of Dionysos into Hades, possibly his disappearance in the winter, or more probably his descent accomplished in the spring to restore Semele to the daylight. Unfortunately, the inscription gives us no clue as to the season of the year.

There are a few other practices of the Dionysiac ritual which may be included generally under the head of vegetation- or nature-magic and which remain to be noticed. In other agrarian cults of Hellas we have noted an occasional observance called at Troizen a *Λιθοβολία*, at Eleusis a *Βαλλήτης*<sup>c</sup>, in which the participants engaged in a mock-fight with stones for the purpose of drawing blood; such practices have been explained as magic, intended to stimulate growth of crops, though their immediate object may have been purificatory. We have no clear record of this in Dionysiac worship; but the account in the *Bakchai* of Euripides of the assault of the Maenads on the peasants need not be merely imaginary but may be drawn from some ritual-act occasionally witnessed; for the attack of women upon men as part of a religious festival has been recently reported of a Jât village in India, where the inhabitants are supposed to be of Aryan descent<sup>d</sup>.

We have monumental evidence of the fashion of hanging

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 2, p. 644 (Ael. *De Nat. An.* 4, 2, Athenae. pp. 394 F–395 A: I had wrongly explained it—*ibid.* n. <sup>b</sup>—as the passing away and the return of vegetation).

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 3, p. 275, R. 129: the significance of the *Καταγώγια* at Ephesos, consecrated probably to Artemis, and

accompanied with bloodshed and mimetic pageantry (see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 177; Usener, *Acta s. Timothei*, p. 11; Du Cange, *Gloss. Graec.* p. 607), is doubtful; it occurred about January the 22nd.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. 3, pp. 93–94.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *Man*, 1905, p. 155.

the mask or the image of Dionysos on trees<sup>a</sup>; and this custom belongs to a vegetation-magic, designed to promote the fertility of trees, of which the facts have been collected and well considered by Dr. Frazer<sup>b</sup>; for Greek parallels we have the legends and cults of Helene 'Dendritis'<sup>c</sup>, of the hanging image of Artemis at Kaphyai<sup>d</sup>, of Charila at Delphi<sup>e</sup>, and of Erigone at Ikaria, the latter a vegetation-heroine who comes into the Dionysiac circle<sup>f</sup>.

Recent anthropological analysis has revealed two distinct aspects of what may be called nature-magic, a positive and a negative<sup>g</sup>; under the former it is regarded as evoking the phenomenon desired, such as fertility or rain, by sympathetic means or by direct causation; under the latter, as working indirectly or negatively by averting the evil influences that impede achievement of the desired end; and often the same act might be interpreted by the practitioner himself now from one now from the other point of view. Thus the fashion of hanging from the tree, so as to swing about in the wind, the mask or image of Dionysos or Helen or Erigone might aim at spreading the quickening virtue of the divinity among the trees of the wood or growths of orchard or vineyard; or the pendent deity might be naturally regarded as driving off the evil spirits as he swayed about in the wind. Thus Servius, in his most bewildered comment on a well-known passage in the *Georgics*<sup>89a, 135</sup>, may have been in the right in approving of the view that the hanging up of the 'oscilla' of Dionysos was 'a kind of purification'; at any rate the practice which, according to his statement, once prevailed at Ikaria, of living persons swinging themselves through the air on ropes attached to trees must have had no other than a purely purificatory purpose; and though it may have become associated with the cult and legend

<sup>a</sup> Vide infra, p. 244.

<sup>b</sup> *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> vol. I, p. 146, 2, pp. 33-34; cf. his appendix *ibid.*, on 'swinging as a magical rite.'

<sup>c</sup> Vol. I, p. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. 2, pp. 428-429.

<sup>e</sup> Plut. p. 293 D-F (*Quaest. Graec.*

<sup>f</sup> *Hyg. Fab.* 130, Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 389, Athenae. p. 618, Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰώπα.

<sup>g</sup> Vide *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* 1906, pp. 452-454. (Deubner's analysis of Anitschkoff's Russian treatise on 'the ritual-song of spring').

of Erigone and indirectly thus with Dionysos, it was not a rite that was dictated by any personal religion; for swinging through the air as a primitive method of purification has been fairly prevalent<sup>a</sup>.

The same double aspect may have been presented by other parts of the Bacchic ritual. The torches were an essential feature in the winter-service on Parnassos, to such a degree that they probably gave the name *Δαδοφόριος* to the month in which it was performed, and they were no doubt used in the other nightly celebrations of this religion, which were fairly numerous. It is not likely that their original purpose was purely utilitarian; not only did they give their name to the Delphic month, but the whole festival of the Thyiades is called by Euripides 'the torches of Bakchos<sup>b</sup>,' and it seems that the torch itself was called by the very name of the god as if instinct with his mystic power<sup>c</sup>. We find it conspicuous also in the worship of Demeter and Kore, of the Eumenides<sup>d</sup> and the divinities of the lower world; and the ritual mentioned in a former chapter of throwing lighted torches into a pit in the service of Kore<sup>e</sup> suggests the desire to strengthen by magical means the vivifying warmth of the earth; and this is the most natural explanation to give to the Bacchic torch-celebration in the depth of winter<sup>f</sup>. But in much of the vegetation-magic of primitive Europe and other countries fire is found to be used for a purificatory purpose; and that Hellenic religion recognized its cathartic properties is certain: therefore, as the Cretan Bacchos was 'made holy by raising the torch in honour of the mountain-goddess<sup>g</sup>,' so the waving of the Maenad's torch—the *εὔλιον πῦρ*—may have been supposed to purge the air of evil. Only the Delphic *Δαδοφορία* seems to have occurred at a time of the year not usually chosen for rites of purification, these being more customary in early or later spring.

<sup>a</sup> For examples, vide Frazer, loc. cit.  
*Arch. Rel. Wiss.* 1906, p. 452.

<sup>b</sup> *Ion* 562.

<sup>c</sup> Hesych. *s.v.* *βάκχος* . . . οἱ δὲ φανὸν λέγουσι.

<sup>d</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 1022.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. 3, p. 122.

<sup>f</sup> So Voigt in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 1043.

<sup>g</sup> Zeus R. 3.

Another very common feature in the Bacchic service was the 'phallophoria,' the carrying round of the figure in wood or leather of the male generative organ, a rite that belongs to the innocent grossness of old-world peasant-ritual and is obviously a form of the sympathetic magic of fertilization. It is true that Hellenic superstition made occasional use of the phallos as an 'apotropaion,' an averter of the evil eye, but in the agrarian ceremonies it is more natural to suppose that it had a positive rather than a negative value for primitive belief, as a powerful quickener of life and fertility; and for this reason the modern Thracian, as we have seen, bears it round with him in his sacred ploughing. Like the torch, these wooden or leather emblems were sometimes considered as fraught with the spirit of the god himself, so that occasionally an epithet that belonged to him might be applied to them<sup>a</sup>; and the religious art confirms this impression of their immediate potency and divine character<sup>b</sup>. Primitive reflection on the phenomena of birth and growth is always confusing the processes of animal with those of vegetable reproduction, thus anticipating in some measure the modern discoveries of botanical science; and the *Φαλλοφορία* arises from the same idea as that which prompts the corporeal union of the husbandman and his wife in the cornfield at the time of the sowing or after the reaping<sup>c</sup>. As to the prevalence of the rite in Greece we have abundant testimony<sup>77</sup>; Clemens declares generally that the Greek cities erected phalli in honour of Dionysos<sup>74</sup>, and Plutarch regards them as an essential feature of the primitive Dionysia of his land<sup>102<sup>e</sup></sup>. They were prominent in the Attic Dionysia of the country<sup>106<sup>c-d</sup></sup>; we hear of phallic mysteries of Dionysos in the Attic deme of Alimus<sup>129<sup>e</sup></sup>; and even the most refined of the festivals of the god, the great Dionysia of the city, found a place for them<sup>127<sup>i</sup></sup>. We might have expected to find them in the ritual of the Greek marriage; but there is no sign of them here; and the *Φαλλοφορία* seems to have been directly intended solely for vegetation-magic.

<sup>a</sup> According to a gloss in Hesychios, *θυωνιδας*, a Rhodian epithet of Dionysos, was a term applied sometimes to the

*φαλλοί* made of fig-wood.

<sup>b</sup> Vide infra, p. 243.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> 2, p. 218.

We can also gather something of the early religious view of Dionysos by considering the ritual calendar of this worship. One fact strikes us at once, the prevalent rule of a winter celebration. Apart from the trieterica, which we may believe were always held in the winter, we find many examples of annual festivals falling in the cold season of the year: an Attic celebration in Poseideon (December), another in Gamelion (January); the festival of Θεοδαΐσια or 'the entertainment of the gods,' consecrated to Dionysos and, if we can trust Suidas, also to the Nymphs<sup>105</sup>, which was solemnized in Andros on the Nones of January<sup>105</sup> and probably at the same time<sup>a</sup> in the other communities—Anaphe, Lesbos, Kos, Kalymnos, Rhodes, Lindos, Crete, and Kyzikos—where we have record either of the festival or of the month Θεοδαΐσιος called from it<sup>105</sup>; the feast described by Pausanias as held by the Arcadians of Alea in the season of winter<sup>b</sup>, when men anointed themselves with oil and brought a bull in their arms to the temple of the god; and besides the Argive Agrionia, which we have seen reasons for supposing was a winter-festival, we may believe that the Argives performed certain rites in winter in his temple on 'the hollow way'; for the local legend which Pausanias culled and recorded points clearly enough to a worship of the goat-god in the stormy season of the year<sup>c</sup>. Our list of examples is small, because the casual record of Dionysiac-festivals usually gives no mark of time at all. And we need not doubt but that some rites in his honour at this time of year were a prevalent usage throughout the Hellenic world; we may further believe that they were consecrated not to the god of wine, for nothing happens to the vineyard or the vintage at this season of the year that is worth commemorating<sup>d</sup>, but to the underworld spirit of vegetation, who is sleeping in the winter and whose powers

<sup>a</sup> The Cretan month Θεοδαΐσιος is assumed as = Attic Gamelion by Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Kos*, p. 332, without proof given.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Arcadia.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* s.v. Argolis, cf. p. 165.

<sup>d</sup> Wine of course might be used at these winter-festivals, as at most others; at Andros we hear of a miraculous flow of wine<sup>105a</sup>; but we have no right for that reason to regard them as wine-festivals.



need stimulating. And we have seen that torches played a prominent part in these winter-rites; and therefore we may assume that the Dionysiac feast at Pellene, the 'Lampteria' or 'feast of torches,' when men carried lighted torches to the temple of their deity by night and set up bowls of wine throughout the city, also fell at this season of the year<sup>46</sup>.

The view that these winter festivals were primarily dedicated to the deity of fertility in general and not to the functional god of wine receives some support from another well-attested fact; both Philochoros and Plutarch avouch that the offerings to Dionysos were often *νηφάλια*, 'sober' libations of milk, honey, water, in which wine was tabooed. This avoidance of wine is fairly common in Greek ritual<sup>a</sup>; and, as has been pointed out before, no single explanation can be applied convincingly to all the facts<sup>b</sup>. Doubtless in the history of human culture wine is later than the use of milk and honey, and an old-fashioned divinity might object to the innovation of wine, but the list given of those who objected is very heterogeneous; they are not all by any means of the oldest stratum of the religion, nor do they belong to any single department, some being light-divinities, some powers of vegetation; even Poseidon is among them, and the child Sosipolis, who naturally would not be allowed to drink wine<sup>c</sup>. Details of ritual depend often on local accidents that elude discovery. And these offerings of *νηφάλια* to Dionysos are further proof indeed that he was by no means always regarded as the wine-god in Greece; but, unless they are a fixed tradition handed on from the primaeval Thracian worship, of which there is no indication, we cannot regard them as a reminiscence of a period when Dionysos was worshipped but wine not yet discovered: for in Greece wine was at least as old as Dionysos, probably much older. It is possible that the sober rule in his worship was part of the winter-ritual; for at this season a primitive community, before it has learned the art of keeping and storing wine, has

<sup>a</sup> Cf. R. 89<sup>a</sup> and Geogr. Reg. s.v. *Proleg.* pp. 90-94, 509, tries to find a clue, but unsuccessfully.

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. 1, p. 89; Miss Harrison,

<sup>c</sup> Paus. 6. 20, 3.

often exhausted the vintage of the previous season and the new wine is not yet ready; both men and gods must then abstain perforce for a time: from this early lack of wine a ritual-rule could easily be stereotyped and become an obligation. Possibly the other examples of *νηφάλια* offerings may have been also due to the exigencies of the winter seasons; unfortunately our record is usually silent concerning the time of the year at which they were offered<sup>a</sup>. It is dangerous to trust too much to a very fragmentary chronicle; but we may observe that in none of the winter-festivals of Dionysos in Attica is there any mention of a wine-offering, though a Dikaiopolis belonging to a more civilized age might get merrily drunk himself.

But when the life of the earth revives in spring, in the south at the end of February and the beginning of March, the vintage pressed in the preceding autumn is now ready; and we should expect to find spring-festivals in honour of Dionysos as a god both of vegetation and of wine. And in fact, as we have had many occasions for noticing, next to winter the spring is the most common season for his celebrations. Besides the examples quoted before, there are the two great Attic festivals, the Anthesteria and the *Μεγάλα Διονύσια*, the one belonging to the beginning, the other to the middle of spring; there is also the spring-festival mentioned by Pausanias as held in Laconia on Mount Larusion, where on each occasion a grape-cluster was miraculously revealed<sup>1021</sup>, and the primitive national festival of Boeotia, which Plutarch sympathetically describes, when the merry rustics brought 'an amphora of wine, a small vine-spray, a goat, a basket of dried figs' as offerings to the god, seems to have fallen at this season of the year<sup>102e</sup>.

It is a significant fact that we have no record or hint of any summer festival of Dionysos. This may have been due to some original tradition of the ritual, or to the prior rights

<sup>a</sup> A *πόνανον* or cereal cake, and *νηφάλια* was offered to Zeus *Γεωργός* at Athens in late November, and *νηφάλια* to Poseidon in December (*C. I. A.* 3. 77), and these in the more primitive period

were wineless months; but wine was plentiful by the 22nd of Anthesterion, when they offered *νηφάλια* to Zeus *Μελίχιος*, if we trust the restoration of the early Attic inscription, *C. I. A.* 1. 4.

maintained by the native Hellenic divinities over the harvest-ceremonies. Yet we must not suppose that the god was imagined to be wholly absent or to have been altogether ignored for the whole of the summer. He received recognition at the Pythia<sup>a</sup>, and the curious statement in Galen has been noticed concerning the sacramental eating of snakes by the Maenads at the beginning of summer<sup>b</sup>; and other summer festivals may have come to admit him as a guest.

We have some evidence of Dionysiac celebrations in the autumn when the vintage was gathered, but less than we should expect. The feast *Προτρύγαια*, consecrated, according to Hesychios, to Dionysos and to Poseidon, may be interpreted as an atonement-ritual performed before the gathering of the grapes, to safeguard the operation against evil influences<sup>45 i</sup>; but whether it was commonly observed throughout Greece we do not know. A late Athenian inscription speaks of a *τρύγητον* or vintage-offering to be offered to Dionysos and to 'the other divinities' on the eighteenth of Boedromion, just before the sacred procession started for Eleusis<sup>c</sup>; even the Haloa, the festival of the threshing-floor, which seems to have been shifted to the middle of the winter, but was once doubtless an autumn celebration, attracted to itself the name and the worship of Dionysos, if we can trust Eustathios and the scholiast on Lucian<sup>d</sup>; only the inscriptions concerning the Haloa do not bear out their statements on this point. Again, we have records that are derived from Polemon of statues of Dionysos *Μόρυχος* both at Athens and in Sicily, and the name was explained by the practice of smearing his face with the wine-lees at the time of the vintage; this seems to point to some vintage-ceremonies of rejoicing<sup>45 g</sup>. But the only important public festival of which we have any record and which we may regard as a thanksgiving for the fruit harvest and in some degree consecrated to Dionysos was the *᾽Οσχοφόρια*<sup>128</sup>. We find it associated with the divine names of Athena Skiras<sup>e</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Vide Geogr. Reg. s.v. Phokis and supra, p. 179.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 166.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 211.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Demeter, R. 18, vol. 3, p. 46.

<sup>e</sup> Vide vol. 1, R. Athena, R. 27<sup>b 1</sup>.

Dionysos, and Ariadne, and with the heroic legend of Theseus and his Cretan voyage. On or near the seventh day of Pyanopsion (October), the assumed date of Theseus' return from the victory over the Minotaur, certain epheboi, chosen in pairs from each tribe, ran a race, each carrying a vine-branch with clusters on it, from the temple of Dionysos to that of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, the prize being a large bowl of wine; it seems that then the victors of each pair returned in procession to Athens bearing the vine-clusters and singing and dancing measures that were called *ὄσχοφορικά*, of an athletic rather than a phallic character, while two youths in feminine attire headed the procession, imitating as far as possible the gait and the appearance of girls. Certain women functionaries called *δειπνοφόροι* took part in the ceremony, bringing food to the youths, and telling them stories, in imitation—as Plutarch naïvely reports—of the Athenian mothers who thus consoled their sons allotted to the Minotaur, but certainly rather for some ritualistic reason that is not clear<sup>a</sup>. The chorus during the march uttered mingled cries of joy and sorrow, partly because of the victory of Theseus, partly because of the news brought to him on landing of the death of Aigeus<sup>b</sup>. A more plausible explanation is suggested by Plutarch's own account that the lamentation alluded to the death of Ariadne; but such notes of sorrow have been frequent in primitive harvest-ceremonies, and the institution of the 'oschophoria' and much of the ceremony may be suspected to have been older than the arrival of Ariadne and Dionysos in Attica. Save for the fact that the runners started from 'the temple of Dionysos'—we do not know which—the festival shows no prominent Dionysiac character; nor is it clear that the ritual gave any recognition to Ariadne at all, of whose cult at Athens there is no certain record. It has been suggested that the two youths in female attire were personating Dionysos and his bride<sup>c</sup>; but though we have noted examples of the impersonation of

<sup>a</sup> Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> 3, p. 69 n., gives an example of story-telling and asking riddles in ceremonies intended to make the crops grow; but at the time of the

'*ὄσχοφορία* all the crops are in.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 282.

<sup>c</sup> Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 287.

the god as female<sup>61 d</sup>, we have no hint of this in Attica, and it is unlikely that he would be thus represented in a mimetic pageant where he had to be distinguished from Ariadne. We may rather believe that the men at the end of the vintage-harvest assumed the women's attire for the purposes of a primitive vegetation-magic that was independent of any myth<sup>a</sup>; and we have evidence elsewhere of this practice in the Dionysiac revels<sup>b</sup>. The *ὄσχοφορία* would be naturally annexed by Dionysos when he had established his cult in Attica; but we may surmise that Athena was the earlier deity to whom thanksgiving was offered for the wine-harvest. For Athena *Σκιρὰς* of Phaleron is more prominent in some accounts of the festival than he; and it was her temple at Salamis that was specially called τὸ Ὀσχοφόριον<sup>c</sup>.

A side-question arises in the consideration of this Attic festival, whether, namely, it reveals an early wave of Dionysiac influence from Crete. Doubtless, as there has already been occasion to note<sup>d</sup>, this island diffused in very early times many of its special cults and religious names through the Cyclades to the Greek mainland, and Ariadne was one of these; but we cannot be sure that the belief in the close association of Dionysos and Ariadne was taken over everywhere, as it seems to have been at Argos<sup>e</sup>, from Crete itself. It is probable that the prevalent Greek tradition of their union was more directly derived from Naxos; and the expegetic legend of the oschophoria may have been influenced by the intimacy between Peisistratos and Lygdamis the tyrant

<sup>a</sup> Vide my article in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1904, pp. 88-89: the ritual at Athens must be clearly distinguished from the curious Naxian ritual that looks like the 'couvade' in the funeral rites of Ariadne (vide vol. 2, p. 634, Aphrodite, R. 104); though this latter may also be explained by the hypothesis that the male was magically assuming the reproductive powers of the goddess.

<sup>b</sup> Lucian records the story that the Platonic philosopher Demetrios was accused to Ptolemy of 'drinking water

and alone of all men refusing to wear women's dress in the Dionysia' at Alexandria<sup>128</sup>; the philosopher realizing his danger instantly conformed with ardour. This must refer to some special celebration; it was certainly an exceptional custom in ordinary ritual.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 1, pp. 291-292, Athena, R. 27<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Vide vol. 3, Kybele, pp. 293-296; vol. 4, Apollo Delphinios, pp. 145-147.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Aphrodite, R. 104.

of Naxos<sup>a</sup>, as well as by the close proximity of this festival with the Theseia.

It remains now to consider the general and more interesting features of the other Attic festivals, omitting the more minute questions that arise in the special study of the state-calendar. Recent evidence from inscriptions, combined with more intelligent sifting of ancient testimony, has settled certain points of long-standing controversy<sup>b</sup>, and it may now be regarded as proved that the main Attic festivals, called τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς Διονύσια, τὰ Λήναια, τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια, and τὰ ἐν ἄστει Διονύσια or τὰ μεγάλα, were four distinct festivals celebrated respectively in the months Poseideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, corresponding roughly to our months, December, January, February, March.

As regards the country Dionysia, τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς, the testimony of Theophrastos<sup>106 a</sup> is corroborated by an inscription found in the Attic deme of Myrrhinous<sup>115</sup>; and we see that Hesychios is quoting from a good source<sup>106 a</sup> in the dates he gives for the various festivals. As this celebration then was held in the middle of winter generally throughout Attica—probably not, however, on the same day in every parish<sup>c</sup>—we cannot reasonably explain it as originally a wine-festival; to regard it as a vintage-festival is against common sense, for in the south at least the vintage is over long before this time; nor is the fermenting liquor fit to drink in Poseideon, but at earliest, as Plutarch assures us, towards the end of February<sup>129</sup>, while the Romans did not tap theirs till their feast of Vinalia in April<sup>d</sup>. We are driven then to a different view of this festival, and we may rank it among those winter-celebrations common, as we have noticed, in Greece, of which the object

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 1, p. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Nilsson, *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* (1900), has critically and successfully dealt with these.

<sup>c</sup> As Nilsson points out, *ib.* p. 107, the passage in Plato's *Republic* (R. 116<sup>a</sup>) proves that those who were passionate about Dionysiac performances could tour about the country and see several.

<sup>d</sup> The whole account of the Dionysia in Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen* is injured by the preconception that each and every festival was consecrated to the wine and the wine-god: his theory assumes that the ancient Athenians twice opened their casks before the wine was ready and each time instituted a festival, as if to console themselves for their mistake.

was to provide a magic stimulant for the decayed or suspended powers of the vegetation-god. We hear of no wine among the offerings, but of cereals and occasionally the animal of sacrifice. But the festival might easily become a wine-revel, when the means of keeping wine throughout the year were better understood; and Plutarch speaks of the noisy and vulgar uproar of the slaves, who were probably given special privileges at this time<sup>106 b</sup>. The picture of the rural Dionysia given us in the Acharnians is humorous, but probably accurate in its main features<sup>106 c</sup>; and we see that the fruit-basket, the holy cake, and the porridge-pot figure prominently in Dikaiopolis' procession; but more prominently still the *φαλλός*, the carrying of which through the villages may have been the original intention of this primitive peasant-magic; and no doubt the *φαλλός*, which is itself deified in the hymn sung by Dikaiopolis, was regarded as possessed with the 'mana' or influence of the god of life and also as evoking it. The context in Aristophanes suggests that the procession was accompanied with indecent badinage, which was common enough in vegetation-ceremonies and had a purpose beyond the mere ribaldry; and the phallophoroi, who on certain occasions performed on the city's stage, advanced when their song was over and reviled individuals among the audience<sup>106 d</sup>. It may be that Aristophanes exaggerates the indecency of the whole; for of the two phallic songs quoted by Athenaeus<sup>a</sup>, from Semos of Delos, though one is full of the old-world licence, the other is refined and graceful<sup>106 d</sup>. We should gather from Plato that in the more cultured period the chief attraction of these village festivals were the singing-choruses<sup>116 a</sup>; but occasionally we hear of dramatic contests also, of comedies in the demes of Axone<sup>114</sup> and Kollytos<sup>110</sup>, and in the Peiraieus<sup>116</sup>, and even of tragedies in Salamis<sup>107</sup>, Peiraieus<sup>116</sup>, and Ikaria<sup>112</sup>. Whether all these were given in the winter is doubtful, for the phrase 'rural Dionysia' and the general statement that these were held in Poseideon, do not exclude the possibility that certain villages may have had other

<sup>a</sup> p. 622 B-D.

Dionysiac festivals in other months. We should certainly expect that the village-communities in the vine-growing districts of Attica would have instituted rituals to celebrate the gathering of the grapes in autumn and the drawing of the new wine in spring. And a record concerning Ikaria speaks of offerings to Ikaros and Erigone 'at the season of the vintage<sup>a</sup>,' and the local legend concerning Bacchos' gift to Ikaros, which was doubtless the legend of the local festival, seems to point to the season of spring, when the wine was ready at last for the thirsting villagers<sup>b</sup>.

A critical examination of the citations concerning the somewhat mysterious festival known as the *Θεοίνια* points to the same conclusion<sup>106 e-f</sup>. Harpokration, in a gloss on a passage from the speech of Lykourgos concerning the 'claim of the Krokonidai against the Koironidai,' two Eleusinian 'gentes,' speaks of the *Θεοίνια* as 'a Dionysiac festival in the demes, in which the *Γεννηταί* offered a special sacrifice<sup>106 e</sup>.' We might hastily gather from this that it was therefore identical with the rural Dionysia, and that all the thirty Attic 'gentes' took part in it. But this would be probably a double error. The very name, the feast of the 'god-wine,' disproves that identification, for the Dionysia *κατ' ἀγρούς* was not a wine-festival at all; and that the celebration of it was a special privilege is suggested by the oath sworn by the fourteen sacred women who assisted the queen in the Anthesteria, and who had to swear that they 'celebrate the Theoinia<sup>c</sup> and the Iobaccheia in accordance with ancestral custom<sup>124 q</sup>.' Now if the object of the oath is to attest merely that they were legitimately born Athenians, true members of the *γένη*, a different formula would certainly have been adopted. We can only understand it if we suppose that the carefully selected 'Gerarai' are attesting that they belong to some specially privileged stock; and there is just this value in a confused gloss of Photius<sup>106 f</sup>, that it speaks of the *Θεοίνια* as the

<sup>a</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 130.

<sup>b</sup> Ael. *Nat. Hist.* 7. 28; Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 2. 389.

<sup>c</sup> The formula of the oath as given in the speech against Neaira gives the

word *Θεόγνια*; the emendation *Θεοίνια* is generally accepted and is inevitable (vide Nillson, *op. cit.* p. 107); there is no reason to regard the formula as spurious.



privilege, not of all the γένη, but of one particular γένος. The most reasonable explanation is that it was only celebrated by those few stocks who could claim among their family traditions a primæval visitation of the wine-god when he came to Attica to dispense the gift of wine. Such were the Ikarieis, the Semachidai, and such, as we may infer from the passage in Harpokration, were the Koironidai and the Krokonidai. These would be his earliest apostles, and we know how the ancient Hellene valued apostolic succession; and as they were descended from the original hosts of the immigrant god, so their vineyards were descended from the original vine-spray that he gave their ancestors; and thus only can we explain the name Θεοίνια, as their wine would not be common wine, but in very truth 'god-wine<sup>a</sup>.' Therefore we now understand why only the Γεννηταί, that is, the fully legitimate members of the privileged stock could celebrate this feast, just as other γεννηταί might have special privileges in Athena's worship<sup>b</sup>, and why the lexicographer speaks of it as a 'festival of the demes'; for, though not every deme, but only certain demes, could claim to celebrate it, he was right so far in regarding it as confined to the country, in that Athens herself could not claim to have ever received the 'god-wine' direct from the hands of the god. On the view here taken of the Θεοίνια, it would naturally be regarded as a spring festival when the wine was ready. It would be unlikely then that the Maenads had ever anything to do with it; and we need only regard Aeschylus' phrase, 'Oh, father Theoinē, thou that dost yoke the Maenads,' as a vague and general invocation<sup>c</sup>.

To which of the country festivals we are to assign the boorish sport of the Ἀσκωλιασμός<sup>117</sup>, the leaping upon inflated and

<sup>a</sup> This is on the whole Foucart's explanation, though he curiously omits to notice the passage in the speech of Demosthenes (*Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, pp. 84-85): Nillson, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-108, has been misled by the gloss in Harpokration into thinking that the Θεοίνια were the peculiar privilege of the Krokonidai and the Koironidai, and he does not seem aware of the

important significance of the name. Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 356, uncritically identifies the Θεοίνια with the Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς. <sup>b</sup> Vide *C. I. A.* 2. 470, 10.

<sup>c</sup> We have here a clear example of the name of a god arising out of a festival, and to this we may add Dionysos Καταγώγιος mentioned above; vide the question slightly discussed in vol. 3, p. 78, n. <sup>a</sup>.

greased goat-skins for a prize of wine, we have no means of deciding, and the question is of little interest for our present purpose. Of much more importance is the question how far the early Ikarian feast contained a dramatic element, but this may be reserved for the consideration of the great Dionysia of the city and of the religious origin of tragedy.

The Attic Lenaia offer problems of general interest to the student of Greek religion. This feast, which we are certain was held in Gamelion, the winter-month called by many of the Ionians 'Lenaion,' has been much misunderstood by many modern writers, mainly because they adhere to the ancient interpretation of the name as derived from *ληνός*, a wine-press or wine-vat. As has already been pointed out, this is bad etymology: the stem *ληνο* would give rise to the derivative *λήνεια*: *λήναια* normally can only arise from a noun of the 'a' stem: and this, as was first noted by Ribbeck<sup>2</sup>, is supplied us by the old word *λήναι*, a synonym for 'Maenades,' which never entirely died out and which must have belonged to early Ionic, surviving in the Ionic verb *ληναίζειν*, used by Herakleitos in the sense of 'to rave.' Also, the fallacy of the derivation of the word meaning 'wine-press' is shown by common sense; and it is strange that it should be necessary to point out that the wine-press has nothing to do with the life of the primitive villagers in January. The name of the month *Ληναιοβάκχιος* at Astypalaia also appears to point to the orgiastic significance of *λήναια*, as we see it compounded with the orgiastic cult-title *Βάκχιος*<sup>123</sup>. We must not, therefore, regard the Lenaia as a wine-festival at all, but as one of the winter-festivals in which once the Attic Maenads tried to awake or strengthen the sleeping or immature god. But the 'wild women' appear to have passed away long before the times at which our record

<sup>2</sup> *Anfänge u. Entwicklung d. Dionys. Kultes in Attica*, p. 13: it is noticed by recent writers, such as Mommsen, op. cit. p. 376; Foucart, op. cit. p. 102, and rejected on irrelevant or inadequate grounds: none of these writers consider the philological objections to the old-fashioned derivation. Nillson, *Grie-*

*chische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, p. 276, accepts the derivation from *λήναι*. Gruppe, *Die mythologische Litteratur aus den Jahren 1898-1905*, p. 46a, doubts the value of the rule, because there are a few exceptions; but our explanations ought to follow the rule rather than the exceptions, in ordinary cases.

begins, and to have left no other trace of themselves in Attica save the name *Λήναια*, the college of the Thyiades<sup>66c</sup>, their tamed and disciplined descendants, and perhaps the legend of the madness of the daughters of Eleuther<sup>69</sup>, and this may be Boeotian rather than Attic. We may wonder that not even a vague tradition survived of any association of the Lenaia with the orgiastic woman-votary. But the primitive function which we may suppose them to have exercised may have been taken over by the whole people; at least, the chief ritual-act that is recorded of the festival suggests the awakening of the young god, which was elsewhere performed by the 'Lenai' or Mainades: the *dadouchos*, holding a lighted torch, proclaimed to the people, 'Invoke the god,' whereupon the whole congregation cried aloud, 'Iacchos, son of Semele, thou giver of wealth<sup>119 f.</sup>' The lighted torch suggests that the ceremony was performed by night, and we may suppose that the formula had the magic force of an evocation. If this was the central act and prime intention of the Lenaia, we should imagine that in its earliest institution, when it was in the hands of the wild women, it was in some sense a mystery<sup>a</sup>; and though it had entirely lost, as far as it concerned the state, its mystic character in the historical period, it may well have retained a chthonian significance, being concerned with the sleeping vegetation-god and the buried forces of the earth; and we may thus understand why the 'dadouchos' and 'the supervisors of the mysteries,' functionaries specially associated with the powers of the lower world, played a certain part in the Lenaia<sup>119 f. g.</sup> And this view of the festival is supported by the analogy of the ritual of Mykonos, where, on the twelfth of the month Lenaion<sup>b</sup>, 'a yearling' was offered to Dionysos *Ληνεύς*<sup>c</sup>, 'on behalf of the fruits,' evidently to stimulate growth at the latter end of winter; while at the same time seven black 'yearlings' were

<sup>a</sup> A recently found inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander suggests a probability that mystic rites were performed by a private Dionysiac thiasos there in the month Lenaion<sup>123</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> This day of the month is probably that on which the Lenaia at Athens

began, vide Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 375.

<sup>c</sup> The form *ληνεύς* is obviously not derived from *ληνός*: it is a 'nomen agentis,' though there is no coexisting verb: but we have the corresponding feminine form *ληνίς* = Bacchante at.ested by Suidas s.v.

offered to Zeus of the underworld and to Ge of the underworld <sup>44</sup>.

But what is of most importance for the history of literature and the comparative study of religion is the close association of the comic drama with the two festivals of Dionysos, the Lenaia and the city Dionysia. Now we have reason for believing that this association was not, in the case of the Lenaia, accidental or capricious, but arose from some primitive law of the ritual. And if the germ of comedy was there from the beginning, we should not be able to agree with Athenaeus that, like tragedy, it arose 'from intoxication,' from the licentious mockery of wine-bibbers, though the later great comedians may have owed much to this source of inspiration; for the Lenaia, as we have seen, was not originally a wine-festival, and the Anthesteria, the wine-festival *par excellence*, did not develop real comedy, the *χύτρινοι ἀγῶνες* being very small affairs <sup>124 f, r</sup>.

The religious origin of comedy, as of tragedy, may be regarded as established by recent anthropological research; and certainly as regards ancient Greece the legends and records leave us in no doubt. And most scholars are familiar with Aristotle's dictum that 'comedy arose from the leaders of the phallic songs and processions <sup>106 d</sup>.' His theory is a natural one; and the only scruple of doubt may arise from the fact that, whereas phallic ritual is proved for the rural Dionysia and even for the 'Megala,' it is not explicitly mentioned in any record of the Lenaia. But it may be that Semos of Delos is describing something that happened in the latter Attic festival, when—according to Athenaeus—he speaks of 'the ithyphalloi' (who wore masks representing drunken men) singing a phallic song in the middle of the orchestra <sup>118</sup>, and of the phallophoroi without masks entering through the central doors of the theatre and advancing after their song to revile individuals of the audience <sup>106 d</sup>. And certainly the character of Attic comedy is consistent enough with this theory. Moreover, we observe from the citations of Athenaeus just referred to that these phallic singers were in some way mimetic: the 'ithyphalloi' wore masks, and the phallophoros

in another company is specially described as 'covered with soot.' This interesting trait seems to have escaped the comment of anthropologists. There is certainly some dramatic intention in it, and we are irresistibly reminded of the *Ψολόεις* or 'sooty ones' who survived down to the time of Plutarch in a Boeotian Dionysiac passion-play<sup>77</sup>, and of the familiar figure of the sweep in our vegetation-mummery of the first of May; and in the modern Dionysiac carnival described by Mr. Dawkins one of the masqueraders has his face and his hands blackened<sup>a</sup>. Moreover, Suidas states that the practice of the professional revellers in wagons mocking and reviling the passers-by was maintained at the Lenaia as well as at the Choes; though he thinks it was of later institution at the former festival<sup>119g</sup>. From these formal ceremonies of vituperation and from the phallic processions the evolution of the comic drama, with its strong realistic flavour of contemporary satire, can be best explained. Nor can we doubt that the former, like the latter, was no mere secular licence, the badinage of the vulgar crowd, but was prompted by some primitive religious intention<sup>b</sup>. Dr. Frazer has collected a number of modern examples of cursing ceremoniously practised in order to avert evil or bring good luck<sup>c</sup>. For classical parallels we may quote the ritual of the Thesmophoria<sup>d</sup> and the Eleusinia<sup>e</sup> and other ceremonies of Demeter-worship<sup>f</sup>, and the sacrifice to Herakles at Lindos which was solemnly performed with curses<sup>g</sup>. We cannot explain every case in the same way; but the concept that applies to most of them is that the cursing averts the evil eye and is therefore of benefit to the insulted person. And the belief that this explains the ribald vituperation of the phallophoroi and of

<sup>a</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1906, p. 191.

<sup>b</sup> Foucart, op. cit. p. 91, ignores the importance of this: Aristotle was aware of the religious value of *ταβασμός*, *Pol.* 7. 17, 10.

<sup>c</sup> *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> 1, p. 97.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. 3, pp. 99, 104.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. 3, Demeter, R. 216<sup>g</sup>; cf. Suid. s.v. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξίων; cf. vol. 3, p. 172.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. 3, p. 46, pp. 99-100, p. 104 n. a; cf. *Anthrop. Journ.* 1907, p. 234, opprobrious names are commonly given to persons to avert the evil eye; in modern Bulgaria praise of an object or a child is regarded as dangerous.

<sup>g</sup> Apollod. 2. 5, 10; Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 24; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21.

the wagon-revellers at the Lenaia is supported by another interesting, but little noticed, gloss in Suidas<sup>a</sup> which states that the practice of cursing from a wagon outside people's doors was maintained 'on the appointed days'—probably in a yearly festival—at Alexandria, and he seems to have found the ceremony called a *καθαρμὸς τῶν ψυχῶν*, which may mean either 'a purification of the souls of the people' or 'a purification from ghosts': from either view his statement is of equal value, showing that the cursing was beneficent because it was purificatory. If we can trust Suidas' citation in all its details, the wagon-vituperation at Alexandria was intended very seriously, as a sort of commination-service; for the wagoners drew up at the doors of the citizens and told them nothing but painful home-truths: the truthfulness must have added to the cathartic effect: even Aristophanes' ribaldry may have occasionally been true. If then some such ceremony was at the root of ancient comedy, this may be regarded, as Aristotle regards tragedy, as in some sense a *κάθαρσις*; and the idea of purification was probably immanent, as we shall see, in the other two Attic festivals of the god, the Anthesteria and the 'Megala.' We may also believe, though owing to the obscurity of the origins of Greek comedy we cannot prove, that the primitive wagon-cursers were playing divine parts, just as the phallophori were sacred personages for the time; no doubt secular reasons of safety might suggest that it was better to curse from a wagon than on foot; nevertheless, as the wagon figures in so many primitive ceremonies, carrying the divine image or the divine masqueraders, we may believe that it fulfilled the same function in this country-ritual of ancient Greece.

The view here taken of the Lenaia implies that it belonged to the primitive period of the Dionysiac religion; and, in spite of doubts expressed by a few scholars, this belief is forced upon us. In the first place the king-archon had the management of it<sup>b</sup>, and Aristotle may well be right in regarding this as a proof that it belonged to the ancestral tradition of the *πάτριαι θυσίαι*<sup>109 e</sup>. Then, the name of the

<sup>a</sup> *s. v.* τὰ ἐξ ἀμάξης.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Foucart, *op. cit.* p. 90.

winter-month Lenaion appears to have belonged to the calendar of all the Ionic states, and we can only explain this uniformity by regarding it as a tradition of the period before their migration; it may even have descended from the Boeotian period of their history, and thus the name may have lingered in Boeotia, so that Hesiod was familiar with it<sup>a</sup>, although the later Boeotian calendar had rejected it<sup>119 h</sup>. The name of the month must have arisen from the religious ritual which was its most conspicuous service; and this on the theory above set forth was the awakening of the god; we may then believe that the Ionians introduced the festival into Attica, but were not able to substitute their name of the month for the old Attic Gamelion. Whether the other Ionic states retained the primitive traits of the Lenaia or whether in most of them it was maintained at all, the records leave us in doubt; but we have evidence of some religious service in this month at Magnesia<sup>123</sup>, at Priene<sup>105 a</sup> and at Mykonos<sup>44</sup>.

One last question remains for the student of Attic Dionysiac religion: Did primitive Attica practise two winter celebrations, one in December and one in January? Probably not, for as the object of the winter-service was the quickening of the sleeping powers of nature, it is not likely that this would have suggested two services of like significance in two separate months, and we have no example of any reduplication of the winter-ritual in other states. Those who have identified the Lenaia with the rural Dionysia were wrong as regards the historical facts of the Attic calendar, but perhaps in one sense the theory has a certain truth. There is no proof of the Lenaia in the demes or country-districts at all<sup>b</sup>; and we may consider it as the early and single winter-festival of Athens itself, falling in January because of the law of the Ionic calendar, while the rural Dionysia, having the same significance and falling perhaps in the same month originally,

<sup>a</sup> For the question as to the genuineness of the line in Hesiod, vide Nillson, *op. cit.* p. 3.

<sup>b</sup> The Eleusinian inscription<sup>122</sup> mentioning the expenses of the 'Eleusinian

supervisors' for the sacrifice at the Lenaia refers doubtless to the Athenian festival, in which, as we have seen, Eleusinian officials played a part.

came mainly to be held in December, so as to allow the Athenians to assist in the village celebrations and the villagers to attend the Lenaia at Athens<sup>a</sup>.

Still more important for the religious questions involved is the consideration of the Anthesteria, the Dionysiac festival which followed in the next month, Anthesterion, and which fell at the time when the wine of last year was just fit to drink. The great antiquity of this festival is obvious from the character of the ritual; it is proved by its common observance by all the Ionic states<sup>124 a</sup>; and it is vaguely attested by Thucydides, whose phrase, so much debated, and still a matter of controversy, τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια, need mean no more than that he regarded it as older than the Megala and old enough for the purposes of his topographical argument. A mere statement of the recorded facts is easy; it is the critical interpretation of them that becomes difficult at certain points. The whole festival, which according to Thucydides fell, both at Athens and in Ionia, on the twelfth of Anthesterion<sup>124 a</sup>, was called Anthesteria, but the three parts of it, assigned apparently to three successive days, were called Πιθολύγια, Χόες, Χύτροι<sup>124 c</sup>; and according to the traditional and current interpretation we should explain these names as 'the opening of the wine-casks,' 'the cups,' and 'the sacrificial pots.' We gather from a passage in Plutarch that the Πιθολύγια occurred on the eleventh of the month<sup>124 g</sup>, the twenty-seventh of February<sup>b</sup>. We can reconcile this with Thucydides' statement by regarding the Πιθολύγια as

<sup>a</sup> I have no space here to consider the thorny question of the topography of the Lenaion: it is nowhere clearly associated with τὸ ἐν Λίμναις, for the passage in Hesychios<sup>121</sup>, confidently cited by Foucart, *op. cit.* p. 96, is corrupt, and we have nothing but the vague and loose statement of the Scholiast on Aristophanes in which he implies that the feast of the Choes [held ἐν Λίμναις] was a festival of Dionysos Ἀθήναιος<sup>121</sup>. Dörpfeld assumes the association of the Ἀθήναιον with the temple ἐν

Λίμναις, vide *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 186.

<sup>b</sup> We can date the day exactly according to our calendar from the statement in Plutarch's *Vit. Sull.* 14 that the Χύτροι, which the legend connected with the survivors of the deluge, occurred on the first of March. Plutarch is the only authority for the eleventh day = Πιθολύγια. Foucart, *op. cit.*, is in error in attributing this to Apollodoros, who does not mention the precise days at all, but only the three parts of the whole festival<sup>121 c</sup>.



merely a preliminary to the main day, that of the Choes, which seems occasionally at Athens and elsewhere to have been synonymous with the whole festival<sup>a</sup>. And this is more natural than Foucart's solution, who concludes that the *Πιθοίγια* was originally not part of the Anthesteria at all. It is clear that it was an essential part of it; for we are told that when the casks were first opened the citizens bore a mixture of the sweet wine to the god in his shrine 'in the marshes,' before they ventured to drink themselves<sup>124 c</sup>. And anthropology has collected endless examples of such consecration of the fruits of field, orchard, or vineyard, whereby the taboo is taken off the food of the community before they dare to enjoy it. This was then the sole ritual act of the *Πιθοίγια*; after it was performed universal merriment prevailed, in which slaves and hirelings took equal part with the family<sup>124 g</sup>. Then followed on the day after—or perhaps originally on the same day—the ceremonious wine-drinking of the whole people, called the Choes, 'the ritual of the cups.' The *Acharnians* of Aristophanes and the scholiast's comments on certain passages in it show how the general licence of the wine-bibbers was tempered with a certain religious discipline. The people gathered together—in the precincts, probably, of Dionysos Limnaios—and waited for the sound of the trumpet; at its signal they tossed off their cups, and he who drained his most swiftly received from the king-archon—the supervisor of all the most ancient ritual—the prize of a skinful of wine<sup>124 m, n</sup>. The drinking may have continued most of the day, and the crowd that found itself in the precincts of that temple in the evening, when the *Χύτροι* began, might well be called *κραιπαλόκωμος*<sup>124 p</sup>. The drinking-revel seems to have been accompanied by the badinage 'from the wagons,' of which the significance has already been considered.

So far the description suggests only a bright and genial wine-festival; but there are indications that something

<sup>a</sup> For instance the scholiast on the *Acharnians* speaks of the sacrifice to Hermes *Χθόνιος*, which fell on the day

of the *Χύτροι*, as happening *τοῖς Χουσί*<sup>124 o</sup>: this is either a mere error or he is using *Χόες* in an extended sense.

more was in the air, and that certain feelings of shyness and awe penetrated the minds of the revellers. Photius tells us<sup>124 k</sup> that 'in the festival of the Choes in the month of Anthesterion, in which (month) the souls of the departed are supposed to ascend to the upper world, they used to chew buckthorn from the beginning of the day onward and anoint their doors with pitch<sup>a</sup>'; this statement is given under the phrase *μιαρὰ ἡμέρα*, as if only one day were thus tabooed; and if this were so we should have expected that it would have been the day of 'the pots' which followed 'the cups,' as this was more specially associated with the presence of the souls of the dead. But Hesychios, drawing apparently from the same source—Apollodoros or Theopompos—speaks of 'the tabooed days' of the month Anthesterion, which suggests that both the twelfth and the thirteenth were *μιαρὰ*<sup>124 k</sup>. Moreover, the story of Orestes is combined in a singular way with the foundation-legend of the Choes<sup>121 b, i</sup>; in the *Iphigeneia at Tauris* Orestes tells his sister that when he came unpurified to Athens his hosts were unwilling to receive him at a common table or to share with him a common wine-bowl, and therefore they gave him a table apart and tactfully arranged that on this occasion every guest should drink from a separate cup; and that the Attic ritual of the Choes was ordered in commemoration of this. Euripides could not have originated this story; for it is given from independent sources with added details by the scholiast on Aristophanes and by Athenaeus quoting Phanodemos: the king of Attica who received Orestes—Pandion or Demophon—ordered the temples to be closed in order that his miasma might not enter them, and the revellers to drink apart from separate cups; he also forbade them to dedicate the crowns that they were wearing in the temples, but ordered them to be hung about the cups and to be handed over to the priestess in the precincts of the god 'in the marshes.' The legend of Orestes, as we have noted<sup>b</sup>, was likely to be attracted by any elaborate ritual

<sup>a</sup> These were prophylactics against ghosts and evil influences, vide Photius

*s. v.* *ράμνος*; cf. Miss Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 39, n. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 4, p. 296.

of purification and *tapu*; as happened at Troizen, where a similar rule prevailed that those engaged in certain communal purification ceremonies should take their meal apart in a tent. And these aetiological figments about the origin of the Choes reveal these facts: that the temples (with the exception of the ancient Dionysiac shrine 'in the marshes') were closed on this day; and that the people considered themselves to be peculiarly sensitive to miasma at this time or to be putting themselves through some kind of purification. We should understand this if it were supposed that ghosts were abroad or if the general sense of sin were heavy upon the people. And the lexicographers are witnesses to the former belief.

But another and the chief of all the ceremonies of the Anthesteria seems to clash strangely with any belief that the day of the Choes was ill-omened, the holy marriage of Dionysos with the queen-archon that took place on that day. It was solemnized and consummated in the building called the *Βουκόλιον*, which commemorates in its name the ancient conception of the Bull-Dionysos<sup>a</sup>, and which stood near the Prytaneion. The clear and simple words of the author of the *Constitution of Athens*, 'here takes place the corporeal union and marriage of the wife of the king and Dionysos<sup>34 e</sup>,' have been unnecessarily suspected and misinterpreted<sup>b</sup>. The formal marriage was necessary to cement the union of Dionysos with the state of Athens through the person of the queen: and this becomes a sacred pledge of his political adoption and of his fellowship with the people's life. And the marriage was more than a formal ceremony: the actual consummation—*σύμμυξις*—was enacted, but by what means we can only conjecture. It is possible that for the occasion the Basileus himself might play the part of the god: it would be against Athenian sentiment that the priest should play it, as the priest in this case was not her husband. There is some indication in the records of the Eleusinian mysteries

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 126.

supposed interests of 'patriarchy'; but *γάμος* and *σύμμυξις* are both equally 'patriarchal,' equally 'matriarchal' words, and no such question can arise about them.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Foucart, op. cit. p. 129, who takes a sound view as to the text. Miss Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 537, regards the words *καὶ ὁ γάμος* as added in the

that the hierophantes and the hierophantis there played some part as the principals in a holy marriage; but the Basileus, though he inherited the religious traditions of old royalty, is not known to have officiated as a god in any public ceremony. It is quite conceivable that the ritual of the marriage with a simulated physical consummation of it was effected by means of a puppet and a sacred couch; old-world religion was less timid than modern, and only diseased moral thought could charge such a ceremony with obscenity<sup>a</sup>. Chastity in the queen was rigorously demanded and scrutinized; the law required that she should be a maiden at the time of her marriage and should be the wife of one husband only.

It is natural to explain this interesting rite in the light of primitive vegetation-magic, on the analogy of lords and ladies of May, of the holy marriage of Siva and Parvati in modern India<sup>b</sup>. We may often feel convinced that some simple peasant-ritual underlay the brilliant festival service of the later 'polis.' But the political colouring of much Greek religion is so strong as often to expunge the agrarian; and there is nothing here that points to any surviving reminiscence that the queen-archon was impersonating a vegetation-deity<sup>c</sup>. Charged with the vegetation-god's powerful magic, the queen might have been well employed afterwards in blessing the sown lands and the budding orchards and vineyards; but there is no other record of any function of hers either in the Dionysia or the Thesmophoria. Probably in the later period the solemn ceremony was merely accompanied by a vague assurance that the blood of the community and the life of the soil were mystically refreshed by this union of the queen with the god of productiveness.

The temple in the marshes was regarded as the oldest centre of Dionysiac cult in Athens<sup>d</sup>; and we are told by

<sup>a</sup> Nillson, *op. cit.* p. 120, suggests that a certain phallic magic was used, such as that which Arnobius associates with the Italian god Tutunus.

<sup>b</sup> See Frazer, *G. B.* 1, p. 229; 2, p. 109.

<sup>c</sup> The theory that she was acting the

part of Kore is quite gratuitous and improbable; and equally so is Foucart's 'Egyptizing' hypothesis that the ceremony commemorated the marriage of Isis and Osiris and the institution of wedlock, *op. cit.* pp. 149-150.

<sup>d</sup> The long controversy as to the site

Demosthenes, who vouches for that opinion, that it was only opened once a year on the day of the marriage<sup>124 a, b</sup>; that the 'reverend women' who were closely associated with the queen performed certain mystic rites there, and that in that temple stood the tablet containing the law that regulated her conduct of the ritual and theirs. Therefore we may well be of M. Foucart's opinion that there was some procession on this day from this temple to the Boukolion, perhaps, as he maintains, bearing the image of the god. We may here discern a trace of the earliest days of the arrival of Dionysos, when he won a footing on the soil beneath the sacred rock, and at once established the closest ties with the community by marrying the queen of the land, as he had married Althaia of Kalydon.

So far as we have been able to follow them at present, the ceremonies of the 'day of cups' appear wholly Dionysiac, though other influences pervade the air as well.

It is otherwise with the last day of the three-days' feast, the *Χύτροι*, the 'offerings of pots.' This seems to have been wholly devoted to the tendance of the souls of the departed. The best attested form of the name is *Χύτροι*, though in two places certain manuscripts of Harpokration and one scholiast on Aristophanes give the name as *Χύτραι*. But the two words are originally synonymous, and must have primarily signified artificial utensils for pouring out liquids<sup>a</sup>; and the feast evidently took its name from the vessels in which was cooked the cereal food or porridge intended probably for the souls of the family ancestors. Our interpretation of this celebration of

cannot be discussed here, as it does not bear directly on the main questions of ritual; I incline to the opinion that it stood on the south of the Acropolis within the limits of the later *ἄστυ*, vide the arguments in Foucart, op. cit. pp. 108-110, and cf. p. 97; and cf. Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, Appendix C (by Pickard-Cambridge, new ed.).

<sup>a</sup> From the form of the word *χύτρος*, from *χέω*, it is clear that its application to standing pools is secondary and

figurative, and the compound *χυτρόπους* is further proof that *χύτρος* is a synonym of *χύτρα*; therefore to interpret the name *Χύτροι* as the 'feast of pools' [Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 385, Miss Harrison, op. cit. p. 37] is unnatural and against the practice of Greek festival nomenclature; for no festal name is directly the name of a natural object; most are derivatives, and the few simple nouns, e. g. *Σκίρα*, *Ἄνοδος*, *Κάθοδος*, *Χόες*, *Τύρβη*, refer to human or divine activities.

the *Χύτραι* depends on the critical analysis of various statements of the lexicographers and the scholiasts on Aristophanes' *Frogs* and *Acharnians*<sup>124 d, e</sup>, who derive their information mainly from Theopompos, and, in a lesser degree, from Philochoros and Didymos<sup>a</sup>; and for Attic ritual the first two authors are evidently more trustworthy than the third<sup>b</sup>. The text of the citations is in some important points corrupt and contradictory; and the more minute discussion of them would be here out of place; for the *χύτρα*-offering itself and the law of it concern intimately the question of ancestor-worship and the Athenian feeling towards the dead, but, as we may fairly surmise, do not touch Dionysiac worship at all. For the fuller and more authoritative account of Theopompos<sup>124 e</sup> evidently did not mention Dionysos, but certifies that the sacrifice was made to none of the Olympians, but only to Hermes Chthonios on behalf of the dead: it is only Didymos who brings in Dionysos<sup>c</sup>. Though the latter god may have come to receive some attention on this day of the Pots, as it was officially connected with the Anthesteria, it is clear that he had nothing to do with the *χύτρα*-offering nor with the prevalent legend of the feast. For we have Theopompos' authority, which is confirmed by a statement of Plutarch<sup>124 f</sup>, that the thirteenth day was associated with the story of Deukalion's deluge; two of the scholiasts quoting from him the legend that the survivors of that catastrophe, who must have escaped near the south side of the Akropolis<sup>d</sup>, cooked their remaining provisions in pots, 'by day, not by night<sup>e</sup>,' and made offering to Hermes Chthonios on behalf of the dead. It is easier to understand why the ceremony of the *χύτρα*—no doubt a primitive family-feast for the souls of the family-ancestors—should have attracted to itself this alien myth of Deukalion's flood, if we

<sup>a</sup> For the detailed criticism of these, vide especially Nillson, op. cit. pp. 131-133; Foucart, op. cit. pp. 130-137.

<sup>b</sup> It is hard to see why Foucart, p. 137, should prefer the authority of the later Alexandrine to the earlier Athenian.

<sup>c</sup> Probably Didymos is officiously filling up what he thinks a gap in the

account of Theopompos.

<sup>d</sup> This appears to be the meaning of the vague phrase *ἐκείσε παραγενόμενοι*<sup>124 e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> This seems to show, as has been pointed out by Foucart, op. cit. p. 134, that the *χύτρα* in the later period was prepared by night.

suppose that on the same day was performed that other service called the Hydrophoria<sup>124 f</sup>, the bearing of water-pitchers in tendance on the dead, itself 'a service of sorrow performed for those who perished in the deluge'; and that also on the same day the ritual occurred that Pausanias speaks of, the casting of honeyed cakes into the cleft of the earth by the temple of Ge Olympia in the precincts of the great Olympieion<sup>124 f</sup>, where the last of the flood-water was believed to have run away<sup>a</sup>. But in the deluge-story Dionysos has no part; nor is there anything Bacchic at all in the ceremony of the Pots, except the *χύτρινοι ἀγῶνες*<sup>124 f, r</sup>, merely a competition between comic actors and evidently of late institution.

The whole festival of the Anthesteria closed with the magic formula *θύραζε Κῆρες οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια*, which suggests that the ghosts had been invited at least to the day of the Pots<sup>b</sup>.

Having now surveyed the main points of the ritual we can consider the larger question as to the original significance of this complex three days' service. How has it come about that a joyous wine-festival has been combined with a tendance of the ancestral ghosts and with the feeling that one or more of the days were *μαραί*, tabooed or 'uncanny'? To explain this difficulty, a theory has been put forward by Miss Harrison<sup>c</sup> that the whole of the Anthesteria was originally an All Souls' Feast, belonging originally to Ge and merely taken over by Dionysos at a later period; that the *πιθόγια* was primaevally 'an opening of the *πίθοι* or jars' in which the dead were interred so as to allow the *Κῆρες* or ghosts to escape; that the *Χόες* or feast of cups superseded an earlier *Χοαί* or rite of libations to the spirits; and, finally, that the name *Ἀνθεστήρια* does not signify the 'feast of flowers,' but that Dr. Verrall's derivation of the word from *ἀναθέσσωσθαι* ('to pray up, to evoke the spirit') gives us the true intention of the festival as a 'feast of

<sup>a</sup> Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 425, is inclined to attach these rites to the Diasia on the twenty-second of Anthesterion; but this view seems less reasonable on the whole.

<sup>b</sup> The reading *Κῆρες* is now generally accepted except by one or two scholars

who are ignorant of anthropology; the reading *Κᾶρες* is impossible both on historical and anthropological grounds; and the metrical form is natural to magic or religious formulae.

<sup>c</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1900, p. 99, &c.; *Prolegomena*, pp. 32-49.

evocation' or 'revocation.' We may accept the theory in the main without accepting the etymological hypotheses invented to support it; for these are unscientific or frail. Dr. Verrall's explanation of Ἀνθεστήρια ignores the fact that the preposition ἀνά in Attic and Ionic prose is never syncopated in compounds except in words such as ἄνθεμα, taken over from poetry. The difficulty which his etymological attempt would meet, namely, that Ἀνθεστήρια, being a verbal-adjective form expressing causation, cannot be derived from ἄνθος, 'a flower,' does not arise. Ἀνθεστήρια is not a derivative from ἄνθος and does not mean the 'festival of the flowers.' But the word is a quite normal formation from ἀνθέω, and has the proper causal significance of 'the festival that causes things to bloom'; and that such a ritual with such a magic purpose should be performed at the beginning of spring is in perfect keeping with ancient ideas and practice. A festival of this kind might indeed be an 'all-souls' service; for the spirits are often invested with power over vegetation, and the belief is occasionally found that they arise from the earth in the newly sprouting growths of spring.

But a critical examination of the facts does not support the view that the whole of the Anthesteria was of this ghostly character. That the word Πιθόγια should have served two such different uses, first denoting the opening of the πίθοι of the dead, and later the opening of the wine-jars when the new wine was at last ready, is a curious coincidence, almost too curious to be credible. We know that *primaevally* in Attica and elsewhere the dead were buried in jars that might be called πίθοι, but we nowhere find the word in any clear sepulchral sense. And such a ceremony as the solemn and annual opening of the graves of the dead so as to evoke the spirits, though not impossible, is so strange as to require direct attestation before we can accept it as a fact<sup>a</sup>. The Roman custom to which the

<sup>a</sup> I have tried in vain to find a clear anthropological parallel. Examples can be found of invitations given to the dead to come to the houses of the living, for instance in the Japanese feast of

lanterns, Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> 3, p. 86; and in ancient Teutonic ritual the dead were occasionally entertained in the living-rooms, Golther, *Handb. Germ. Mythol.* p. 92.



phrase 'mundus patet' alludes is not an example in point<sup>a</sup>; nor can we accept the vase-representation of Hermes evoking souls from a burial jar<sup>b</sup> or the story of Pandora's jar as any certain or probable evidence of a sepulchral 'pithoigia' practised by the relatives at some anniversary-feast of the dead<sup>c</sup>. And against the whole theory the fact tells strongly that the Πιθολίγια was wholly a day of rejoicing, free from any ghostly *tapu*; for it is only a careless misinterpretation of a passage in Eustathios' commentary which has led a few writers to assert the contrary<sup>124k</sup>. Judging then from the recorded facts of the festival, we must adhere to the obvious interpretation of Πιθολίγια as 'a festival of the opening of the wine-casks,' and must regard the first day of the Anthesteria as wholly joyous and Bacchic.

Even less reason is there for tampering with the name of 'Choes,' and for the suggestion that a feast of *Xoai* or ghost-libations had preceded a feast of cups; but it is clear that the presence of the ghosts began to be felt on this day, as they were probably summoned on the twelfth to be in readiness for the *Xύτροι*, which may have been prepared after sunset on that day. Still it is evident that the Athenian public did not feel this presence as a burden or allow their unearthly visitors to chill the hilarity of the cups; the pitch and the buckthorn and the separate drinking sufficed for the ceremonious law of *tapu*.

The theory that on the whole best fits the facts is that the Anthesteria was originally Dionysiac, a festival where the new wine was drunk and the worshippers thus inspired

<sup>a</sup> Vide W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 211-212: his supposition that the 'mundus' was opened to store grain is very probable: the burying of grain is attested for the Romans and by Tacitus for the ancient Germans.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 40.

<sup>c</sup> Miss Harrison's explanation of the Hesiodic myth may be correct, and we know that Pandora was Ge (vide vol. 3, p. 25); but if Ge opens the *πίθος* of the dead—to allow the souls to escape

into her nether domain?—this proves no human ritual. The only actual ritual that is known, which would explain the Pandora story, is that of burying sin or death or diseases in a box, to be opened at the peril of the opener; Dr. Frazer, *G. B.*<sup>2</sup> 3, p. 107, quotes an example from the gipsies of South Europe; cf. the stories of Sisypheos binding Death, of the Aloades binding Ares in a jar (Crooke, *Folklore*, viii. 325 'The binding of a god').

with magic potency to assist the growth of crops; and that this in Athens fell so near to a primaeval ghost-ceremony called *Χύτροι* that the latter became attached to the Anthesteria as a mournful *finale*. We may also believe that the Anthesteria was an aboriginal festival of the Ionic people, when they were still a united tribe, settled probably in Boeotia. For Thucydides states that all the Ionians—whom he erroneously regards as all descended from the Athenians—celebrated the feast on the same day. We can take his statement on trust, although the only Ionic states where we find certain or probable traces of the Anthesteria are Apollonia in Chalkidike, Smyrna, Magnesia on the Maeander, Priene, and Teos<sup>126</sup>. We may maintain that the cult in Salamis and Magnesia<sup>125</sup>—where Themistocles instituted the feast of the *Χόες* and a sacrifice to ‘Dionysos the cup-drinker’—was engrafted from Attica; but this is not likely to have been the case in the other Ionic states. And it is impossible to suppose that the Dionysiac feast of the *Χόες* in Syracuse<sup>126</sup> owed its origin to Attic influence. Dionysos *Ἀνθιστήρ*, ‘he who brings forth the bloom,’ must have been a powerful name at Delphi; for at some indefinite date before the first century B. C. the oracle imposed his cult upon Thera<sup>126</sup>. Moreover, the statement of Thucydides indirectly implies that the Ionic Anthesteria was Dionysiac, like the Attic: and where the record gives us any clue at all, as at Smyrna, Priene, Syracuse, it reveals the Bacchic colour of the feast<sup>a</sup>.

All this would be hard to explain if the Anthesteria had been originally a primaeval, that is pre-Ionic, ghost-festival of Attica appropriated there by Dionysos at some later period by some local accident<sup>b</sup>.

The last festival that still concerns us is the ‘Megala Dionysia,’ or the Dionysia *ἐν ἄστει*<sup>c</sup>, which was held on

<sup>a</sup> We hear of offerings to the dead in the month Anthesterion at Apollonia in Chalkidike; but Athenaeus tells us that the earlier practice there was to make these offerings in Elaphebolion<sup>126</sup>. The change of the month may have been due to Attic influence.

<sup>b</sup> In neither of her expositions does Miss Harrison discuss the objections to her theory arising from the ethnography of the cult.

<sup>c</sup> A difficulty arises about the designation *ἐν ἄστει*, for the Lenaia and Anthesteria were also held within the

days that fell between the eighth and the eighteenth of Elaphebolion, when full spring had set in and the season of navigation had begun<sup>127</sup>. In some ways the most magnificent of all Attic ceremonies, it reflected in the fifth century the power and the glory of Athens, and it intimately concerns the history of Attic literature and art. But it only concerns us here to raise those questions about it that are of interest for Attic or for comparative religion. The minuter questions are critically and successfully handled in M. Foucart's recent memoir<sup>a</sup>; and what is known concerning the main features of the ritual may be briefly stated. On the eighth day of the month, called 'the sacred day,' a sacrifice was offered to Asklepios, whose worship was introduced about 420 B. C., and a *προάγων* was held, a preliminary trial of the performers intending to compete in the impending theatrical contests<sup>127 c</sup>: the Dionysia proper began with the *πομπή*, the procession which escorted the xoanon of Dionysos Eleuthereus from his temple on the south of the Akropolis near the theatre to a small shrine in the academy, which lay by the road leading from Eleutherai to Athens<sup>127 d, h</sup>; certain functions in connexion with the procession were performed by a family called the Bacchiadai, who probably claimed, like the Ikarieis, a close ancestral association with the god<sup>127 n</sup>; but the supervision of the whole was in the hands of the archon<sup>127 f</sup>. Of the magnificence of the procession the records give us only a fragmentary picture: we hear of the noble maidens bearing golden caskets on their heads, full of first-offerings to the deity<sup>127 l</sup> and of philanthropists like Herodes Atticus entertaining citizens and alien visitors with festal cheer on couches of ivy-leaves in the Kerameikos, through which the image was borne on its way to the academy<sup>127 h</sup>. On its arrival there it was placed in the shrine which Pausanias mentions<sup>127 h</sup>, on an altar of the type known as *ἑσχάρα*, being of low height and

city-wall (vide Foucart, op. cit. p. 109). I would suggest that the Great Dionysia were called 'the City' festival merely from the point of view of the country-folk, who only came in great numbers to this celebration and used the term to

distinguish it from their rural village-feast.

<sup>a</sup> Op. cit. pp. 163-204; his statement is of little value for the larger problems concerning the cult of Eleutherai and its relation to tragedy.

hollowed out in the middle<sup>a</sup>: and a chorus of boys sang hymns of praise to 'the god on the eschara<sup>127 h</sup>.' It was probably here that victims were offered by 'the king,' the ephebi, and 'the archon, whose sacrifice was accompanied by prayers for the health and safety of the Boule and Demos of the Athenians and for the fruits of the country<sup>127 f, g, h</sup>.' On the return journey, enlivened perhaps by the κῶμος<sup>b</sup> mentioned in the law of Euegoros<sup>127 d</sup>, the idol was escorted by the ephebi, who carried it in a torch-lit procession to its place in the theatre, where it was to witness the ensuing comic and tragic performances and musical competitions<sup>127 h</sup>.

All this is civilized and cultured service, and there is no trace of anything primitive in the forms of ritual except the 'phallagoga,' which was probably by no means prominent in the procession; for the only evidence of it is a fifth-century decree, restored almost with certainty, bidding the Athenian colonists of Brea to send yearly a sacrifice of ox and sheep to the Panathenaia and a phallos to the Dionysia<sup>127 i</sup>. And the whole festival has in no way such an air of antiquity about it as the Lenaia and the Anthesteria; and Thucydides evidently regarded it as the younger. Therefore the 'Basileus,' the head of the oldest religion, plays but little part in it; it is 'the archon' who supervises it. The circumstances and the date of its foundation, then, become an important question of interest both for Attic history and for the development of tragedy.

The chief god of the whole festival, in whose honour it would seem to have been instituted, was Dionysos Eleuthereus; in or near the precincts of whose temple stood the theatre and the more ancient orchestra that has been found beneath its foundations. It was he whose image presided and whose priest occupied a place of honour at the theatrical performances<sup>41 e</sup>. And Dionysos Eleuthereus is primarily the god 'of Eleutherai,' whom the later legend declared to have been introduced into

<sup>a</sup> For the shape of the ἐσχάρα vide Furtwängler, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1905, p. 192.

<sup>b</sup> The inscriptions testify to several

κῶμοι who competed for victory, vide Foucart, *op. cit.* pp. 180-183; for the authenticity of the law of Euegoros, vide *ibid.* p. 169, n. 4.

Athens by a certain Pegasos, who brought a sacred image of him from the shrine which Pausanias mentions as still existing in his time at Eleutherai, and which contained a copy of the image that had been taken away<sup>42</sup> e. The yearly procession therefore in which it was escorted to that small shrine in the academy must have been reminiscent of his original pilgrimage and his arrival at the first station outside the city on the road from Eleutherai.

When then did the god of the little Boeotian town on Kithairon arrive, and why did he change his abode? A recent answer has been attempted by Vollgraff<sup>a</sup>, who maintains that the cult could not have migrated until Eleutherai was incorporated with Athens, and that this did not happen till shortly before the peace of Nikias. As regards the first proposition, we may say that the cult by no means always 'follows the flag'; it often passes over to a new community by mere contagion or its own attractiveness; and an individual can leave his own state carrying with him certain *ιερά* and certain images, like Telines of Gela<sup>b</sup>. Pegasos, who brought the cult from Eleutherai, may have been a private missionary seeking to win a position in Attica; and the legend of the opposition that the Athenians offered, of the punishment that it brought upon them, and of the Delphic oracle which they at last obeyed, seems inconsistent with the theory that the Athenian state eagerly and for politic reasons of its own appropriated the worship of a city that they had absorbed<sup>41</sup> e. Yet it seems clear that what Pegasos brought in was the state-worship of Eleutherai and an image of public cult; for the men of Eleutherai appear to have replaced it after it had been taken away by an image of the same type<sup>41</sup> e. And the very name of the town may have been derived from an epithet—*ἐλευθερος*—of the god who releases as well as binds<sup>c</sup>. Now an independent community would not voluntarily surrender its cherished idol unless it was joining a greater state on favourable terms; therefore it is to be believed that the transference of cult coincided with the union of Eleutherai

<sup>a</sup> *Athen. Mitth.* 1907, p. 567.

<sup>b</sup> Herod. 7. 153.

<sup>c</sup> There were many places of this

name, vide Steph. s. v.; and it may have borne merely the secular euphemistic sense of 'the free town.'

and Athens. But can we place this event as late as the above-mentioned scholar would have us place it, about the middle of the latter half of the fifth century? His arguments, drawn from Thucydides' strategical account of the invasion of Attica in the early years of the Peloponnesian war, are unconvincing<sup>a</sup>; and that Lykios the son of Myron should sign himself 'Ελευθερεύς in an inscription of the middle of the fifth century is consistent with the belief that Eleutherai was then included in Attic territory and yet retained a position of some independence. The reasons on the other side for assigning a greater antiquity to the Attic cult of Dionysos Eleuthereus are stronger, though the evidence is only indirect. The story of his introduction became coloured with legends that have the vague prehistoric air; the Athenians resist his rites and are punished with a pestilence, an oracle threatens them; and Pegasos the apostle becomes associated with the primaeval Amphiktyon, in that group of clay figures representing Amphiktyon feasting Dionysos and the gods that Pausanias saw in the building near the shrine of Dionysos Melpomenos<sup>41 e</sup>. All this is explicable if the cult came in the sixth century, for the events of that age are still capable of taking on the mythic colour and chronology<sup>b</sup>; it is not easily explicable if the introduction was as late as the latter part of the fifth century. We do not find the coming into Athens of Asklepios, about 420 B. C., nor the still earlier arrival of Pan, relegated afterwards by vague fictitious mythology back to the prehistoric past, but these historical occurrences remain connected with real names, Sophocles and Pheidippides. As regards the oracles quoted in the *Meidias*

<sup>a</sup> Assuming that the striking ruins of Gyphokastro on the road between Thebes and Eleusis are those of Eleutherai and that this place was Athenian at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, we can still understand Archidamos ignoring this fortress, which did not obstruct the road from Megara into Attica, and attacking the more southerly Oinoe which did; and Oinoe was near enough in any case to the Boeotian

frontier of Attica to be called *ἐν μεθορίοις* (Thuc. 2. 18). The passage in Euripides *Suppl.* 754-761 is no kind of evidence as to the date of Eleutherai's inclusion in Attica; it only shows that the Athenians were prone to claim a connexion with it in the mythic period.

<sup>b</sup> For instance Pausanias naïvely calls Endoios, the well-known Ionic sculptor working in Athens about 530, a son of Daidalos.

of Demosthenes, which have been supposed to refer to the foundation of this cult and of the Megala Dionysia<sup>a</sup>, it is only the metrical one from Delphi that could conceivably be regarded as the original foundation *χρησμός*<sup>127 b</sup>; and this might belong to the sixth century and be that to which Pausanias refers<sup>41 o</sup>. We shall then conclude that the earlier of the two shrines, that which was constructed in the sixth century, in the precincts of the temple near the theatre, 'the most ancient temple,' according to Pausanias<sup>41 o</sup>, was built to receive the idol of Eleutherai, and that the later shrine, built there about 420 B.C., was raised to receive the chryselephantine statue of Alkamenes. Finally, if we suppose that the incorporation of Eleutherai in Attic territory occurred in the sixth century, we can better understand the silence of history concerning it.

This chronological discussion is inevitable, because, if we are able to place this cult back into the earlier century, we can more easily associate it, as certain indications tempt us to do, with the origin and rise of tragedy.

First, we may consider what could have prompted the Athenians to establish a second spring-festival of Dionysos, as they already had one, the Anthesteria, and no other state is known to have established two. What is found elsewhere not infrequently is a duplication of the spring-ceremony of purification, one in the earlier, one in the later spring<sup>b</sup>. But we may regard the Anthesteria in part as the earlier cathartic rite, when dangerous influences were expelled; and the Thargelia was the great purification of the whole people in May. Some vague cathartic ideas probably attached also to the Megala Dionysia; but it is not clear why the Athenians should have found three such services necessary. We must look to some external causes and circumstances for explanation of the problem. Let us suppose that the people of Eleutherai made it a condition of their acceptance of the Act of Union that their chief god and his idol should be honoured with a separate festival in the Attic metropolis; they might

<sup>a</sup> Vide Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 446, n. I.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 1906, p. 452.

easily obtain an oracle to back their demands against Athenian reluctance. Suppose also that at the same time Peisistratos was pursuing his policy of making Athens an attractive centre of the Greek world, was further developing Dionysiac worship, and was also anxious to encourage a new and promising art that was just coming into the city, say from Ikaria, the art that we know as Attic tragedy. Tragedy, in its origin, belonged properly and mainly to the winter; and the Lenaia had a right to it. But the visitors whom Peisistratos desired to attract would not come in the winter; and meantime the Eleutherians were demanding a separate festival at Athens. He could meet all these requirements by instituting a new festival of Eleuthereus in full spring<sup>a</sup>, when the weather was genial and visitors from Attica and abroad could flock to the city, and he could thereby give special encouragement to the newly rising forms of drama which would not insist on any strict ritual law of times and seasons.

Moreover, Dionysos Eleuthereus may have had a natural affinity for the tragic contests and a right to preside over them. To show this is to raise the whole question of the origin of Attic tragedy, which the student of the public religion of Greece cannot evade, and to the solution of which that study ought to be able to contribute something. Until a few years ago all scholars appear to have comfortably held the Aristotelian theory that tragedy developed somehow 'from the leaders of the dithyramb,' was primarily satyric, and only 'grew solemn' at a later stage. The weak points in this theory have become more and more palpable to independent critics<sup>b</sup>, and now a recent attempt has been made to dissociate the origin of tragedy altogether from Dionysos<sup>c</sup>, and to find it in hero-worship, in funeral mimetic

<sup>a</sup> Mommsen's view (loc. cit.) that the festival already existed before it became Dionysiac, and originally was consecrated to Apollo, rests on no other fact than that tripods were the prizes for the dithyrambic contests; but tripods were conventional prizes from the Homeric period onward.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,

*Herc. Fur.* p. 55, &c. (his exposition ignores the religious evidence and the name τραγῳδία): of more value for the special question is Emil Fleisch's paper in the 'Festschrift Th. Gomperz,' *Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie*, (1902).

<sup>c</sup> By Prof. Ridgeway in a paper read to the Hellenic Society, vide abstract



dances performed at the graves of the dead. Of such commemorative ritual, from which a real drama might arise in so far as the sepulchral dancers might enact the story of the dead man's achievements, we have scattered evidence from different parts of the world<sup>a</sup>. The only clear testimony from Greece which bears directly on the present question is the well-known passage in Herodotus concerning Kleisthenes of Sikyon<sup>b</sup>; in which we are told that the Sicyonians had been in the habit of honouring the Argive-Sicyonic hero Adrastus with 'tragic choruses,' and that the tyrant, who was jealous of the memory of Adrastus and, like others of his class, was devoted to Dionysos, took them away from the hero and 'gave them back to the god.' Taken strictly, these words might require us to believe that these choruses had belonged to Dionysos at the beginning and had then been diverted to the cult of the hero. But this would be outside the ken of Herodotus. We can only trust his record to the extent of believing that before Kleisthenes there were 'tragic choruses' in honour of Adrastus; and it may have been in consequence of these performances, as well as of the celebrity of the early Sicyonic writer of dithyrambs, Epigenes, that Sikyon's claim to the invention of 'tragedy' was admitted in after days. There is nothing indeed to suggest that these 'tragic choruses' of Adrastus blossomed into a real drama; only it is open to us to believe that what had happened in Sikyon happened also in Attica, and that here also 'tragic dances' may have been customary at the graves of heroes or heroines, from which the real Attic tragic drama, the only tragic drama

and criticism by M. Maas in *Wochenschrift für Class. Philol.* 1904, pp. 779-783.

<sup>a</sup> e.g. *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1907, p. 522; *Mon.* 1906, p. 54: excavations of four 'Early Minoan' graves at Kumasa near Knossos show round plastered grounds near to each on the East, which were probably used for funereal dances; *Arch. Anzeig.* 1907, p. 108.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Sikyon. Prof.

Ridgeway has referred to the funeral ceremonies connected with the Apolline hero Skephros at Tegea (Paus. 8. 53) as an example of the representation of *πάθει* at a grave; but Pausanias' narrative does not prove this: the act of the priestess of Artemis who 'pursues someone' seems a case of ritual-pursuit, a fairly common ceremony, rather than a dramatic *μίμησις*: vide Apollo, R. 48<sup>b</sup>, Artemis R. 35.

of Greece in our sense of the word, was gradually evolved. Such a theory would have the advantage of accounting for its sorrowful tone and the great variety of its subject-matter, as varied as the fortunes and sufferings of the honoured dead. Yet there is one serious lacuna in it: it offers no explanation of the name τραγῳδία<sup>a</sup>. But the meaning of this name should be the starting-point of any theory of the evolution of the thing. What then was the original sense of τραγῳδός? It occasionally happens in etymology that that which is obvious is also true; and no other explanation of the word has been or probably ever can be suggested of any *vraisemblance* except the obvious one, that it somehow means 'goat-song'<sup>b</sup>, and in accordance with the simple law of Greek compounds more naturally means 'the song of the goat,' or even 'the song about a goat,' than 'the song for the prize of a goat.' On the analogy of κωμῳδία, the first explanation commends itself<sup>c</sup>. But as goats do not sing, we shall be forced to understand the word as the song of 'the goat-men,' the men who masquerade as goats. Now at this point, which scholarship had long ago reached, arose all the trouble and misunderstanding. It was thought that men who dressed as goats were bound to 'play the goat,' as we say, in fact behave as satyrs; and though it seemed easy to understand the satyric drama arising from such play, its evolution into the *Agamemnon* seemed harder to follow. And a staggering blow appeared to be dealt to the whole theory of this origin of tragedy by the seeming discovery that the Attic 'satyrs' were

<sup>a</sup> It is also a flaw in the theory, that tragedy at Athens was never connected with the Anthesteria, as might have been expected if it was descended from a ritual commemorative of the dead.

<sup>b</sup> The objections on religious as well as etymological grounds against Miss Harrison's venturesome etymology τραγῳδία = spelt-song or beer-song (*Class. Rev.* 1902, p. 332; *Proleg.* p. 421) are overwhelming; τραγῳδία is a word of Greek formation, invented to describe something Greek, not Thracian: in Greek religion Dionysos has nothing to

do with beer, and we do not certainly know that he had in Thrace: τράγος is only a late Greek word of limited prevalence meaning a mess or porridge made out of cereals.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. E. Fleisch, *op. cit.*, notes that this derivation is not in line with αἰλωδός, κιθαρωδός; but these words do not prove that αἰδή could only be compounded with words meaning musical instruments, for what should we say of κωμῳδία? τραγῳδία is as good Greek as 'goat-song' is good English; the question is—what it means?

not goat-shaped at all, but horse-shaped<sup>a</sup>. The more natural supposition, however, is that the men called *τράγοι*, and who sang the song and danced the dance, were not satyrs but worshippers engaged in a solemn ritual of the goat-god; and we should compare them with the girl-bears, the *ἄρκτοι*, who danced the bear-dance in honour of Artemis at Brauron, and the *ταῦροι*, the young men in the guise of bulls who served the bull-god Poseidon. Neither among the ancient monuments nor in ancient literature have we direct evidence of men called *τράγοι*, thus arrayed and thus engaged. But we have the Argive-Euboean legend mentioned above of men dressing in goat-skins in honour of the god; we hear of sacred maidens, called *τραγηφόροι*, performing a solemn function in his service<sup>85 a</sup>, and we now have the much more weighty evidence of the Dionysiac carnival in modern Thrace, in which men wearing goat-skins enact a mummery-play which at one point is 'tragic<sup>b</sup>.' We may also maintain with certainty that the men who were singing 'the goat-song,' whether this means the song of the goat-men or the song about a goat, were serving some deity to whom the goat was habitually offered and who was regarded as incarnate in the goat. Now among the deities who were associated in this intimate way with this animal, Dionysos is the only one who comes into the discussion concerning the origin of tragic drama<sup>c</sup>; if, at least, we abandon the faith that it arose from the dances of goat-shaped masqueraders of Pan. And against the theory that it may have arisen directly from hero-worship is the fact that the goat is rarely, if ever, mentioned among the animals offered to the glorified dead<sup>d</sup>. If, therefore, the old Sicyonic choruses wore goat-skins in their mimetic dances,

<sup>a</sup> For the question of satyrs and seilenoi, goat-men and horse-men, see especially E. Fleisch, *op. cit.*; cf. Miss Harrison, *Class. Rev.* 1902, pp. 331-332; Wernicke in Roscher, 3, pp. 1409-1413. I have not discussed the question, as I do not think it bears directly on the origin of tragedy. <sup>b</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 107.

<sup>c</sup> Black goats were offered to Ge in the Attic Tetrapolis; and Ge has asso-

ciations with hero-worship, but none at all with 'drama,' vide vol. 3, 'Ge,' R. 12<sup>o</sup>, and cf. *ibid.* p. 223.

<sup>d</sup> Heliodoros, in the *Aithiopica*, 2. 35, mentions that the Ainiates offered goats to Neoptolemos, among other animals, but we cannot trust every detail in his long account. Another doubtful example is in the inscription from Amorgos, *Eph. Arch.* 1907, pp. 190-191.

commemorative of Adrastus, we should find it difficult to give the religious explanation of this eccentric fact<sup>a</sup>. But it is strange that Herodotus should have ever been understood to attest that they once did; his phrase *τραγικοὶ χόροι* is obviously used in the same sense as *τραγωδία* in the Attic vocabulary of the fifth century, when the reminiscence of the goat had faded, and the modern meaning of 'solemn drama' prevailed.

As Attica was the home of the real tragic drama, it is here that we should specially look for the traces of the goat-Dionysos. We know that Ikaria, the reputed birthplace of Thespis and still an independent centre of tragic performances in the fourth century<sup>112</sup>, was devoted to the Dionysiac religion and was probably its earliest place of establishment when it entered Attica from Boeotia: whatever flourished at Ikaria was likely enough to have a Dionysiac origin; and the fragment of Eratosthenes, 'the Ikarians in early times first danced about the goat<sup>112</sup>,' prompts us to believe that there was there some primitive mimetic service of the goat-god<sup>b</sup>. But the most important Attic cult to note for our present purpose is that of Dionysos *Μελάναιγος*, of which the significance has already been noted, and which we have found attached to places on the Attic-Boeotian frontier, and especially with Eleutherai<sup>c</sup>. There it is associated with the story of the madness of the daughters of Eleutherai and with a phallic tradition; but it is more to our present purpose to examine the story of the duel between Melanthos and Xanthos, which the scholiast on Plato derives most probably from Hellanikos<sup>69c</sup>: the names are of the highest importance and their meaning is transparent; it is a duel between 'black man' and 'fair man'; or, as Dionysos the nether god of the black goat-skin aids Melanthos, we may call it rather a fight between 'black god' and 'fair god,' in

<sup>a</sup> Adrastus at Sikyon is to be regarded as an ancestral hero: the proofs advanced to show that he was originally the god of the lower world are not good; still more gratuitous is it to suppose that he was a double of Dionysos himself; both these sugges-

tions are found in the article 'Adrastos' in Roscher.

<sup>b</sup> Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, discredits the record of the Ikarian origin of Thespis; though the authorities are late, they probably draw from early tradition.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 130.

which 'black god' kills 'fair god': and Dr. Usener's sagacity has rightly detected in this a special form of the old-world ritual-fight between winter and summer or spring; having been aided by his researches into the Macedonian feast of spring-purification called τὰ Ξανδικά, in which there was a sham fight and honour paid to a hero named Xanthos<sup>a</sup>. We have here a glimpse of a very interesting fact that may lie at the root of the greatest birth of European literature; an old Thrako-Greek mummers' play in which a divine figure in a black goat-skin kills another divine figure who is the fair or bright god; other mummers in black goat-skins will take part, and the whole is under the 'aegis' of Dionysos 'of the black goat-skin,' who is the god of Eleutherai, who is the god of the Athenian theatre. A simple passion-play could easily be raised to a higher scale by attaching to it some real or fictitious history; hence we hear of Boeotian and Athenian armies, kings and leaders, just as among our own mummers we hear of Wellington and Napoleon. It is the presence of the black figure that is most significant, and he can be traced in the mummery plays round a large area of Europe<sup>b</sup>: the little noticed Greek examples have been mentioned above<sup>c</sup>; and to the old Greek we may now add the modern example of the masquers with blackened faces and hands in the Dionysiac carnival of Viza<sup>d</sup>. The black man could easily degenerate into comedy; the soot-covered figure in the phallophoria appears to have been comic, and this is the case now with our May-day sweep. But this is contrary to the law of early ritual thought. The black figure would be originally tragic, connected with death, and might be called winter or Dionysos with the black goat-skin, or elsewhere 'the Turkish Knight.' The Ψολόεις or 'sooty ones' at Orchomenos were

<sup>a</sup> *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1904, pp. 303-313: I do not know whether he appreciated the importance of his theory for the question of the origin of Attic tragedy or whether others have appreciated it.

<sup>b</sup> My friend Mr. Binney, of Exeter College, Oxford, is engaged upon a

valuable investigation into the parts and characters of the surviving mummer-plays; he informs me that the usual name for the black figure is 'the Turkish Knight,' who is usually killed.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 211.

<sup>d</sup> *Hell. Journ.* 1906, p. 194.

evidently figures in some Dionysiac tragedy, in which some one was mimetically killed, perhaps the child-god, in animal or human form. And there is this curious further coincidence, that the 'sooty ones' belong to the Minyan stock; and Melanthes is a Neleid, and so a Minyan. We may then conclude that this early tribe, probably the first propagators through Hellas of the Thracian religion, diffused a traditional passion-play performed by men who wore the dark goat-skin of the god, in which some one, probably the embodiment of the winter- or spring-divinity, was killed and lamented: and that this primæval drama became attached to the goat-god in his own northern home and remained always attached to him, because originally it was a 'masque of the seasons' and he was a vegetation-god; and it need have had nothing to do with the trieteric death of the god, the mystic service of the Maenads. This play spreading through the villages of Northern Greece would easily acquire variety of motive; for many villages had their local legends of some one who perished in the service of Dionysos, and who had come to be regarded as the ancestral priest-leader of the clan: he would take the part of Xanthos or Melanthes as required: and thus early tragedy could easily appear as in some sense a commemorative dirge of the heroic dead, and acquire that dirge-like character which is deeply imprinted on its earlier forms\*. Certainly, the village of Ikaria, the reputed home of Thespis, possessed an excellent motive for primitive tragedy in the sad death of Ikaros and Erigone; and actors who had reached the point of dramatizing such stories as these would soon feel equal to any heroic subject of the sorrowful kind. At that point the necessities of the stage would compel them to drop the goat-skin. Yet they might continue to be called *τράγοι* or *τραγῳδοί*, just as the girls at Brauron were called 'bears' long after they had discarded the bear-skin.

The special type of vegetation-masque which could serve as the germ of Greek tragedy is the winter-play in which Xanthos is slain by Melanthes; the spring-play in which

\* See *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1906, p. 286, 'Totenklage u. Tragödie,' M. P. Nilsson.

Xanthos revives and slays the black figure would be less tragic. And as Attic tragedy was always sad, involving lamentation, it was probably in origin a winter-drama. But the law of the consistency of time is never rigidly observed by primitive masqueraders; the modern Thracian goat-man is slain in early spring, and is mourned and brought to life again in the same play. And so the Attic tragedy could easily shift to spring if, for convenience' sake, it was desired.

Certainly the earliest type of more developed Attic tragedy which we know or can surmise had travelled far enough from that primitive mummers' play; and there is a lacuna that we must not ignore. But the religious facts presented above seem to explain the name 'tragedy,' and its ingrained character of sadness, and its association with Dionysos; and no other theory as yet advanced succeeds so far; against the traditional view that the dithyramb was the parent of tragedy is the objection that there is not known to have been any mimetic element in the early dithyrambs, nor were they, as far as we can see, associated with the goat-god at all, but rather with the bull-god.

The belief that Attic tragedy arose from some form of Dionysiac 'mimesis' throws some light on another dark theory of Aristotle's, the theory of 'katharsis.' We have noted the idea of purification or deliverance from evil influences as immanent in Bacchic ritual<sup>a</sup>, as part of the prompting impulse of the Maenad ecstasy<sup>90</sup>. The madness of the daughters of Proitos was cured by the Dionysiac prophet Melampous, and the means he employed were ceremonious dances of a chorus of young men<sup>b</sup>: the daughters of Eleuther were relieved of their madness by faith in Dionysos Melanaigis, but we are not definitely told how the relief was effected: was it by some 'tragic' dance? It is noted as a psychological fact by Aristotle<sup>c</sup> that the wild Phrygian wind-music, essentially Dionysiac, served to persons of morbid emotionality as a relief of pent-up passion. Doubtless the primary intention of the word *κάθαρσις*

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 163; cf. the purificatory value of swinging, vide supra, pp. 195-196, and R. 125.  
<sup>b</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 2, 2. <sup>c</sup> *Pol.* 8.7, 4-9.

in the contexts of the *Poetics* and the *Politics* is medical; but it must be remembered that medical practice, even in the time of Aristotle, was not wholly freed from religious tradition, and the deliverance of the body from evil humours by kathartic medicine could also mean for the patient a deliverance from evil spirits; so that the same word could have both a religious and a medical connotation. We have traced the origin of comedy to a religious form of purification; the Orphic sects that Plato condemns offered purification from sin by means of 'festal pleasures, sacrifices, and amusements<sup>a</sup>'; the old 'kathartic' tradition of certain forms of dance and music, the association of tragedy with spring-time, which was the natural season for public purification, all this could have suggested to Aristotle, as the key-word of his theory, the term which has exercised modern criticism<sup>b</sup> and which in his secular thought he tries to define as merely medical<sup>c</sup>. We have here then one more illustration of the intimate association which confronts us everywhere between Greek art and Greek religion.

This long analysis of Dionysiac public cult and ritual enables us to appreciate to some extent its salient characteristics. Its chief contribution to the religious experience of the race was a higher fervour and self-abandonment than was engendered by the purely Hellenic religion; its chief contribution to civilization was the art which it fostered. As to the moral question, so natural to the modern mind, it is almost irrelevant here; and to understand the reality of much ancient religion we must free ourselves from some modern preconceptions. As the highest flight of religion rises above mere morality, so a religion may be most powerful in its appeal and yet remain directly non-moral. In the *Bakchai* of Euripides, the unconcerned reply of the prophet to Pentheus<sup>d</sup>, 'Dionysos does not constrain women to be chaste,' expresses truthfully the attitude of this religion to morality, so far as the public cults reflect it. Those of the traditional Hellenic

<sup>a</sup> *Rep.*, p. 364, C-E.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Rohde's *Psyche*, 2. p. 48, n. 1.

<sup>c</sup> That the Aristotelean theory was in accordance with the popular view seems attested by the proverb quoted by

Suidas, *s. v.*, ἡ χρὴ τραγωδεῖν πάντας ἢ μελαγχολᾶν, and by Diogenianus, each giving the same irrelevant explanation.

<sup>d</sup> l. 314.



divinities were mainly ethical; but Dionysos in his public functions left morality alone, offering no new ethical gospel, but a more high-pitched mental life to man and woman, bondsman and free. 'Even in the Bacchic orgy the virtuous woman will not be corrupted <sup>a</sup>.' Doubtless, the frequent indulgence of religious ecstasy reacts on the moral temperament; but there is no reason to accuse the Greek Bacchic worship generally of exciting to sexual or other immorality; nor was the usual Bacchic thiasos such as those which awakened the terror and wrath of Rome in the second century B. C.

Much more could be said of greater interest both for morality and religion, if we were studying those private sects, the Orphic religious brotherhoods; we should find here advanced conceptions, such as a deeper sense of sin and the necessity of purification from it, and an ecstatic hope in a happy immortality, attained through communion <sup>131, 132, 134</sup>, such as that which comforted Plutarch and his wife in their bereavement <sup>133</sup>. But in none of the public cults of the god, nor in any of those mysteries of his which in any way were patronized by the State <sup>129</sup>, do we find such aspirations recognized or proclaimed <sup>b</sup>. Nevertheless the statue-ritual contained the germs which ripened in the Orphic cloister, and the fruit is seen in the inscriptions of South Italy and Crete <sup>131-132</sup>. From these, as well as from the facts set forth in this chapter, we understand why, when the Hellenes came into closer relations with surrounding nations of a deeper religious life than their own, they saw in the Phrygian Attis, the Egyptian Osiris, the Hebrew Jahwé, the counterparts of the Thraco-Hellenic god <sup>133-134</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. l. 316.

<sup>b</sup> The Maenad-mysteries, which were under State-authorization, are not known to have been connected with posthumous salvation; the mysteries of the Attic deme of Alimus seemed to have aimed chiefly at physical fertility <sup>129 e</sup>; but the Demeter-mysteries of Lerna <sup>129 h</sup>, in which Dionysos at last gained a prominent place, probably contained a promise of immortality, and it is likely that Dionysos Μύσσης at Tegea <sup>129 g</sup> was

associated with this idea (cf. vol. 3, pp. 152-153): for the question of Dionysos' participation in the Greater and Lesser Eleusinian mysteries, vide vol. 3, pp. 146-153, 169. The mysteries of Sabazios at Pergamon <sup>62 k</sup>, of Dionysos Hebon at Naples <sup>129 o</sup>, may have been eschatological. Whether Athens ever publicly patronized the former is uncertain; the evidence that might be extracted from the citation given R. 129 <sup>e</sup> is doubtful.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CULT-MONUMENTS OF DIONYSOS

THERE is no divinity whose presence is more familiar among the various monuments of Greek art than Dionysos. It is especially the works of the fifth century and the later period that testify how inwardly the imagination of the world of Hellenic paganism was possessed with the Bacchic myth, cult, and enthusiasm. But though the art-record abundantly illustrates the complex conception of his nature, the monuments are mainly mythologic rather than sacral, and comparatively few reproduce for us the actual scenes of ritual or the types of temple worship.

His character as a tree-god, which, we have seen reason to believe<sup>a</sup>, belonged to his aboriginal nature, can be illustrated by an interesting art-form that, though iconic, bears still some reminiscence of the aniconic fashion. We have literary record of sufficient authority, a verse of an oracle and a fragment from the *Antiope* of Euripides, both quoted by Clemens, to prove that his earliest agalma at Thebes was a mere fetish, an upright pillar<sup>o</sup>; and simple villagers, even in the latest period, still attracted his beneficent power to the orchard by the consecration of a rude tree-stump<sup>8</sup>: even Dionysos-Kadmos was represented by Thebes as a column of wood, supposed to have fallen from heaven, which later piety decorated with bronze, but never changed into human semblance<sup>b</sup>. And the gradual development of the anthropomorphic figure out of the aniconic agalma is more clearly presented by the monuments of Dionysos than by those of any other Hellenic divinity<sup>c</sup>. The special cult-type that thus emerges is that of Dionysos *Δενδρίτης*, or *Ἐνδενδρος*,

<sup>a</sup> *Supra*, p. 96.

<sup>b</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Thebes.*

<sup>c</sup> Vide especially Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, pp. 226-230.

or Περικιώνιος<sup>3,5,9</sup>. The pillar is embellished with certain attributes proper to the tree-god, as we see in a Pompeian wall-painting that shows a pillar erected in the middle of a tree and decorated with a thyrsos and other Bacchic emblems. We are brought a step nearer to anthropomorphism by the ritual of attaching a mask of the god's countenance to the tree or the pillar, which has been noted in a former passage. The actual ceremony, performed by women-worshippers, is depicted on a fragment of an Attic lekythos<sup>a</sup> found in Rhodes. And the mask could become the eikon by the attachment of drapery round the pillar or the trunk to which it was fixed; of this we have some interesting examples from the best period of vase-painting. A red-figured vase in Berlin<sup>b</sup> shows us the half-iconic form of the bearded god with hanging drapery arranged around a pillar to which vine-sprays are attached; a Maenad is dancing before it, while another is playing on the double flute behind it. An amphora in the British Museum shows a similar disposition of tree, column, and eikon, but the ritual depicted in front is a libation offered by a female votary crowned with vine-leaves, while another stands near holding a sacrificial casket (Pl. XXXII). But the greatest example of representations of this type is the beautiful Attic krater in Naples (Pl. XXXIII), on which is depicted a sacrifice and dance of Maenads before the draped eikon of the tree-god: one is ladling out wine from the wine-bowl, another is waving the tambourine, others are in the whirl of the orgiastic dance<sup>c</sup>. The names attached to the votaries, Mainas, Dione, Thaleia, Choreia, show that the scene is drawn from the imaginary world. Yet doubtless many facts of actual ritual are here reproduced: the type of the idol is obviously one that was much in vogue, and the table of offerings before it, displaying fruits and possibly eggs, shows the bloodless oblations that we know were occa-

<sup>a</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1896, p. 115, Abb. I, 2: cf. the large bearded mask crowned with vine-leaves and attached to a pillar, a Maenad with sacrificial pitcher and thyrsos retreating before it, on Attic lekythos, Gerhard, *Abhandl.* Taf.

LXVII. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Bötticher, op. cit. Fig. 42; Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, Taf. IV. 5; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 432, Fig. 479.

<sup>c</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, Taf. 36 37.

sionally offered to Dionysos<sup>89 a</sup>. But how are we to interpret the round disc-shaped objects seen between his ears and the vine-boughs, which we find again on the British Museum amphora beneath the mask on each side of the column, as also on the vase of Berlin where they are suspended on the vine-branches that seem to perforate their centre? The explanation that they are either 'mitrai' or pads for carrying baskets on the head is not satisfactory. It may be that we have here a free pictorial illustration of the practice which belonged to the sun-magic observed in the Apolline Daphnephoria of Boeotia, the attachment to the sacred tree or maypole of balls signifying the celestial bodies<sup>a</sup>.

The tree-ritual, that is illustrated by the vase-representations of this type, is also found on one monument of the plastic art, namely, a marble relief published many years ago<sup>b</sup>, showing a bearded head of Dionysos emerging from a tree, on each side of which the figures of Demeter and Kore are seen, while at the foot lies a winged child that has been called Iacchos.

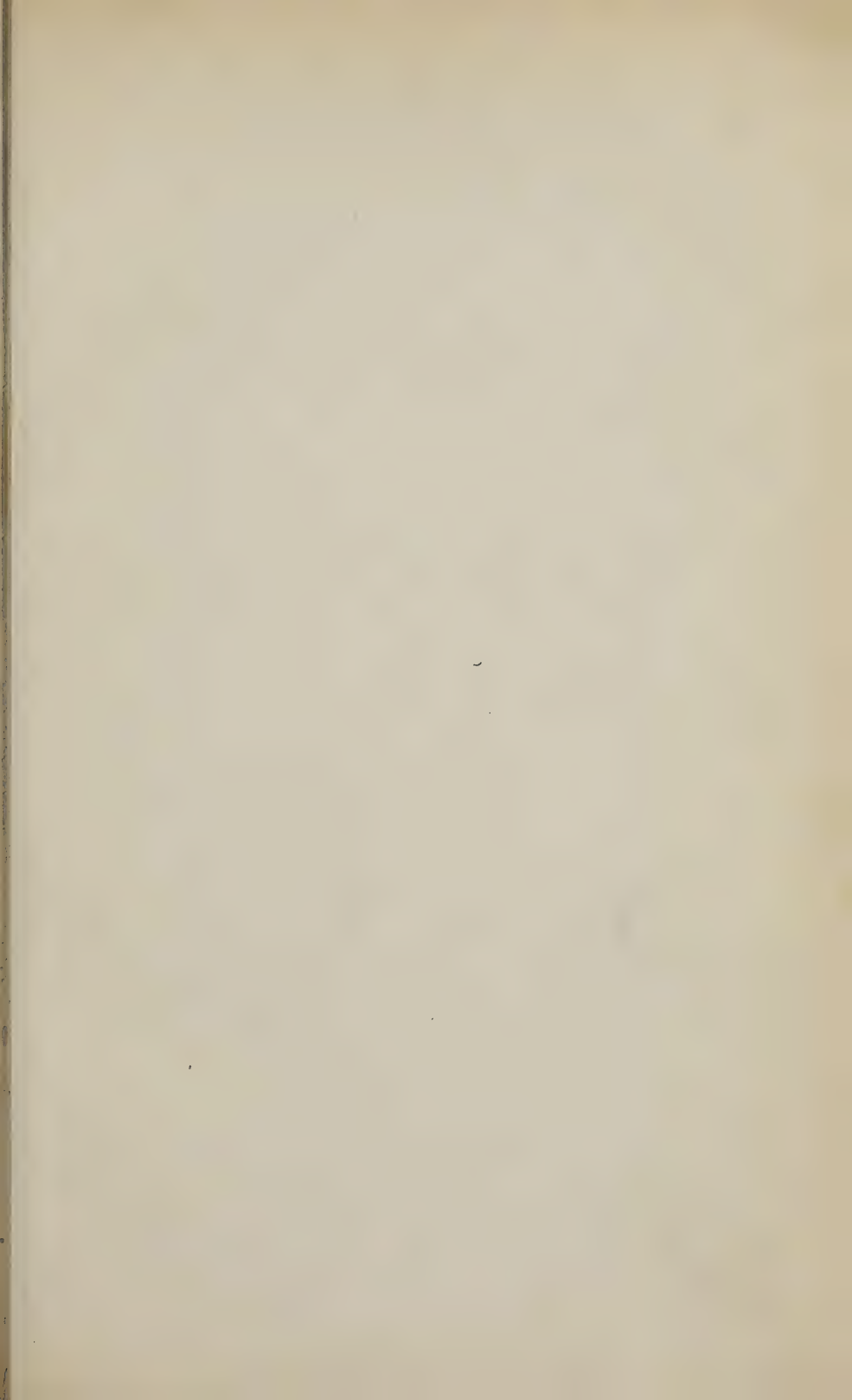
The ritual that inspired these monuments no doubt belonged usually to rustic and private worship. But we have evidence that occasionally it was adopted by the State; for the eikon mysteriously brought to Lesbos and consecrated by an oracle at Methymna was nothing more than a mask of olive-wood, probably grotesque and archaic<sup>16</sup>; and we may suppose that the image of the god found at Magnesia on the Maeander inside a plane-tree<sup>5, 68 a</sup>, which was the occasion of an important religious institution<sup>c</sup>, was of similar type. At Athens we hear of a *πρόσωπον* or mask of Dionysos, probably of the sixth century, as, according to Athenaeus, it was sometimes mistaken for the countenance of Peisistratos<sup>d</sup>, and at Naxos of two wooden masks, one made from a vine-tree, the other of fig-wood<sup>6</sup>. It is likely that these were often painted red. We hear of two idols at Corinth, called Lusios and Baccheios, of which the countenances were smeared with red paint<sup>45 d</sup>; and of the statue of Dionysos, 'the bringer of strong drink,' at

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 4, p. 285.

<sup>b</sup> Müller-Wieseler, ii. Pl. XXXI,  
n. 341.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 152.

<sup>d</sup> Geogr. Reg. s.v. Athens.



a



b



Phigaleia, which still retained something of the form of the tree-fetish, for the lower parts were entirely concealed with sprays of laurel and ivy, and of which the face was painted bright with cinnabar<sup>41 d</sup>. An interesting terracotta mask of Dionysos of the underworld in the British Museum shows the application of red paint (Pl. XXXIV, a); and here the colour may have borne a funereal significance which it often possessed in primitive ritual<sup>a</sup>, but it could have had no such meaning in the eikons of Phigaleia and Corinth. In these cases the idol's face was smeared with red, no doubt in order to endow it with a warm vitality, for red is a 'surrogate' for blood, and anointing idols with blood for the purpose of animating them is a part of old Mediterranean magic<sup>b</sup>. We may also observe that the ritual itself of hanging masks on trees descends from a very primitive period<sup>c</sup>, and as its purpose was probably to evoke or constrain the tree-spirit or the power of the tree, it may belong to magic rather than to religion.

Dionysos, the tree-god, was regarded, as we have seen, as the deity of vegetation in general; and the monuments sufficiently illustrate this broader aspect of him. The dedication to him of a 'liknon' or shovel-shaped winnowing-fan, filled with various fruits, must have been part of the public, as well as the private, ritual of certain communities<sup>80 a</sup>; we see such an offering on the interesting Hellenistic relief in Munich (Pl. XXXIV, b), set up on a column in the midst of a Dionysiac temple, which suggests that the ceremony belongs to state-worship<sup>d</sup>. Here from the midst of the fruits emerges the phallos; and though the literary evidence amply attests the employment of the generative emblem in public ritual, the monuments of public religion that directly refer to the custom are rare. Ithyphallic Hermai are sometimes found in a Bacchic entourage on vases, but we do not know that

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1906, pp. 1-26, 'Rot und Tot.'

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Class. Rev.* 1896, p. 409.

<sup>c</sup> Baldwin Spencer, *Australian Tribes*, p. 630, notes the Australian

custom of adorning the tree with a human head.

<sup>d</sup> Published by Schreiber, *Hellen. Reliefb.* Taf. 80 A; Miss Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 519, Fig. 148.

they ever stand for an idol of Dionysos<sup>a</sup>. In fact, in the myriad art-representations of the Bacchic thiasos or carnival, the lower animalism which is so strong in his male followers scarcely contaminates the god.

The usual emblems of fertility employed by Greek art-language are the kalathos and the cornucopia; and we have proof that these were occasionally attached to Dionysos, the kalathos probably in the monuments of public cult<sup>b</sup>: on a coin of Skepsis, apparently of the fourth century B. C., we see his bearded countenance, surmounted by a kalathos and an ivy-crown (Coin Pl. 15); the mint of the 'koinon' of Lesbos in the period of M. Aurelius took as one of its types the terminal figure of the bearded god wearing the kalathos and placed on a prow (Coin Pl. 16 a); and as Mitylene shows us a figure of very similar type (Coin Pl. 16 b) we can conjecture that it reproduces a well-known idol of the island-worship: its hieratic form alone would suggest this<sup>c</sup>.

Among the vegetation-symbols of the god, any allusion to his association with corn-growing is very rare; we may therefore notice especially a fourth-century coin of Mallos in Cilicia<sup>d</sup>, where we see a corn-stalk depicted behind the shoulder of the vine-god (Coin Pl. 17).

Finally, the ivy-crown and the thyrsos, which are his commonest badges of all, are derived from his association with the life of plants and trees, and do not specially allude to the god of wine; and that he was always more than this for the Greeks is suggested by their wide prevalence in the art-representations.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Gerhard, *Abhandl.* Taf. LXIII-LXVII. On Taf. LXVII, 2 he publishes a late vase of careless style with an ithyphallic pillar surmounted by a youthful head, upon which appear what he interprets as bull's horns and as the mark of Dionysos Hebon. But his own sketch suggests rather that the vase-painter intended to represent only the ordinary petasos of Hermes.

<sup>b</sup> He carries the cornucopia in the procession of the divinities on the black-

figured vase published in Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* Pl. XVI; and as he appears emerging from the earth on the Santangelo cup, id. *Abhandl.* Taf. LXVIII. 2; cf. the Marathon patera, p. 245.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Gardner, *Types*, xv. II, p. 79: I do not feel the force of Newton's association of this type with the story of Dionysos κεφαλήν or φαλήν.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Suppl. List of Coins s.v. 'Lycaonia-Isauria-Cilicia.'





PLATE XXXV



Apart from symbols and attributes, the artist could express his religious conception of the deity by grouping him familiarly with the old Hellenic divinities of the orchard and the corn-field. The union of Dionysos with the resuscitated Kore in early spring has been supposed to be represented on many vases of the archaic period, published by Gerhard, whose interpretation has been followed by some more recent archaeologists<sup>a</sup>. The interpretation is hazardous, and the scenes are too vague to serve as evidence of clear cult-ideas: they present us merely with a procession of divinities, in which Dionysos is seen accompanied by a goddess, who occasionally holds a flower; she is quite an indeterminate figure, and we cannot say that the vase-painter had Kore in his mind; he may have been thinking vaguely of Ariadne or Semele. From Marathon, where both Kore and Ge were worshipped, we have an interesting patera of later sixth-century art, showing Dionysos with the cornucopia seated opposite a seated goddess who holds a flower in her left hand<sup>b</sup>; the style is solemn and hieratic, and suggests a cult-association of the god with the goddess of vegetation (Pl. XXXV). More important for the present purpose is a type of representation which undoubtedly refers to the *ἄνοδος* or resurrection of the earth-goddess; and some of the scenes where this is the theme have already been considered among the monuments of Demeter and Kore<sup>c</sup>. One of these that has been published, a red-figured 'krater' of the Berlin Antiquarium, shows us the beautiful form of the earth-goddess ascending up through a sort of vaulted cave, while satyrs are peering down through it in wonder<sup>d</sup>. Above and aloof sits Dionysos, in his usual attitude of unconcerned *abandon*, not even gazing at the figure which is of central interest. On the close analogy of other vases we may name her Kore<sup>e</sup>, but we cannot interpret this scene as evidence of any solemn ritual in which Dionysos and Kore were associated, the prelude, for instance, of a *ἑρὸς γάμος* in spring.

<sup>a</sup> *A. V.* x-xvi, cf. *Abhandl.* LXIX, 3, LXX.

<sup>b</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, Pl. III.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. 4, pp. 223-224.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *Mon. dell' Inst.* xii, Tav. IV; Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 278, Fig. 69.

<sup>e</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 224.

The god is here a figure of the landscape and of the picturesque fancy rather than of cult: he stands for the life and the joy of spring, which is the season of the resurrection. And an artistic representation of any real ritual enacting the marriage of Dionysos and Kore is still to seek<sup>a</sup>. But a deeper hieratic significance attaches to two other archaic vases, which show a different scheme of the resurrection-motive from the last: on Pl. XXXVI a we see the heads of two divinities, mere *πρόσωπα*, arising side by side out of the earth, while satyrs and Maenads dance around them<sup>b</sup>: the vine-crown worn by the god, the vine-branches above their heads, and the Bacchic *entourage* reveal his person and name; and the goddess we should call Semele because of the near affinity of this representation with that on the other vase (Pl. XXXVI b)<sup>c</sup>: here the two heads are confronting each other, and the god holds a wine-cup; the group is framed round with vine-clusters, which a solitary satyr is gathering, and the names Dionysos and Semele are inscribed above the heads. As there is some literary evidence of a real ritual performed in certain places in spring, in which the young vegetation-god was supposed to bring up his mother from the dead<sup>d</sup>, we may consider these vases as hieratic monuments alluding to the central act of that mystery, without exactly reproducing it.

The god who arises from the earth is naturally regarded as belonging partly to the lower world; and Dionysos on this side of his character was likely to be associated with Kore-Persephone, a much more potent personality in Greek religion than Semele. Yet the monuments of cult that attest this association are comparatively rare. Those that concern the Attic mysteries have been noticed in a former chapter; and to those there mentioned and discussed may be added as further illustration the representation on an Attic coin of the second century B. C., on which we see the god enthroned and holding two torches, while Demeter stands by him with a long torch in each hand (Coin Pl. 18). The State has

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 252, n. 2.

1; cf. text, vol. 2, p. 208, Anm. 107

<sup>b</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* vi, 7.

(Santangelo cup in Naples).

<sup>c</sup> Vide Gerhardt, *Abhandl.* lxviii,

<sup>d</sup> Vide supra, pp. 192-194.

PLATE XXXVI

a



b



PLATE XXXVII



here chosen a type that certainly alludes to his participation in the great chthonian mysteries of Attica. And the type of the coin of Paros with the youthful Dionysos on the obverse and Demeter Thesmophoros on the reverse has probably a similar significance of mystic union<sup>a</sup>. The later coinage of Pergamon also points to some cult-union of the two divinities, though it does not reveal the grounds of it<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, we may be sure that it was the chthonian character of Dionysos which led him naturally into the circle of the underworld divinities at Nysa near Tralles<sup>c</sup>, if we can trust the suggestion of the coins that show his figure on the reverse with Hades and Kore on the obverse<sup>d</sup>. Still more clear is the evidence of a number of votive terracottas, discovered on the site of Tarentum, to which reference has already been made<sup>e</sup>. These have been carefully described by Dr. Arthur Evans, who regards them as proving the existence of shrines of Kore-Persephone and the chthonic Dionysos. That this is the fitting name for the male divinity that so many of these associate with the goddess may be accepted as certain; the occasional presence of a Seilenos and the vine-spray that is carved as a canopy round the head of one of the Korai speak clearly to the Dionysiac intention of these dedications<sup>f</sup>. And a striking type of the nether deity is presented by one of the smaller fragments, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Pl. XXXVII), a work probably of fourth-century art<sup>g</sup>; it shows the god of life and death with closed or half-closed eyes, and with a countenance wearing the expression of a dreamy benignity; the crown of flowers is surmounted in front with an apex that, as Dr. Evans has pointed out, is certainly derived from the forms of the sepulchral akroterion.

Boeotian art also gives some evidence of a similar association of the chthonian Dionysos with the queen of the

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Paros.

p. 224.

<sup>b</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Pergamon.

<sup>f</sup> Vide *Hell. Journ.* 1886, p. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 3, p. 123, R. 124.

<sup>g</sup> First published by Dr. Evans, *ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Lydia-Nysa.

p. 18, Fig. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Vide *Geogr. Reg.* s.v. Italy, vol. 3,

lower world ; on Pl. XXXIV a we see a terracotta mask of the god, belonging to the British Museum, which may well have been a pendant to that of Persephone found at Tanagra and published in a former volume<sup>a</sup> ; both wear the same head-dress, which may be described as a low kalathos surmounting a 'mitra'<sup>b</sup>, and both have probably come from the same workshop. The humble craftsman has been able to impart something of mildness to the features of the god of souls, and has put the wine-cup in his left hand and a fruit—possibly a pomegranate—in his right, blended emblems of life that attest the hopefulness of the belief prevalent in certain Dionysiac circles.

This type was probably popular in Boeotia and the adjacent lands where the Minyan worship had struck deep roots. The most beautiful example of it is a terracotta of more considerable size than those just mentioned, found near Atalanti, in the territory of the Opuntian Locrians, and now in the Berlin Antiquarium<sup>c</sup> (Pl. XXXVIII). Here no doubt can arise either concerning the name Dionysos or the chthonian character of the god: the ivy that encircles his crown and the feminine veil that falls down from the back of his head over his shoulders prove the former, and the latter is attested by the similarity of the whole to the work just mentioned above, and again by the emblems, the wine-cup and the egg or fruit. And, as has been noticed already, the very shape of these half-figures was designed for sepulchral purposes. The work takes a high rank among the ideal monuments of the earlier art, in connexion with which it will be considered again.

But no trait in the character of the god appealed so powerfully to the artist of the earlier and later periods as his predilection for the growth of the vine. On the chest of Kypselos, he was portrayed reclining in a cave and holding a golden wine-cup amidst a growth of vines, apple- and pomegranate-trees<sup>25 a</sup>. He here retains much of the varied

<sup>a</sup> 3, Pl. X.

<sup>b</sup> A similar head-dress appears on some of the terracotta heads of the god from Tarentum in the Ashmolean

Museum.

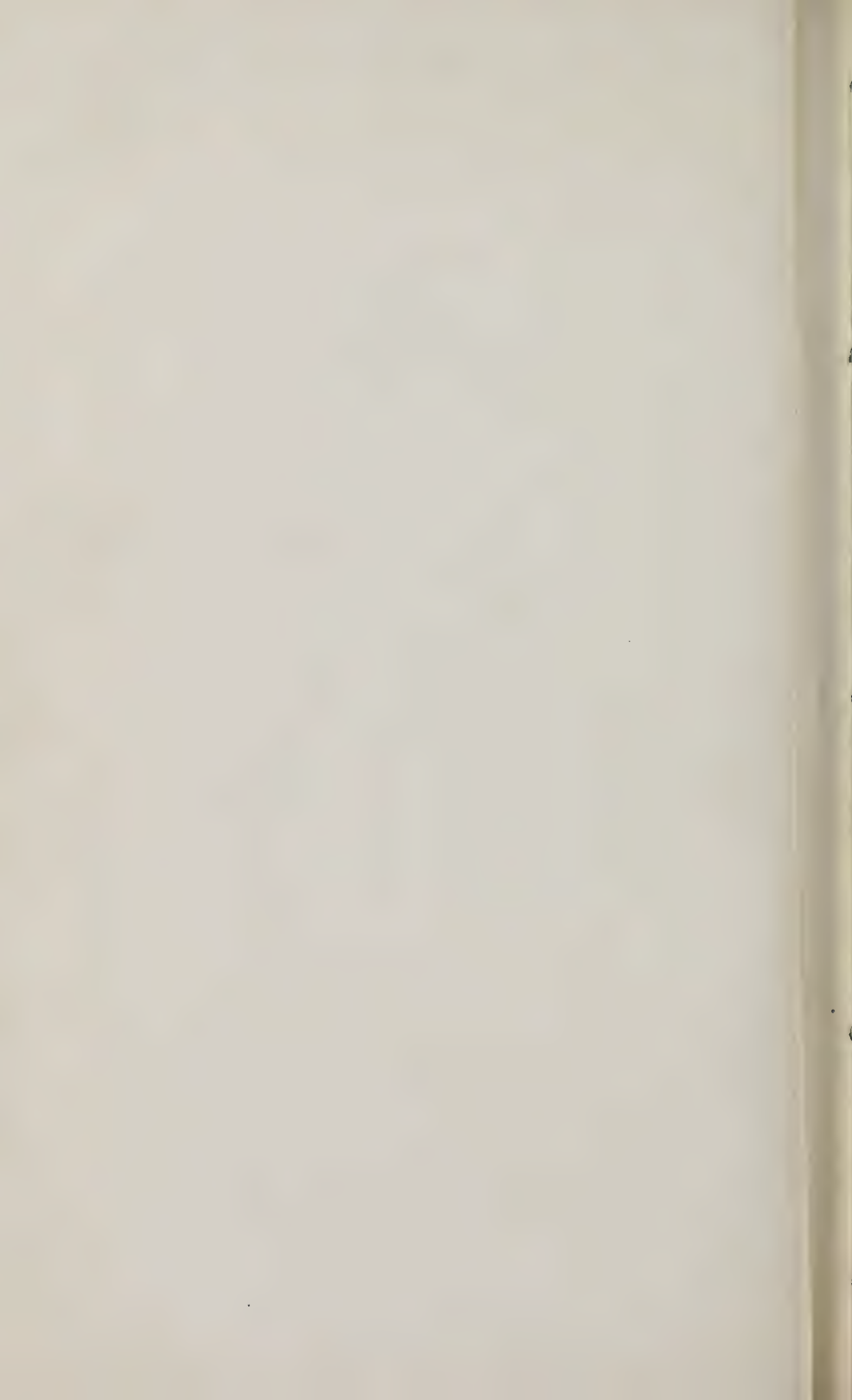
<sup>c</sup> Publ. *Arch. Anzeig.* 1891, p. 120.

Fig. 5.



PLATE XXXVIII





character with which the aboriginal religion had invested him. But on the François-vase he is the wine-god pure and simple, distinguished from the other divinities by his more excited movement and by the wine-pitcher that he carries on his shoulder. Looking at the monuments of public art that have survived, we find perhaps the earliest expression of this idea on an archaic coin of the Sicilian city of Galaria, on which the god is represented standing and clad in a himation, with the cup and a vine-branch in his hands (Coin Pl. 19)<sup>a</sup>, and again on a South Italian coin of the sixth century B. C. of some unknown city, showing us a bearded deity with coarse animal features, holding a wine-cup, and over his shoulders a clustering vine (Coin Pl. 20)<sup>b</sup>. The suspicion that the personage here depicted is not the deity at all, but a satyr, is scarcely justified; the satyr or seilenos was a type rarely chosen for a city's coinage, and in the very early period appears only at Thasos and Naxos, where there were a Thracian tradition and, we may assume, Thracian influences<sup>c</sup>, and on the issues of certain Macedonian cities and tribes, which present him coarsely and characteristically as ithyphallic, carrying off a woman and reclining on an ass; some of these issues display the taste of a rude barbaric people<sup>d</sup>; but it is unlikely that a state of Magna Graecia in the sixth century would have selected the satyr for its coin-figure, or, having selected him, would have represented him with such indistinctness. The only other example, so far as I am aware, that the coinage of the sixth century affords us of the cult of the wine-god is the type of the kantharos bound round with ivy on the early coins of Naxos<sup>e</sup>. But his form becomes more frequent, marked by kantharos or vine-leaves, on coins of the fifth century, as on those of Abdera, Peparethos, Athens<sup>f</sup>, though the ivy-wreath is more commonly his characteristic badge.

The archaic representations of the wine-god display him as

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Sicily.

<sup>b</sup> Gardner, *Types*, 1, 5, pp. 87-88.

<sup>c</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 227, 416.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Suppl. Coin List, 'Macedon.'

<sup>e</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Crete and Aegean Islands.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Suppl. List, s.v. Thrace, Thessaly, Attica.

the personal divinity; that is to say, the art is fully anthropomorphic. But in the cult-records we noted evidence of the earlier animistic view, in which the deity has not yet separated himself from the thing<sup>a</sup>. And the cult-emblems connected with tree-worship that have been examined above reveal something of this primitive and confused thought or feeling; which reappears again here and there in the monuments of even the later art, for instance in a Pompeian painting, which shows the vine-clad Vesuvius in the background, and in the foreground clusters of grapes from which the human head and arms and feet of the god are seen emerging<sup>b</sup>; and again in a head of the bearded Dionysos in the Vatican, in which we see bunches of grapes sprouting from the beard and the hair<sup>c</sup>. But in such works it is always difficult to decide how much is due to the influence of old religion, how much to artistic caprice and the nature-imagination of a later age.

To this review of the cult-monuments that illustrate those conceptions of the divinity that are derived from the world of nature belongs a brief consideration of the art-type of the bull-headed or horned Dionysos<sup>d</sup>. Apart from the evidence of surviving monuments, we have the trustworthy statements of Plutarch and Athenaeus that 'many of the Hellenes make their statues of Dionysos in the form of a bull<sup>34f</sup>'; and that 'Dionysos is often carved with sprouting horns and . . . in Kyzikos there is a bull-shaped idol of him<sup>34g</sup>.' We have been able to trace this conception back to the Thrako-Phrygian religion; but no Thrako-Phrygian monument has as yet been with certainty discovered that illustrates it, with the possible exception of a relief found many years ago in Paros dedicated by a certain Odrysian to the nymphs and containing the figure of a human-headed bull. M. Heuzey, who first published it<sup>e</sup>, regarded it as undoubtedly a representation of Sabazios; others have interpreted it as a river-god<sup>f</sup>. We cannot be certain that the deity is Sabazios, for the one or two certain representations of this god present him

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> *Gaz. Arch.* 1880, p. 10, Pl. II.

<sup>c</sup> Müller-Wieseler, 2, 344.

<sup>d</sup> Vide supra, pp. 97-98, 126.

<sup>e</sup> *Rev. Archéol.* 1865, p. 452.

<sup>f</sup> Michaelis, *Annali*, 1863, p. 317.

with the snake as his familiar badge, but with no bovine attribute at all. Nevertheless, it is *a priori* probable that an Odrysian native intended by this singular type the great god of his fatherland. On the other hand, we shall not believe that the Hellenes, who chose to express or to allude to the double nature of their divine man-bull, were dependent for their art-type on Thrace. The question arises first, what is our earliest monumental evidence in Hellenic lands? The familiar figure of the Minotaur of Crete cannot be of Dionysiac origin, for it is found already in the pre-Mycenaean era of art<sup>a</sup>. It used to be supposed that the coinage of Sicily and Italy of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. supplied illustration of the type we are considering. On the early coins of Gela and Katana<sup>b</sup> we find a bull with a man's head represented in an attitude that suggests the river-god, and this designation may be accepted as certain in spite of the subordinate figure of Seilenos that appears occasionally above the bull on the coins of Katana. At Metaponton the coinage of the fifth century presents the same idea differently<sup>c</sup>; here the river-god is erect and human except for his bull's horns and ears, and, lest we should think that he was Dionysos, there is the inscription Ἀχέλοιο ἄεθλοι. Therefore we ought to regard the human-headed bull on the early coins of Laos in Lucania and of Neapolis, not as Dionysos, but as merely the river-god again. The belief that the Neapolitan figure represents Dionysos Hebon rests on no evidence or record<sup>d</sup>; on the

<sup>a</sup> E. g. on the whorl of Praisos, *Hell. Journ.* 1897, p. 370 (Dr. Evans there compares a prism from Karnak of the VIIth dynasty).

<sup>b</sup> Head, *op. cit.* pp. 114, 121: the man-headed bull occurs also on coins of Selinous and Entella, vide Hill, *Sicilian Coinage*, pp. 86, 91.

<sup>c</sup> Head, *op. cit.* p. 63.

<sup>d</sup> This theory, which is now almost extinct, was expounded by Panofka in the *Mus. Blacas*, p. 94; he supported it by a very hazardous interpretation of a vase published, *ibid.* Pl. 32, that

represents a maiden on a bull with human face, and which he imagined might refer to the mysteries of Dionysos Hebon. Lenormant, in his article in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. 620, declares that Macrobius expressly describes Dionysos Hebon as tauriform with human face, but he had not looked at the passage. A small bronze in the Berlin Antiquarium of a human body with a tail and a bull's head in the attitude of the ἀποσκοπέων probably represents a satyr.

contrary, the statement in Macrobius certainly suggests that his type was human<sup>40</sup>.

The later art expressed the aboriginal association of Dionysos with the bull by forms more consistent with the anthropomorphic ideal of Hellenism. On a black-figured vase we see him in the company of Poseidon, both riding on bulls, the wine-god pouring wine from his cup and holding a vine-branch (Pl. XXXIX a). Or he might be represented with the bull-hide round his body in accordance with the impulse to robe the deity in the skin of his familiar and sacrificial animal: for instance, a statue in Berlin of the late effeminate type shows him draped in this way and with the bull's head hanging down his back<sup>a</sup>. Or the bull-nature might be delicately hinted at by the small horns that were sometimes depicted or carved sprouting above his forehead: the most notable example of this type is the Capitoline head that wears the ivy-crown (Pl. XL)<sup>b</sup>; we find it used also for the coinage of Soloi and Skepsis and of the Seleukid kings of Syria, suggested perhaps by the traditions of Sabazios<sup>c</sup>. And though the coinage of Magna Graecia does not exhibit the type, it must have been in vogue in this district; for a terracotta antefix found in the sanctuary of Persephone at Tarentum and now in the British Museum exhibits a Dionysiac head with horns over the forehead (Pl. XXXIX b); there is no further proof of the personality, but the *provenance* is evidence sufficient.

Macrobius' theory of the solar character of Dionysos<sup>d</sup> is not supported, so far as we have seen, by any Hellenic cult; nor does any monument of art suggest it, except perhaps the later imperial coinage of Rhodes, where we find the head of Dionysos adorned with rays. We may believe that here there was some *rapprochement* between the ancient cult of Helios, whose type dominates the earlier coinage

<sup>a</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, n. 484; cf. Müller-Wieseler, II, Pl. XXXIII, 377, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1851, Taf. XXXII, for other examples.

<sup>c</sup> *Suppl. Coin List*, s.v. Lykaonia, Seleukid kings; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 104 ff., Pl. VIII, 6-9.

<sup>d</sup> *Sat.* I. 18.

PLATE XXXIX

*a*



*b*







PLATE XL





and only gives place to that of other divinities in some of the later issues, and the younger wine-god, as according to Dio Chrysostom Apollo-Helios and Dionysos were identified in Rhodes<sup>a</sup>; but it is possible that the latter took over the solar emblem mechanically, because of the numismatic tradition, not through any recognized kinship of character.

Finally, we may suppose that the enigmatic epithet  $\psi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\zeta$  in his cult at Amyklai alludes to the physical nature of the god<sup>b</sup>, and Pausanias' statement is supported by some art-representations that show the deity with wings above his forehead. To those that have already been collected and described<sup>c</sup> a new example has recently been added by the French excavations in Delos; an interesting mosaic in 'the house of Dionysos,' perhaps of the third century B. C., shows us the young god riding on a tiger and holding the thyrsos, with large wings at his shoulders<sup>d</sup>.

The monuments examined hitherto exhibit him mainly as a great god of nature and especially of wine; and it was from this region that the great artists who fashioned his ideal drew the material of their imagination. The symbolism of art was scarcely concerned with him as a god of the city, the turret-crown that he wears on the imperial coins of Teos<sup>e</sup> being an isolated example of the expression of such an idea (Coin Pl. 21). Nor does any existing cult-monument illustrate for us the Lacedaemonian type of the spear-bearing Dionysos<sup>60b</sup>; and it is only in the mythical scenes of the gigantomachy and his campaign against the Indians that the warlike character of the Thracian deity reappears.

In fact, the only side of his character, touching on higher human culture, that received some striking and occasionally inspired expression in Greek art was that which was recognized by the Attic cult of Dionysos Melpomenos. As we have seen, he was from of old a god of music, loving the wild

<sup>a</sup> Vide Apollo, R. 31<sup>1</sup>, vol. iv.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 120, n. d.

<sup>c</sup> Only some of those collected by E. Braun, *Kunstvorstellungen des geflügelten Dionysos*, 1839, can be regarded

as authentic, vide Thrämer in Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, p. 1152.

<sup>d</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906, p. 538, Fig. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Vide supra, p. 141.

and pathetic voice of the wind-instruments. Then, at some time before the fifth century, the lyre came into his hands, probably from his partnership with Apollo. On a black-figured vase in the collection at Karlsruhe we see one of the satyrs playing on the lyre before his god; and on various vases of the later period Dionysos is represented playing on it or singing to it himself. The *chef-d'œuvre* of Brugos will be considered below; besides this may be quoted the two well-known vases from Ruvo in the museum of Naples; the one<sup>a</sup> containing the scene of the death of Archemorus, inspired partly no doubt by the tragedy of Euripides, as the newly-discovered papyrus of the Hypsipyle allows us to surmise, and showing us the reclining figure of the wine-god in an upper corner of the field, holding the lyre and posed significantly above the figure of Euneos, whom Euripides brings into the plot as the 'eponymos' of the Euneidai, the ministers of Dionysos Melpomenos at Athens<sup>97</sup>: the other<sup>b</sup> of better style, showing in the upper field the god in ecstatic movement bounding along with the tortoise-shell lyre, while on the body of the vase he is represented recumbent on a couch with Ariadne and Himeros, and around and below are many figures that personify the tragic and satyric drama. That some of the youths belonging to the latter department wear ithyphallic goat-skins round their loins is evidence for the old association of the satyr-actor with the goat-god<sup>c</sup>.

Besides the vases there are a few monuments of sculpture that illustrate his cult-association with the musical and dramatic arts. A relief found in the Peiraieus<sup>d</sup> shows us certain standing figures that are evidently players and a

<sup>a</sup> Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, 3255; cf. Gerhardt, *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. I-IV.

<sup>b</sup> Heydemann, 3240, *Mon. dell' Inst.* iii, XXXI.

<sup>c</sup> On another late red-figured vase in the British Museum, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* F. 163, two goat-horns are seen above the forehead of a youthful figure stand-

ing behind a Nike who is crowning another youth who holds a tragic mask; the former stands for the satyric actor, the latter is the tragic poet, certainly not Dionysos. The vase has been erroneously described in the Catalogue as the crowning of Dionysos as the inventor of Tragedy.

<sup>d</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, Pl. XIV.

person of heroic form recumbent on a couch with a female standing near him; an inscription names these two 'Dionysos' and Paideia (Παιδεία), the personification of 'Culture.' We have here then a dedication by a company of players, who had won some victory in the dramatic competitions in the Peiraieus, to their patron god and the imaginary goddess in whose cause they laboured. But the recumbent figure is not like any known type of Dionysos, unless the 'Theseus' of the Parthenon gable, which it closely resembles, is Dionysos; and while the style of the relief appears to point to the fourth century B.C., the epigraphy and the form Παιδεία suggest the second. Therefore Prof. Robert has maintained that the inscription is a later addition, and that the recumbent figure is rather the heroized poet or a hero of the locality. The reasons for this suspicion are themselves doubtful, and the relief requires careful re-examination. Finally, the famous dedication of Thrasyllus, the seated Dionysos in the British Museum, a thank-offering for a choragic victory, may be regarded as a monumental representation of Dionysos Μελπόμενος; for the ample drapery suggests the 'kitharodos,' and there are reasons for thinking that the left arm was upraised upon the lyre<sup>a</sup>.

None of these monuments that portray the god of music and drama belong to public worship, and we have no record of any cult-image that expressed the idea by any symbol or attribute, for we are told nothing in detail of the statue of Dionysos Μελπόμενος at Athens. And the public work of the coin-engravers seems almost to have ignored this aspect of him; I can find nothing to quote under this head except an Athenian coin of the first century B.C. which contains the figure of Dionysos holding a mask<sup>b</sup>, and a coin of Tralles of a late period on which he is seen driving in a chariot with Apollo who is playing on the lyre<sup>c</sup>. In fact, Greek religious art had its binding conventions; the thyrsos, ivy-crown, wine-cup, and vine-branch were the stereotyped and almost necessary

<sup>a</sup> Vide Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plast.* 2, pp. 94-95.

<sup>b</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 323.

<sup>c</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. 'Lydia.'

emblems of the god of vegetation and wine; while the lyre essentially belonged to the Apolline iconography.

The Dionysiac monuments afford some illustration, but little further revelation, of the public ritual as well as of the cult-ideas. Their importance as evidence of the Bacchic tree-worship, in which the oblations appear to have been bloodless, has been already noted. As regards the ordinary sacrifice of animals, the few representations that deal directly with this confirm the literary testimony that the bull and the goat were specially consecrated in his rites. A relief which was published many years ago in the *Monumenti dell' Istituto*<sup>a</sup>, but has since disappeared, shows a bull stepping from a boat with vines around him and before him an altar, and we may interpret this as a Dionysiac sacrifice that has been brought by sea<sup>b</sup>. An interesting example of the goat-offering and of other elements of Bacchic worship is a vase of graceful style from Ruvo in the Naples Museum, representing a solemn service before an altar and an idol of Dionysos<sup>c</sup>: on the altar a fire is burning, and near it is a table for offerings: the ministrants are eight women, one of whom wears a fawn-skin over her chiton and holds in one hand a sacrificial knife and in the other arm a small goat; another wears a tiger-skin and is striking the tympanum with her head thrown back in the usual pose of Bacchic ecstacy. The idol of the god is in the stiff style of the wooden fetish, bearded, with close-hanging raiment and holding wine-cup and thyrsos; but in the upper part of the same scene is the young god himself, the ideal witness of his own worship. Not far from him is a woman in Maenad dress, in melancholy attitude, with sunk head and hands clasping the knee; we can interpret this as the exhaustion following on religious delirium, and as a pictorial illustration of the proverbial 'Bacchic silence.' The other women in the scene have nothing of the Maenad character, but show the

<sup>a</sup> VI. Tav. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Heydemann, op. cit. No. 2411:

<sup>b</sup> For another example of the bull-sacrifice, vide infra, p. 258.

*Mon. dell' Inst.* vi, 37.



PLATE XXXIII





costume and action of functionaries in ordinary Hellenic worship. And we may note that the sacrifice is twofold, a blood-offering and an oblation of fruits and cakes, with which the altar-table is laid out (Pl. XLI).

As regards the inner meaning, which I have endeavoured to determine in a former chapter, of the *σπαραγμός* and the *ἄμοφαγία*, the rending and devouring of the bull, the goat, or the human victim, the monuments are not communicative nor helpful. The artists who occasionally represented the Maenad in the fury of her dance, bearing in her hands the rent fragments of the kid or of the human body, do not appear to have known any more about the significance of the sacramental orgy than Euripides did. The representations of the deaths of Pentheus and Orpheus are mythical and imaginary, and scarcely of direct value for the explanation of ritual or for the general religious problem, nor have any monuments survived which clearly show the death of the god at the hands of his worshippers<sup>a</sup>. But a black-figured vase of Kamarina has been published by Bendorff<sup>b</sup>, on which Dionysos and Ariadne are depicted advancing towards a goat that he describes as human-headed; and, so far as I can judge from the reproduction, it seems clear that the artist intended to give to the animal's head certain human traits. He may then have been aware that the goat was at times regarded as the sacrificial incarnation of the human god, as, in fact, 'a theanthropic' animal. And possibly the same idea might explain the Metapontine coin-types of the female Dionysiac heads with a goat's horn above the forehead<sup>c</sup>.

If we search through the vast mass of Dionysiac monuments for elucidation or direct illustration of the official ceremonies of the great public festivals of Greece, the result is meagre and disappointing. The little that can be gleaned with some certainty is, however, worth noting. The ritual of the Dio-

<sup>a</sup> In *Hell. Journ.* 1890, p. 343, Mr. Cecil Smith has published an interesting Attic hydria on which he discerns the death of Zagreus; but vide supra, p. 106, n. b.

<sup>b</sup> *Griech. Sikel. Vas.* 53. 1. Cf. Pl. II, p. 35 supra, Dionysos riding on a goat.

<sup>c</sup> *Suppl. Coin List*, s.v. 'Italy.'

nysiac procession in the ship or the trireme has been described and considered in the preceding chapter, and of this there are some interesting illustrations. A sixth-century vase painted by Exekias, now in Munich<sup>a</sup>, shows us the god reclining at his ease on a warship with vine-clusters symmetrically spread about the cordage, while dolphins disport themselves around (Pl. XLIIa); that there is any allusion here to the myth of the Tyrrhene pirates is an unnecessary and improbable supposition; it is more reasonable to regard the motive as suggested by such state-ritual as that which Smyrna solemnized every year. And this explanation is all the more likely when we compare another black-figured vase in Bologna<sup>b</sup>, on which we see Dionysos with satyrs about him, reclining on a ship under which wheels are depicted, obviously in reference to some procession in which it was drawn along. And, again, on a black-figured early Athenian vase found at Akragas, in the British Museum, the god sits upright, holding a cup and a spreading vine-spray, on an oblong-shaped car, that is given something of the shape of a ship by the boar's snout projecting as a ram; behind him is a small satyr acting as pilot; and what proves the ritualistic intention of the whole is the sacrificial procession that follows, a bull being led along by worshippers, one bearing an axe, another a double flute, another a vine-spray (Pl. XLII b).

This striking ceremony has been connected above with the return of the god in spring<sup>c</sup>. And one or two monuments have been noted already that may commemorate the ritual of his evocation or resurrection<sup>d</sup>. We should associate with them, if we accepted Gerhard's interpretation, an interesting vase which he published<sup>e</sup>, representing Seilenos armed with a shield, and blowing a trumpet which he holds towards the ground; for he interprets the scene as suggested by such a ritual as the Argives practised of evoking the god from the water by blowing a trumpet over it<sup>f</sup>. But the attribute of the shield inclines one to believe that Seilenos is here armed for

<sup>a</sup> Vide Jahn *Vasensammlung*, 339; Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. XLIX.

<sup>b</sup> Dummler, *Rhein. Mus.* 43. 355.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 191.

<sup>d</sup> Vide supra, p. 246.

<sup>e</sup> *A. V.* Pl. LI.

<sup>f</sup> Vide supra, pp. 183-184.



*a*



*b*



*c*



war and that the representation alludes to the battles of Dionysos.

The birth of the holy infant was part of certain Dionysiac state-ceremonies, but the monuments that we find commemorating it are in their primary intention mythologic, and give us no glimpse of real Bacchic ritual<sup>a</sup>; though their value for the history of religion must not be ignored, for they served to prepare the imagination of the pre-Christian world for a passionate acceptance of the similar Christian story. Again, we have evidence that the carrying of the new-born babe in a *λίκνον* was part of a mystery-pageant performed by state functionaries, at least at Delphi and Chaironeia<sup>b</sup>; and to the literary we may add certain numismatic record. Where we find the figure of the infant Dionysos as a type of the state-coinage—at Ophrynion of Aiolis, Magnesia of Ionia, the Bithynian Nikaia, and in a *λίκνον* or cradle on the coins of the two latter states<sup>c</sup>, we may conclude with reasonable certainty that a *λικνοφορία* of the infant was part of the public ritual; and an Imperial coin of Germe, though it represents Dionysos as full-grown, suggests the same conclusion because of the male ministrant that follows him with the *λίκνον* on his head<sup>d</sup>. However, at the most these give only vague allusions to a real religious service. But the representation on a sarcophagus in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge, published by Miss Harrison<sup>e</sup>, may be something more, a scene of actual ritual, though whether it is suggested by the worship of the State or of some private *θίασος* we cannot determine. It is to be observed that, contrary to our natural expectations, the ministrants in this ceremony are male, as they were at Chaironeia and apparently at Germe<sup>f</sup>. In these and in other Dionysiac scenes, where a divine infant appears, archaeologists have been prone to apply to it the name Iakchos; but in

<sup>a</sup> For the question of a Bacchic birth in the Eleusinian mysteries, vide vol. 3, pp. 252-254.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, pp. 186, 188-189.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Aiolis, Ionia, Bithynia.

<sup>d</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Lydia.

<sup>e</sup> *Proleg.* p. 525, Fig. 152.

<sup>f</sup> In the representation on the terracotta-relief, published Millin, *Gall. Myth.* lxvii. 232, a satyr and a Maenad are carrying the *λίκνον* with the babe; but the scene here is merely imaginary.

regard to this question it is only relevant here to point out that the infant Dionysos is not known to have been called Iakchos in any public religious service, not even of Athens.

We might certainly expect to find some monumental illustration of the great Attic festivals of the god ; but so far research and criticism have not been rewarded by any striking or clear discovery in this direction, with one important exception that must be noticed here. An Attic 'oinochoe' in the British Museum, found in Thessaly, of fifth-century style, but rather careless drawing, exhibits the following scene : Dionysos, unclad and bearing the thyrsos, approaches from the left a seated woman who holds a sceptre and faces right, but turns her head round to him : she is a stately and severely draped figure, but bears no mark of Kore or Ariadne or any goddess ; before her is an Eros, and behind him a winged *νυμφεύτρια* with two torches, while another Eros stands behind Dionysos. This looks like a marriage ; and the interpretation proposed by Mr. Cecil Smith appears to me convincing<sup>a</sup>. The seated female is the first lady of Athens, 'the queen,' and this scene represents the ceremony of her solemn marriage with the god on the day of the Anthesteria ; the shape of the vase itself suggests the festival of the wine-pitchers. Accepting this as the true significance of the vase-painting, we may see in it a further proof that this marriage was a political symbolic act, not, as has been supposed by some, the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of divinities in which the queen personated Kore. There is another vase in the British Museum<sup>b</sup>, of which the painting may have been suggested by another Attic festival (Pl. XLIII) : a black-figured amphora of the agonistic type representing on one side Athena and Heracles confronting each other between two pillars surmounted as usual by cocks, on the other Dionysos giving a cup of wine to a vine-crowned female who may stand for Ariadne ; the artist may have intended vaguely to allude to the Oschophoria, for this was the only festival of Dionysos that had an athletic character and in which he was brought into close

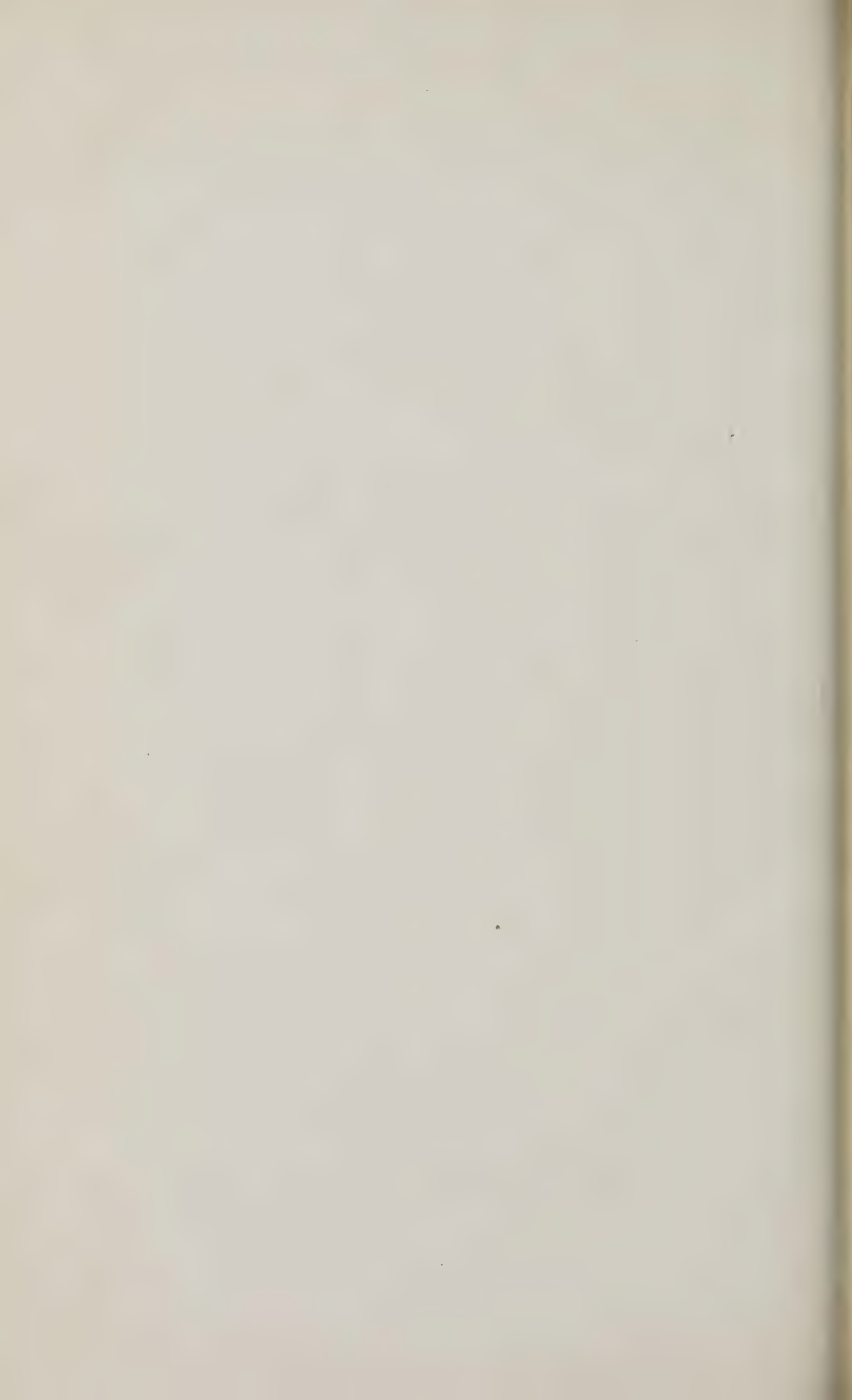
<sup>a</sup> In a paper read before the Hellenic Society in 1908, to be published with illustration in one of the forthcoming

numbers of the *Journal*.

<sup>b</sup> Published by Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. CCXLVI.

PLATE XLIII







relations with Athena, Ariadne also playing her part, and the prize being a measure of wine; Herakles may have been added for his interest in athletics.

Much has been written concerning the monuments, especially certain vases of Magna Graecia, that are supposed to represent various acts of the Bacchic mysteries. But none of these can be regarded with probability as monuments of public cult. On the other hand, coin-types are more directly concerned with the state religion; and we can add to the literary record that has already been briefly examined some numismatic evidence of the prevalence in Asia Minor of Dionysiac mysteries under state control. We find on the coins of Ephesos, Pergamon, Smyrna, Thyateira, Laodikeia, and other cities of Asia Minor<sup>a</sup>, the well-known cistophorus-type, showing on the obverse a snake issuing from the 'mystic chest,' the design enclosed in an ivy-wreath, and on the reverse two snakes heraldically coiled on each side of a bow-case (Coin Pl. 22): and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has shown by skilful arguments that Ephesos was the original home of this device, and that thence before the close of the third century it was borrowed by Attalos I, and soon after by some ten other Asiatic cities. The reasons for the rapid diffusion of the type were commercial, no doubt, rather than religious; but it was suggested to the State that first gave it forth by the power of the Bacchic mystery, and the type itself is proof at once of State-acknowledgement, if not of State-supervision, of those rites. The type of the 'cista mystica' with the snake belongs properly to Asia Minor; the snake is specially the familiar incarnation of Sabazios, whose cult was powerful on the coast and in the interior, and the *κιστοφόρος* was a functionary of Phrygian ritual<sup>62a</sup>. Therefore we may regard these types as derived by Ephesos from the Sabazian mysteries, though we have no other record of their existence in this city. They were very powerful at Pergamon<sup>62k</sup>, and this may have helped to popularize there the cistophorus-currency. Other evidence of Dionysiac State-mysteries in Asia Minor is supplied by the Imperial coinage of Magnesia on the Maeander, showing the infant Dionysos

<sup>a</sup> Vide Suppl. Coin List, s. v. Ionia, Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia.

seated on the mystic chest within a temple near a flaming altar before which a corybant dances (Coin Pl. 23); and by the 'cista mystica' on the coins of Teos and the Phrygian Dionysopolis<sup>a</sup>.

The monuments that have been cited and considered so far form a valuable supplement to the ample literary record of this religion. But those that are selected for discussion in the next chapter are of higher value for the impression that they convey to us of the best Greek imagination concerning Dionysos. And we shall find that the Greek artist was at least as inspired as the Greek poet in interpreting to us the spell of this strange divinity whom Hellas adopted and transformed.

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Ionia, Phrygia.

## CHAPTER VII

### IDEAL DIONYSIAC TYPES

WHEN the fetish-types of the iconic and semi-iconic period of religious art were being abandoned<sup>a</sup>, and the anthropomorphic form was beginning to emerge clearly, the archaic artist was accustomed to present Dionysos as a grave and bearded god, amply draped, usually erect and tranquil or in quiet movement—except in the rare representations of his battle with the giants—and only distinguished from the other high divinities by thyrsos, ivy-crown, cup, or vine-spray, or often by a freer treatment of the hair. But here and there the consciousness that in character, form, and action, he was different from the others, appears to glimmer through the stiff conventions of the early art of design and modelling. The sculptor of the chest of Kypselos distinguished the deity of nature by his picturesque environment, the divine giver of the wine-feast by his recumbent posture, and remembered that he haunted the wilds and the cool solitude of the cavern rather than the cities of men<sup>b</sup>. The engraver of that very early coin of unknown *provenance*, mentioned above<sup>c</sup>, seems to have had in mind—as few probably of his contemporaries had—the semi-barbaric character of the god derived from a barbaric origin, and therefore ventured to give him a coarse and almost brutal type of features [Coin Pl. 20]. Moreover, he alone—as far as we know—of all the early artists dared to represent him as wholly undraped. No less original is his representation by the Attic painter of the François vase who distinguishes him among the more sedate forms of the other deities by the orgiastic movement with which he bounds along carrying a

<sup>a</sup> For these vide supra, pp. 240-242, and cf. vol. 1, p. 17, R. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 248.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, p. 249.

large wine-pitcher on his shoulder. Another noteworthy product of later sixth-century art is the Attic terracotta-relief, in which we see a mule led by a boy-satyr, and carrying on its back the drooping figure of the intoxicated god, whose eyes are closed, and who is only kept in his position by the supporting arms of the faithful Seilenos<sup>a</sup>. As in the rendering of some of the types of Hephaistos we discern the bourgeois imagination of the artisan, so here we have the impression of the naive rusticity of the countryman. This is probably some peasant's dedication, who feared his god little but loved him much, and treated him *en bon camarade*: this simple spirit, which is here preserved from any indelicacy of expression, and the earnest care of the artist's craftsmanship, invest the monument with something of the old-world charm of village life in the south. But it was reserved for the more advanced period to be able to hint at the character of the wine-god without coarseness or animalism by some significant pose or treatment of countenance.

There is a wide gulf between these crude works and the great art of the close of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, when the artist with greater command over form and expression could freely render his delight in the Dionysiac revel and his higher imagination of the god. The vase-painters are our best witnesses. The inspiration of music on the god himself is masterfully depicted by the vase painting of Brugos in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles [Pl. XLIV]<sup>b</sup>, a great achievement of genial power: Dionysos clad in chlamys and long chiton is playing the lyre and singing with his head thrown back in the ecstasy of song, while two satyrs are leaping and playing castanets.

Among the vast number of vase-representations of the thiasos, only a few master-works need be mentioned here; for they show us, better perhaps than any poet could, the tones and atmosphere of the Bacchic 'thiasos', as the best artists

<sup>a</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, Pl. 15, 2: this monument suggests the doubt whether the figure reclining on the ass on the fifth-century coins of Mende has been rightly

named Seilenos and is not rather a Dionysos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Macedonia,' p. 81.

<sup>b</sup> Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, xxxiii.

imagined it. At times, though rarely, the god himself is caught with the fury of his own orgy, and on a red-figured vase of the middle period<sup>a</sup> he is seen in long girded chiton and boots, holding a snake and thyrsos, and flinging himself into a more than usually violent dance [Pl. XLV]. On a Munich vase of an unknown master, belonging to the early red-figure style<sup>b</sup>, he is also moving rapidly, though not so violently, with cup, vine-spray, and panther's skin, and with some expression of benignity on his lips; the figure of the Maenad holding the snake, with her head thrown back in an ecstatic *abandon* that becomes almost a fixed art-type, is peculiar for the treatment of face and hair, which seems unique [Pl. XLVI]. But on another Munich cup, which may be a work of Brugos<sup>c</sup>, the deity himself is seated sedately, and turns back to gaze at a Maenad who is leaping in fury; the artist has combined a deep inward seriousness here with great energy of life [Pl. XLVII]. But perhaps no representation of the Bacchic thiasos on vases of any period is so beautiful or so inspired as that on the Attic krater in Naples, which depicts the sacrifice to the tree-god described above [Pl. XXXIII]<sup>d</sup>: what arrests attention here is the strange blending of dignity and delicacy with the fire of the movement.

Of these artists the words of Euripides may be used: 'happy is he who hath the Bacchic communion in his soul.' We feel that they express something in this strange religion that the Christian Fathers in their bitter attack on it have missed. The Bacchic god is no ignoble sensualist and no effeminate weakling, but a strong pervading personality, full of living fire which tingles in the veins and illumines the physical nature of those who share his communion. Here is neither morality nor immorality; it is only the satyrs who sometimes show the conventional indecency; the god stands aloof from this, and the women votaries are uncorrupted<sup>e</sup>. These vases are unique

<sup>a</sup> Hartwig, *ibid.* xliii.

<sup>b</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 44-45.

<sup>c</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 49.

<sup>d</sup> p. 241.

<sup>e</sup> A unique representation is that on

a red-figured shard found on the Akropolis showing a naked Maenad brandishing a phallos, Nillson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 261, n. 2; in such uncouth primitive scenes of the *φαλλαγωγία* as on the Florentine vase, Heydemann,

among religious monuments for their expression of mere vital ecstasy, shown mainly in significant movements, but at times even in the countenance. They preserve the orgiastic tradition of the old religion; while others, somewhat later in the same period, present the deity tranquillized and wholly Hellenized; for instance, an Attic peliké from Gela<sup>a</sup>, representing Dionysos, a noble and majestic figure with a strange expression of thoughtful power in the eyes, watching the bringing back of Hephaistos; the contours of the heads show the Periclean canon [Pl. XLVIII]: or again, the much-admired vase from Perugia<sup>b</sup>, of Polygnotan style, showing Dionysos, Ariadne and the mythic thiasos in a peaceful group and meditative pose, the young god in the form of a boy-Apollo [Pl. XLIX].

The coins of the earlier period of advanced art are also valuable witnesses to the development of the ideal type of the god. The ivy-crowned head of Dionysos on a coin of the Sicilian Naxos gives a somewhat vivid expression of the character of the θεὸς ἡπιώτατος, the benign power (Coin Pl. 24). Somewhat later and belonging to the zenith of fifth-century style are some striking representations of the god on coins of Thasos and Thebes. A specimen from the former city shows us a type impressive for its serious dignity, and peculiar for the stamp of intellectual power and thought on the eyebrow and forehead and for the upward and distant gaze of the eye (Coin Pl. 25). An equally strong expression of inner life appears in the head on the later fifth-century coin of Thebes (Coin Pl. 26)<sup>c</sup>; the god wears an ivy-wreath which is treated more flowingly and picturesquely than in any earlier work, the tendrils trailing freely about his hair and the ivy-berries standing up above his forehead. These heads show a distinctive characteristic, and yet their family likeness to the type of Zeus cannot be missed. And this is still more marked in other coins near to the same period,

*Mittheil. aus den Antikensamml. in Ober- und Mittel-Italien*, Bd. 3, S. 95, Taf. 2, 3, women do not appear; but they play their part in the λικνοφορῖαι, where the φαλλός is sometimes seen half

emerging from the fruits in the basket.

<sup>a</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 29.

<sup>b</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* vi. Tav. 70.

<sup>c</sup> Published by Friedländer-Sallet, *Das Königl. Münzcab.* 3. 183.







as on another of Thebes<sup>a</sup>, and on certain issues of Aigai in Achaia (Coin Pl. 27), Kyzikos, Lamponia of the Troad. Moreover, his affinity to Zeus shows itself in the pose and drapery. Already, in the later archaic style, we find on a coin of Abdera, presenting a standing Dionysos with the kantharos, that arrangement of the himation which covers the lower body and, leaving the chest free, passes in a decorous fold over the shoulder, and which is specially characteristic of Zeus<sup>b</sup>; it appears also on the still earlier coin of Galaria (Coin Pl. 19)<sup>c</sup>, and on the Imperial coins of Teos such a type of Dionysos is frequent, derived probably from some cult-statue<sup>d</sup>. Again, in the representation of Dionysos on a coin of the Cretan city Sybrita, where he is seated on a throne, holding out a kantharos, with the himation merely around his lower limbs, his resemblance in general pose and bearing to Zeus is undeniable<sup>e</sup>, although the drooping head and downward gaze of the eyes reveal the special temperament of the wine-god (Coin Pl. 28). We have also a striking vase-representation of the earlier red-figured style, showing the two divinities marching close to each other<sup>f</sup>, and only distinguished by attributes and the more flowing hair of the wine-god; and a lost antique, published many years ago in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*<sup>g</sup>, shows us a seated Dionysos in pose and drapery closely resembling Zeus, with goats springing up towards his throne. We may believe that this resemblance in art arises from a real religious association, as the statue of Zeus φίλιος testifies, which the younger Polykleitos carved for Megalopolis<sup>h</sup>. So long as the bearded type of Dionysos was adhered to, the artist who had sufficient power for fine distinctions of expression could imprint a distinguishing character on the countenance of the younger god, by imparting to it either a dreamy reverie or a hint of the wild ecstatic temper; and surely some touch of this latter quality appears

<sup>a</sup> Gardner, *Types*, vii. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. iii. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ii. 2; vide supra, p. 249.

<sup>d</sup> Suppl. Coin List, s.v. Ionia.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Gardner, *ibid.* ix. 4, p. 161.

<sup>f</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 43.

<sup>g</sup> 1866, Pl. CCVIII.

<sup>h</sup> Vide vol. i. p. 118.

on the strange Theban coin that may be placed near the end of the fifth century (Coin Pl. 29), where the treatment of the hair above and around the ivy-crown seems intended to give to the strong stern visage the suggestion of Bacchic excitement.

Looking at the plastic monuments of the fifth century, we must regret that no original monuments remain to show us directly how the great sculptors may have carved the state-monuments of Dionysos. We are left to deal with indirect or uncertain evidence. It has been supposed that the statue which Kalamis wrought for Tanagra is illustrated by the figure on late Imperial coins where the Triton is seen swimming below him<sup>68b</sup>. But the type of the god here presented is far too late for us to believe that it is derived from the work of the semi-archaic Athenian sculptor<sup>a</sup>. He would be likely to have carved him more in the fashion of the figure that we see on a late Athenian coin<sup>b</sup> which certainly seems to have been copied from a statue of his period: the countenance is still bearded, the pose and drapery are somewhat stiff. No doubt the bronze statue of Dionysos by Myron, dedicated on Helikon<sup>c</sup>, must have shown a great advance upon this, both in respect of form and expression; it is praised by Pausanias as one of the greatest of the sculptor's works, and the epigram in the Anthology that deals with it might, if we strain the words, be thought to allude to the fiery life that pervaded the work; but there is nothing among our monuments that enables us to conceive of it clearly. To Pheidias and Polykleitos is no single Dionysos-statue anywhere attributed, and as we have ample record of their works the omission is significant; not even in the long inventory that Pausanias gives of the carved or painted figures on the throne of Pheidias' Zeus of Olympia is Dionysos or a Dionysiac subject mentioned. It may have been that Pheidias felt that the wild temperament that belonged to the ethos of the god was alien to the genius of his art. Still we can scarcely avoid believing that he was carved somewhere

<sup>a</sup> Vide Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 114, for a discussion of the question.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Suppl. List*, 'Attica.'

<sup>c</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Boiotia.

in the various ornamented parts of the Parthenon; some archaeologists have discerned him in the famous figure, misnamed Theseus, in the corner of the east gable; and this theory<sup>a</sup>, which is not refuted by the fact that the god is nude and youthful, may one day be confirmed by the discovery of further fragments. It is best at present to suspend judgment; and yet we may observe that the recumbent posture and the indifference of the deity to the main action of the central group would be in keeping with the character of the wine-god, and the transcendent strength and vitality in the forms consonant with his nobler tradition in fifth-century art. Dionysos, indeed, might have been absent from the gables; but it is inconceivable that Pheidias should have refused him a place in the assemblage of the deities on the eastern frieze, where he designed twelve divinities with two subordinate figures; and the view is gaining ground that the young divinity, who alone is seated softly on a cushion and is leaning familiarly against the back of Hermes with his arm resting on his shoulder, is the god that we are seeking. We are driven to this conclusion almost by the method of elimination; Dionysos, who must be in the frieze, can be no other than this; for the only other personage whom some scholars have given his name—the god who is in converse with Poseidon—is certainly Apollo<sup>b</sup>. And the religious reasons constrain us also to take this view; for Dionysos has few or no relations with Poseidon at Athens or elsewhere, but the closest with Hermes and Demeter who can be recognized here at his side. We can therefore believe that a Pheidian Dionysos is here presented to us on the frieze.

Then we must also regard this work as perhaps the earliest example in sculpture of the young and beardless Dionysos; and certainly somewhere in this century this conception, which we find already in the *Homeric Hymn* and which was present to the mind of Aeschylus and is dominant in Euripides'

<sup>a</sup> Nothing important has been added to Overbeck's statement of it, *Gesch. der Griech. Plast.*<sup>3</sup> 304; the close resemblance of this 'Theseus' figure to the

recumbent youth on the Dionysiac relief of the Peiræus is worth bearing in mind (vide supra, p. 255).

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. 4, pp. 341-342.

*Bakchai*, had forced its way into art<sup>a</sup>, and henceforth begins to cast into shade the traditional type of the bearded divinity. Even the conservative numismatic art begins to adopt it; we find it on a coin of the Sicilian Naxos, before B. C. 403 (Coin Pl. 30), and on one of Phokaia in Ionia by the end of this century<sup>b</sup>.

But for some time the older type, which never wholly died out, was still prevalent in religious sculpture. And Pheidias' greatest pupil, Alkamenes, adhered to it for his chryselephantine idol carved for the temple by the theatre at Athens. We know something of this work by the Attic coins that reproduce it (Coin Pl. 31)<sup>c</sup>: we see how he drew his inspiration from his master's master-work, the Zeus Olympios, remembering perhaps the traditional association of his divinity with the father-god; we can feel the impressive majesty of the pose and the whole presentment; and the coin that is stamped with the head alone suggests that the artist knew how to combine with a certain archaism in the treatment of the hair an advanced power of expression; the countenance appears solemn, full of thought and strong inner life, and perhaps was distinguished from the Pheidian ideal of Zeus merely by the upturned glance and something of aloofness in the gaze.

The noblest plastic representation of the bearded god, that may be slightly later than the close of this century, but certainly maintains its art traditions, is the bronze in the Museum of Naples (Pl. L), found at Herculaneum and formerly regarded as a bust of Plato<sup>d</sup>; the broad band or *μίτρα* round the hair, the droop of the head, and the dreamy thought in the countenance, are proof sufficient of Dionysos. An extraordinary delicacy in the treatment of the hair, which preserves a reminiscence in the beard of the older style of tarentic, is combined with a Pheidian breadth and grandeur in the forms and contours; for the moment the god is dreaming

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the vase of Perugia mentioned above [Pl. XLIX].

<sup>b</sup> Vide Suppl. List, *s.v.* 'Sicily,' 'Ionia.'

<sup>c</sup> These are published and discussed

in Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 142, Pl. CC. I-V.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Friederichs-Wolters, *Gyps-abgüsse*, 1285.

PLATE L

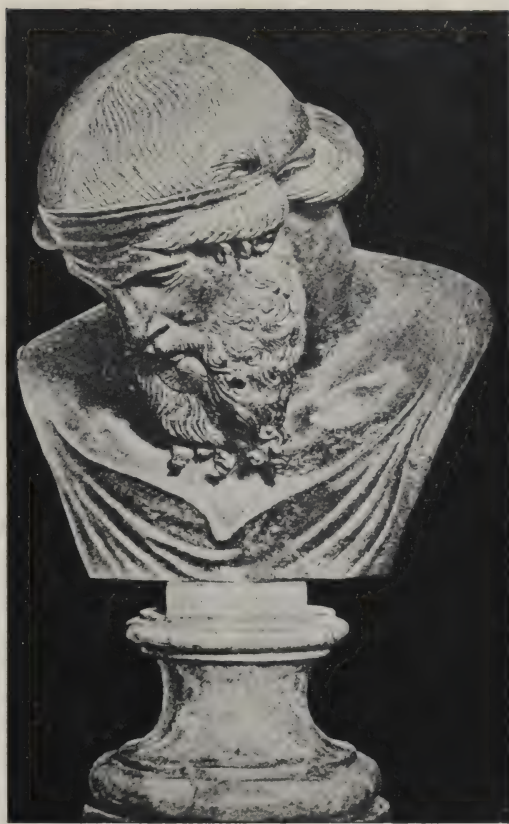






PLATE LI





with half-closed eyes, but the latent power is manifestly preserved. We should regard it as an original work, were it not that the bust is a post-Alexandrian form: it is probably an excellent Greek copy of an original statue of some Attic sculptor of the early part of the fourth century.

No representations of this god are attributed to Polykleitos, whose art we may judge to be wholly unsuited for any full and satisfying expression of this ideal. Yet the Polycleitean style may be traced here and there among our surviving Bacchic statues<sup>a</sup>. The most important of these is the head in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss, exhibited a few years ago in the Burlington House, a work of great beauty and interest (Pl. LI): the ivy-crown, the band over the forehead, and the melancholy droop of the head reveal the personality; the Polycleitean origin is suggested by the marked resemblance of the forms to those of the 'Diadoumenos,' and the flat surfaces of the cheek belong to the style of this school, though the eye is differently treated, the eyeball being swollen somewhat after the manner of Scopas. Nothing of the later weakness appears, and we have probably here a monument of early fourth-century art.

Of the vases that descend from the fourth century only a few belonging to its first decade are important for our present purpose. The two Attic vase-paintings that have been described in a former volume<sup>b</sup>, as well as the representation on the reverse of the Pourtales vase, show us a type of Dionysos differing in quality from that which was mainly in vogue throughout the preceding century. This is not the inscrutable mighty god of the orgiastic revel; the type is that of the noble youth of high-bred beauty and grace; and in the last-mentioned example there is a hint in the softly rounded limbs of that effeminacy which becomes a prominent quality in the later monuments.

The Dionysiac coin-types of this century are by no means so impressive as those of the last; but one representa-

<sup>a</sup> Vide Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 461, boy with nebris in Museo Torlonia in style of 'Diadoumenos';

Polycleitean D. in Dresden and Ince-Blundell Collection.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. iii, Pl. XVIII and Pl. XX.

tion of great beauty and interest, as illustration of the later ideal conception, is found on the coins of Kydonia in Crete (Coin Pl. 32)<sup>a</sup>. The contours of chin and cheek are soft without being feminine; the luxuriant hair is bound with ivy from which love-locks escape at the side. But the whole countenance is saved from effeminacy or languor by the mental power stamped on the brow and forehead, and by the look of brightness as if from some inner light. It is from some vision of the young god such as he here appears that Euripides may have partly drawn his phrase *ὀνωπός, ὄσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων*.

Henceforth, as the arts of vase-painting and numismatic design become less significant, we must look to the monuments of sculpture for the further expression of this ideal. Unfortunately, very few plastic works of high importance belonging to the fourth century have survived. The Wemyss head shows the preservation of an older tradition of style; so also does the well-known statue dedicated by Thrasyllus, about 320 B. C. or later, now in the British Museum. The noble style of the religious sculpture of the older period is preserved in the drapery and the pose; the treatment is warm, and the whole is full of vitality; yet in the forms of the breast, which are soft and almost feminine, we note the beginnings of that effeminacy which becomes the dominant characteristic of the later Dionysiac types. This trait is still more obvious in that much-discussed statue, the Dionysos from the villa of Hadrian, in which Polycleitean or Pasitelean style has been discerned, but which Furtwängler confidently regards as a copy of Euphranor's work<sup>b</sup>. The Polycleitean style is visible in the pose and the general type of the body as well as in some of the details, the nose and the contour of the cheek, and the roll of hair on the neck may be regarded as an Argive fashion; but there is a lack of articulation in the muscles, and a marked effeminacy in the treatment of the arms and the buttocks. This is surely

<sup>a</sup> Gardner, *Types*, &c., ix. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Mon. dell' Inst.* xi. 51; Michaelis, *Annali*, 1883, p. 136; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 581-585;

Euphranor's Bacchus mentioned in Aventine inscription, Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1801.





the mark of a later age than that of Polykleitos; perhaps the earliest example of it is the coin-type of Naxos struck near the end of the fifth century (Coin-Pl. 30). It is an innovation in the plastic presentment of the god, but it was suggested by older poetry, legend, and even ritual. An interesting vase of the earlier fifth-century style<sup>a</sup>, almost certainly by Hieron, had embodied the legend of the confusion of sex of the infant Dionysos; we see Zeus holding the divine babe attired as a girl, behind him is Poseidon, and Hermes goes before; and this is a direct illustration of the story preserved by Apollodorus<sup>61 d</sup>.

The only other public monument of sculpture preserved from the fourth century that contains the figure of Dionysos is the choragic dedication of Lysikrates, B. C. 334. The surface is so defaced that we can say little of the style and expression; but the outlines of the figure of Dionysos are sufficiently preserved to be significant. He is reclining at his ease, playing with his panther, while the satyrs avenge him on the Tyrrhene pirates. His form shows the refined elegance that appears in the representations on the vases of the earlier part of this century; and we gather the impression of an epicurean god, indifferent and secure, and already touched with languor (Pl. LII). Very similar is his figure on a coin of Katana now in the Bodleian, on which he is depicted lying at ease holding the kantharos, with a thyrsos and a yoke of panthers.

We see in these works the glimmering of a new ideal, differing in important qualities from that of the older art. But our chief evidence is the literary record and later surviving copies that may be associated with the names or tendencies of the great masters of the fourth century. One work of importance, on the date of which new light has recently been thrown, was the group of Dionysos and the Thyiades erected by Praxias and Androstenes in the western gable of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Thanks to the French excavations, we now know that this must have been carved for the restored temple after the earthquake about 373 B. C.; and as no trace or splinter of these figures have

<sup>a</sup> Published and discussed by Graef, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1891, p. 47, Pl. I.

been found, the conclusion is natural that they were taken away from Delphi some time after Pausanias saw them there<sup>a</sup>. They have utterly vanished, and it is useless to conjecture as to their motive and character.

The artist who above all others in this age might have had the genius to express in strong and vital forms the fiery enthusiasm of the god's nature was Skopas, the master who carved the famous Maenad 'bursting with madness.' And one Dionysos-statue is recorded of him, of which nothing more is known than the title<sup>b</sup>. A youthful marble head of the god in the museum of Leyden, with ivy-crown and hair raised erect above the band that compresses the forehead, has been associated with his name<sup>c</sup>, because of the virile forms and the fiery excitement in the treatment of the features, especially the hair, and the open mouth and curving neck (Pl. LIII). The countenance appears to pant and to glow, like the Tegean heads. Yet this passionate and excited style may well be later than the fourth century, in no plastic work of which is such rendering of the hair ever found. And the head of Leyden has been overpraised. It is no original, but dry and superficial work. And what Skopas did for this interesting theme remains to be discovered<sup>d</sup>. We know more about Praxiteles that concerns the present inquiry. In the first place the literary records are fuller. We hear of his Iacchos, 'the *παῖς ὠραίος*,' holding a torch in a temple-group at Athens with Demeter and Kore<sup>e</sup>; of his bronze group of 'Liber Pater'<sup>f</sup> (a term denoting indifferently the type of the older or younger god) with Methe and the famous satyr, a group probably set up in the Street of Tripods at Athens; of a temple statue at Elis<sup>g</sup>; and finally a bronze statue described by Kallistratos in his

<sup>a</sup> Vide M. Homolle's paper in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, pp. 627-639 (published in 1908).

<sup>b</sup> Pliny, *N. H.* 36. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Thraemer, in Roscher, *Lex.* 1, p. 1128.

<sup>d</sup> An impressive bearded head of Dionysos on a double herm with Alexander or Hermes, in the Cook

Collection at Richmond, published recently by Mrs. Strong, *Hell. Journ.* 1908, p. 13, Fig. 2, appears to descend from an original by Skopas: the deep-set eyes and the forehead seem powerfully expressive.

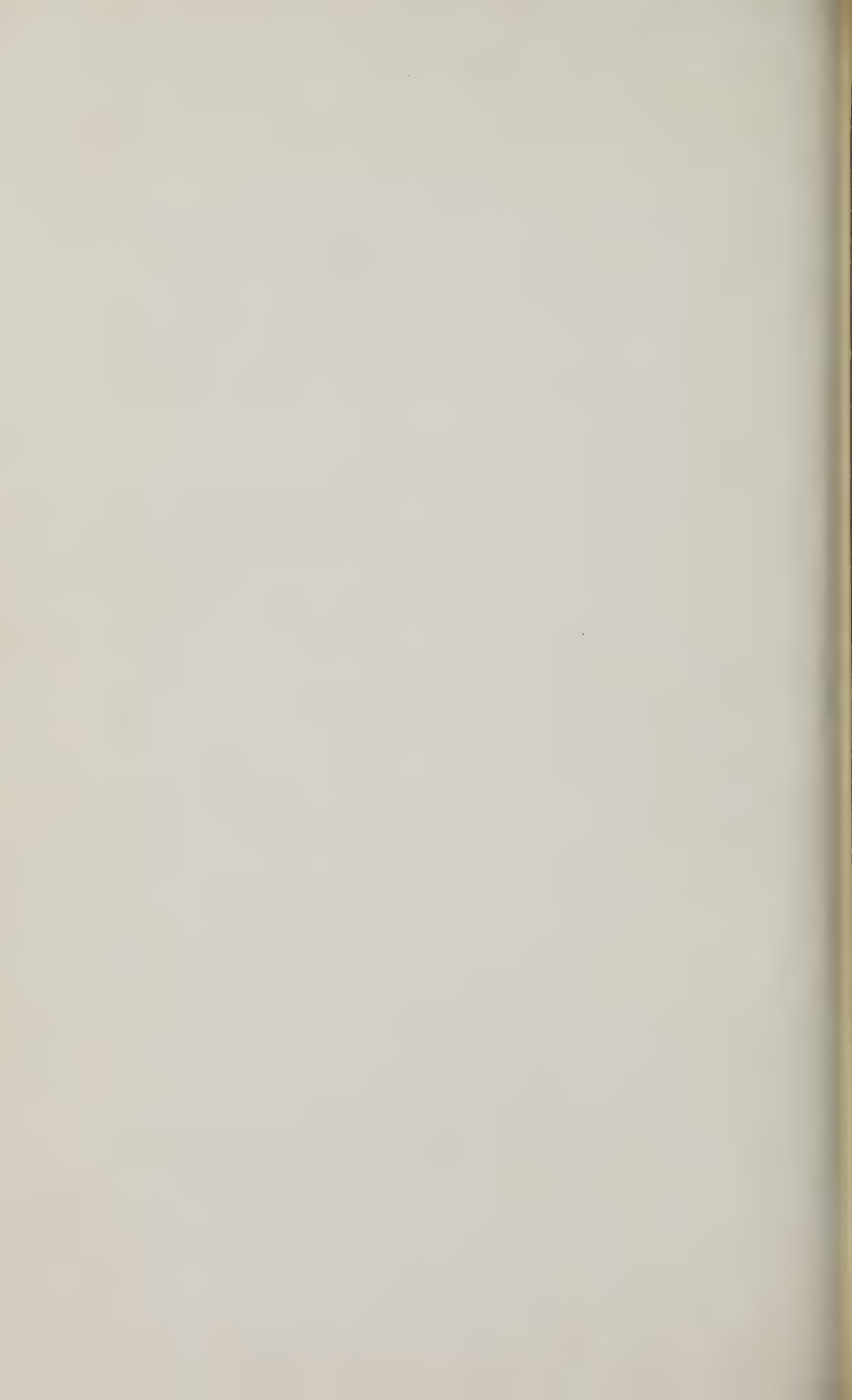
<sup>e</sup> Vol. 3, Demeter R. 143.

<sup>f</sup> Plin. *N. H.* 34. 69.

<sup>g</sup> Geogr. Reg. s. v. 'Elis.'

PLATE LIII







conventionally rapturous verbiage<sup>a</sup>. Of the Elean statue a little may be gathered from a coin of Hadrian that probably reproduces it: the young god is standing leaning his left elbow on a support, holding thyrsos and cup, and raising aloft in his right hand a rhyton towards which his eyes and face are uplifted<sup>b</sup>. The drapery, a himation passing over his lower body and shoulders and revealing the upper parts, is strikingly arranged as a plastic framework to the whole figure. The hair is luxuriant, the forms appear soft and full; but we cannot discern the clear marks of Praxiteles' style. The statue described by Kallistratos represented him as youthful, with long and flowing curls partly bound up in an ivy-crown, wearing a nebris and supported by a thyrsos in his left hand; the whole figure 'blooming with life, filled with delicate grace, overflowing with the power of love,' the body languid and relaxed, the countenance 'full of laughter', and yet the eye 'gleaming with fire, and with the look of wildness' as though the sculptor had been able to put 'the sting of Bacchic frenzy into the bronze.' If we could trust the rhetorician we should say that this work was a satisfying embodiment of the complex spiritual and emotional nature of the divinity, with the supple grace and loveliness of an ideal Praxitelean figure, in the countenance the subtle smile that the sculptor loved, and at the same time the fervour and ecstasy of the orgiastic inspiration. If, in very fact, Praxiteles' work combined all this, Praxiteles was the creator of the type that realized most of those qualities with which poetry and the religious imagination had invested the god. And certainly in many of the Dionysiac statues that have survived as later copies of earlier masterpieces we can detect the Praxitelean influence.

This appears markedly, for instance, in the life-size statue of Pentelic marble found in Rome<sup>c</sup>, representing the young god with a himation that enfolds his lower limbs, his left arm with the fold of the drapery resting on a tree-trunk, the right arm missing

<sup>a</sup> *Stat.* 8 (Overbeck, *Schriftqu.* 1222).

<sup>c</sup> Published in *Bull. Arch. Comm. di*

<sup>b</sup> Vide the wood-cut published in *Roma*, 1886, Pl. VI.

*Numism. Comm. Paus.* p. 74.

but probably held down with a cup in the hand; the head is crowned with ivy, and in the undulating lines of the body and pensive thought of the face the style and spirit of Praxiteles are impressively present (Pl. LIV). The same may be said of a fine bronze in the Collection Golitzine at Moscow<sup>a</sup>, representing him holding a cup in his left and grapes in his right. The Praxitelean grace is seen also in the figure of Dionysos in the group of the Brocklesby Collection, where he is in companionship with a boy who is proved to be Eros by the fragment of a wing at the left shoulder, but which was wrongly restored at one time as Ampelos<sup>b</sup>; the marble is Pentelic, and though the work is only of the Roman period and much restored, it suggests a great original of the art of the younger Attic school: and, as Michaelis reminds us, there was a group of Dionysos and Eros by Thymilos in the shrine of the former, that stood in the Street of Tripods at Athens and contained statues by Praxiteles of Dionysos and the satyr offering him the cup<sup>c</sup>.

Another interesting work that may be mentioned in this context is the half-finished marble monument found in 1888 near the Olympieion at Athens<sup>d</sup>, showing two figures of less than half the natural size, carved either for the round or for relief. There is no doubt as to the personality of the larger form; Dionysos, with long curls flowing on his chest, the band across his forehead and the ivy-crown, is resting his left arm round the shoulders of the boy Ampelos or Staphylos (Pl. LV); some shaggy garment that may be a nebris appears as a sort of curtain behind the pair. So far as a photograph permits one to judge, one is instantly reminded of Praxiteles by the treatment of the countenance of Dionysos, with its dreamy pensiveness combined with a high, refined intelligence and Attic *χάρις*. The figures are free from effeminacy, and the whole work is in strong contrast to the picturesque group of Dionysos and Ampelos in the British Museum<sup>e</sup>. What is

<sup>a</sup> *Gazette Archéol.* 1883, Pl. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 237, No. 90; A. Smith.

<sup>c</sup> *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Athens.

<sup>d</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1888, Pl. I, p. 67.

<sup>e</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Fig. 487.

PLATE LIV



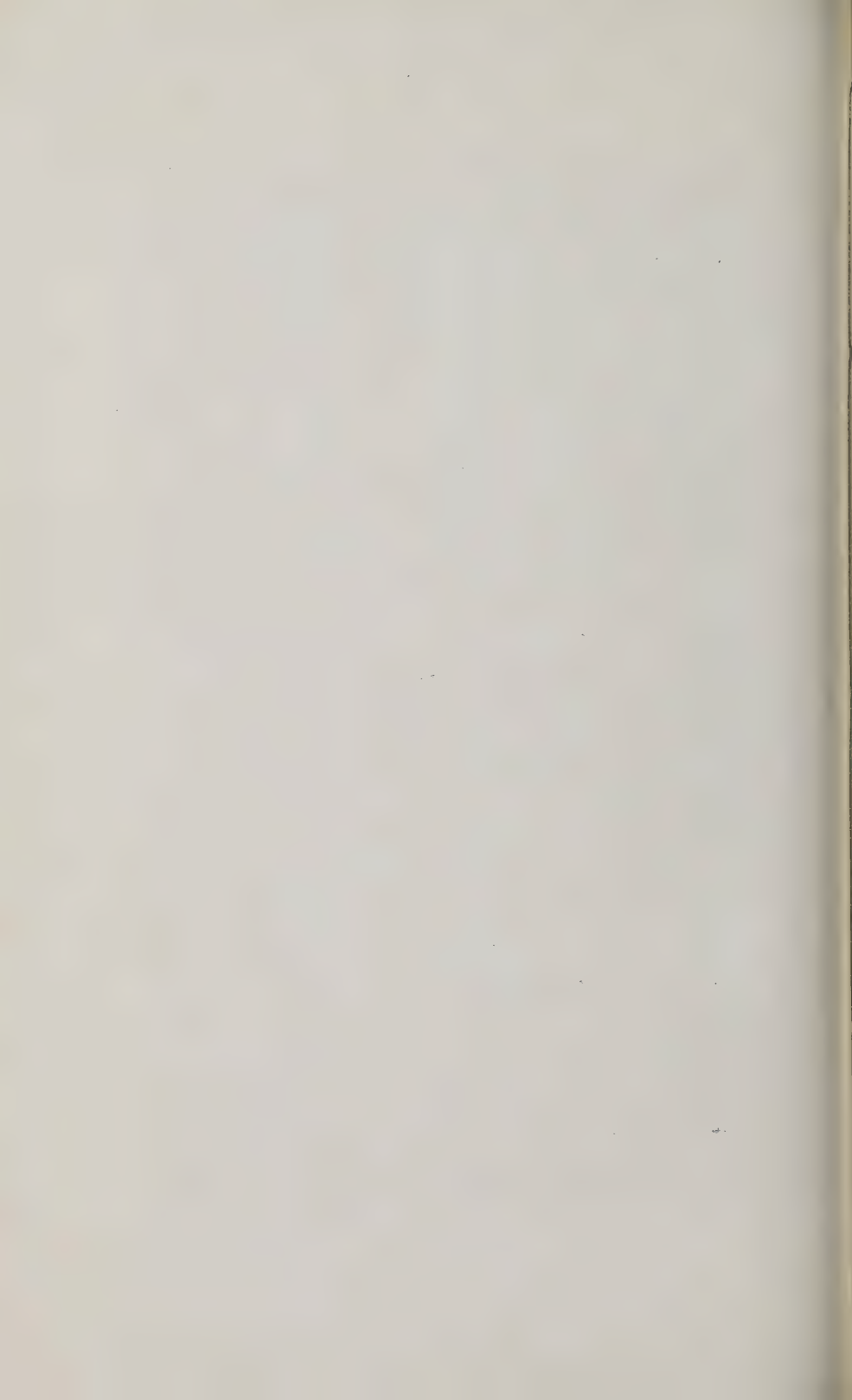


PLATE LV





of further interest is the motive of the arm resting languidly over the head; we find it here in a work of Praxitelean character. And it appears in so many other representations that we must suppose it to have been suggested by some famous original. A well-known example is the Dionysos of Versailles in the Louvre; but of this statue neither the face nor the forms of the body are Praxitelean, for the body is comparatively dry and muscular, the pose firm, and the countenance with its high, full oval, is of the Hellenistic type. Furtwängler detects Praxitelean style in a statue at Tarragona<sup>a</sup>, of which there is a cast in Berlin, but here the right arm, which is missing, was not really reclining over the head<sup>b</sup>, but raised above the head more like that of the satyr pouring wine. In fact, in none of the examples of this type with which I am acquainted<sup>c</sup> is the direct influence of this master obvious, except in the Attic monument; this last, however, is evidence sufficient in itself to incline us to believe that he carved some famous Dionysos in which this motive appeared; and some have supposed, on somewhat doubtful grounds<sup>d</sup>, that he used it also for a type of Apollo. The motive is most expressive of languor and dreamy reverie, and more consonant with the conception of Dionysos than of Apollo, and agrees well with the bent of Praxitelean art.

From all this we may conclude that Praxiteles did more than any other sculptor of the later period for the shaping of the later ideal; that he created a Dionysiac type of which the leading qualities were delicate grace, an expression of pathetic pensiveness and poetic reverie, combined with a hint of the languor that comes from wine. We do not know that he was able to render in any of his statues the throbbing enthusiasm of the aroused god, unless we believe Kallistratos;

<sup>a</sup> *Meisterwerke*, p. 539.

<sup>b</sup> As Friederichs-Wolters suppose *Gypsabgüsse*, 1488: vide Hübner, *Ant. Bildw. in Madrid*, No. 672.

<sup>c</sup> Other examples are the statue in the Villa Albani, a wrongly restored work of slight importance, Helbig, *Führer*, n. 836; and a statue at Dijon,

*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, Pl. V. We find it on a late coin of Tralles, vide *Suppl. Coin List*, s.v. 'Lydia.' It appears also among the fragments of Graeco-Roman sculpture found at Corinth, *Americ. Journ. Archaeol.* vol. 8, Pl. XIII.

<sup>d</sup> Vide vol. 4, p. 351.

on the other hand, we have no proof that his Dionysiac statues already revealed the quality of effeminacy which is the degenerate mark of later works.

It would certainly not be the mark of a Lysippean statue; and we know that Lysippos carved an image of the god, a bronze work mentioned by Lucian<sup>a</sup>. But we have no complete statue of Dionysos that we may call Lysippean. Two heads, however, may be mentioned that present certain qualities of his style: one in the Lateran, a small marble of the horned, youthful god, with features that resemble the Apoxyomenos<sup>b</sup>; another more striking work that was in the Conservatore Palace, much restored and injured, but of good Greek execution, representing the youthful Bakchos, with crisp hair bound with a fillet and vine-leaves, and with traces of a nebris round the neck; the mouth and the pose of the head give an impression of the dreaming god, but the forehead and the parts about the eyes and temples show the characteristic marks of the style that is regarded as Lysippean (Pl. LVI).

The greater part of our Dionysos-statues descend probably from Hellenistic works, some of which were themselves modifications of older motives. The qualities of the type that prevailed in the last period of Hellenic art are a pensive, graceful sentimentality of expression, a dreamy languor in the pose, and an effeminacy in the forms that renders it difficult at times to distinguish a head of Dionysos from one of Ariadne. A perfect example of this is the well-known head in the British Museum from the Baths of Caracalla, of the full, oval contour, a lifelessly beautiful type of the weakling, dreamy and ineffectual (Pl. LVII). The motive of the arm flung round the head was probably often employed. We find it in a statue of a different pose from those mentioned above, a marble group of the Fejervari Collection<sup>c</sup> of Dionysos supported by Seilenos, his lower limbs covered in a himation, with a troubled expression in his face. It is found among the later coin-types of the Greek States, for instance on an

<sup>a</sup> *Iupp. Trag.* 12.

<sup>b</sup> Benndorf-Schöne, n. 236.

<sup>c</sup> *Ann. d. Inst.* 1854, Tav. xiii: Reinach, *Repertoire*, 2, p. 130.



PLATE LVII



PLATE LVIII



<sup>21</sup> Dionysos Ἄνθιος in Attica: Paus. 1. 31, 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίους τοῖς μὲν . . . βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἄνθιου καὶ Νυμφῶν Ἴσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην Θεὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 631 Διονύσου Ἄν(θίου) ἱερεῖα circ. 360 B.C. ? Εὐανθῆς: Athenae. 465B ἀνακαλοῦντες Εὐανθῆ [? leg. Εὔαν] τε καὶ Διθύραμβον καὶ Βακχευτᾶν καὶ Βρόμιον.

<sup>22</sup> Διώνυσος Αὐξίτης at Heraia in Arcadia: Paus. 8. 26, 2 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Διονύσφ ναοί· τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν αὐτῶν πολίτην τὸν δὲ Αὐξίτην. καὶ οἴκημί ἐστι σφίσιν ἔνθα τῷ Διονύσφ τὰ ὄργια ἄγουσι.

<sup>23</sup> Διώνυσος ? Πρόβλαστος: Schol. Lycophr. 577 ὁ Διώνυσος, ἐπεὶ, ὅταν βλαστάνωσιν αἱ ἄμπελοι ἢ ὅταν μέλλωσι κόπτειν τὰς βλάστας, . . . θύουσιν αὐτῷ.

<sup>24</sup> Διώνυσος Κάρπιος in Thessaly: Leake, *Travels in North Greece*, iv, Pl. 43, 220 ἱεργεῖοντος τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Καρπίου.

<sup>25</sup> Διώνυσος Συκίτης in Laconia: Athenae. p. 78 C Σωσίβιος δ' ὁ Λάκων ἀποδεικνύς εὖρημα Διονύσου τὴν συκὴν διὰ τοῦτο φησι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Συκίτην Διόνυσον τιμᾶν. Hesych. s. v. Συκεατῖς. ὁ Διώνυσος. Cf. Διώνυσος Μειλίχιος, in Naxos R. 6. Cf. R. 45<sup>ε</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> a On chest of Kypselos: Paus. 5. 19, 6 Διώνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ κατακείμενος γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδυκώς ἐστι ποδῆρη χιτῶνα· δένδρα δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μηλέαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ροαί.

<sup>26</sup> Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 29 ε οὐ γεωργὸς ὁ Ζεὺς . . . ἀλλ' ὄψὲ μὲν Δημήτηρ γεωργεῖ μετὰ πολλὴν πλάνην, ὄψὲ δὲ Διώνυσος μετὰ τὸν Κάδμου καὶ τὸν Πενθέα.

<sup>27</sup> Athenae. 149 B (at Phigaleia, from Harmodios περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν νομίμων) ἐν ἅσπασι τοῖς δείπνοις μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις μαζῶσι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ διονυσιακὴ ἔχει τοῦνομα.

<sup>28</sup> Δ. Σητάνειος at Teos: Le Bas, *Asie Mineure*, no. 106 ? referring to the σητάνια μῆλα, vide Athenae. 81 a, or to cereals, vide Suidas s. v. σητάνειος\* ἄρτος. Cf. Hesych. s. v. Σητάνιοι. Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 6, 4:

Βάκχος πάρεδρος τῆς

Δήμητρος.

Dionysos associated with the water, vide R. 1. 75, 88, 89.

<sup>29</sup> ? Διώνυσος Ἀλιεύς: Philochoros, *Frag.* 194 (Müller) ἢ ὅτι χρησμὸς ἐδόθη, 'ἀλιέων ἐν τόπῳ Διόνυσον ἀλιεῖα βυπτίζοιτε,' ὡς Φιλόχορος.

<sup>30</sup> Δ. Ἀκταῖος at Chios: *C. I. G.* 2214 ε Διονύσφ Ἀκταῖφ καὶ Ἀπόλλων φ Ξενίφ Ἰόλλας τὸν νεῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἀνέστησε. ? Πελάγιος. Schol. Vict. II. 24. 428 Θεόπομπός φησιν Ἀλέξανδρον Φεραῖου Διόνυσον ἐν Παγασαῖς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πελάγιος, εὐσεβεῖν διαφόρως. Cf. Maass, *Hermes*, xxiii. p. 70.

<sup>31</sup> Διώνυσος Λευκαναίτης in Elis: Paus. 6. 21, 5 τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἱερὸν Διονύσου Λευκαναίτου πεποιήται, καὶ ποταμὸς παρέξεισι ταύτῃ Λευκαναίας.

<sup>32</sup> Plut. *Vit. Lysand.* 28, near Haliartos τὴν κρήνην τὴν Κρισσοῦσαν προσαγορευομένην ἔνθα μυθολογοῦσι τὰς τιθῆνας νήπιον ἐκ τῆς λοχείας ἀπολοῦσαι τὸν Διόνυσον· καὶ γὰρ οἰνωπὸν ἐπιστίλβει τὸ χρῶμα καὶ διαυγές καὶ πιεῖν ἤδιστον. Athenae. 465<sup>a</sup> (Φανόδημός φησι) ὀνομασθῆναι τὰς πηγὰς νύμφας καὶ τιθῆνας τοῦ Διονύσου, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον αὐξάνει τὸ ὕδωρ κιννάμενον.

<sup>33</sup> Ὑγῆς: Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* p. 364 D καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὕην (καλοῦσιν) ὡς κύριον τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως. *Et. Mag.* p. 775 Ὑγῆς· ἐπίθετον Διονύσου, ὡς Κλειδήμος, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰς θυσίας αὐτῷ καθ' ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὕει χρόνον. ὁ δὲ Φερεκίδης τὴν Σεμέλην Ὑγὴν λέγει . . . Ἀριστοφάνης (? Ἀπολλοφάνης, Meineke) δὲ συγκαταλέγει ξενικοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Ὑγὴν. Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 207 Ἄτης Ὑγῆς· τὸ μὲν ὕης υἱός, τὸ δὲ ἄτης θεὸς Σαβάζιος. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑγὴν τὸν Διόνυσον — ὕσε γὰρ ἀμβροσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεὺς. Cf. *Et. Mag.* 564 s.v. Ληναίων. Διονύσου ἐποίουν ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ, ἣν Ἀμβροσίαν ἐκάλου. Hesych. s.v. Ὑγῆ· ἡ Σεμέλη. Ὑγῆς, Ζεὺς Ὅμβριος. Schol. Arat. 172 Εὐφορίων Ὑγὴ ταυροκέρωτι Διωνύσσῳ κοτέσσασα. Cf. Sabazios, R. 62<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Dionysos with horns (cf. Sabazios, R. 61<sup>k</sup>, 62<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. 4. 4 φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον οὐ τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους παρεισάγουσι . . . λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν . . . πρῶτον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βοῦς ζευγυῖν καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸν σπόρον τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ κερατίαν αὐτὸν παρεισάγουσι.

<sup>b</sup> At Argos D.: βουγενῆς. See R. 89.

<sup>c</sup> At Elis: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 299 B ἔχει δ' οὕτως ὁ ὕμνος· ἐλθεῖν, ἦρος Διόνυσε, ἄλιον (Bergk Ἀλείων) ἐς ναὸν ἀγνόν, σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοεῷ ποδὶ θύων. εἶτα δις ἐπάδουσιν Ἄξιε ταῦρε. Cf. Plut. 251 E αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερά γυναικες, ἃς ἑκαταῖκα καλοῦσιν.

<sup>d</sup> D. Ταυροφάγος: Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 360 εἶρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Τυροῦς 'Διονύσου τοῦ ταυροφάγου' . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ταῖς βάρχαις· διέσπων γὰρ βοῦς καὶ ἥσθιον ὠμὰ κρέα. (Cf. R. 82.)

<sup>e</sup> Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 3 ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς εἶχε τὸ νῦν καλούμενον βουκόλιον, πλησίον τοῦ Πρυτανείου (σημεῖον δέ· ἔτι καὶ νῦν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλείως γυναικὸς ἡ σύμμιξις ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τῷ Διωνύσσῳ καὶ ὁ γάμος). Cf. the inscription of the Iobacchi found at Athens (third century A.D.), *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 260, ll. 116–24 ὁ δὲ ἀρχίβακχος θεύτω τὴν θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν σποδὴν τιθέτω κατὰ δεκάτην τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός· μερῶν δὲ γεινομένων, αἰρέτω ἱερέυς, ἀνθιερέυς, ἀρχίβακχος, ταμίης, βουκολικός, Διόνυσος, Κόρη, Παλαίμων, Ἀφροδείτη, Πρωτεύρυθμος — τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν συνκληρούσθω πᾶσι.

<sup>f</sup> Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* 35, p. 364 F ταυρόμορφα Διονύσου ποιούσιν ἀγάλματα πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

<sup>g</sup> Athenae. 476 A τὸν Διόνυσον κερατοφυῆ πλάττεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ ταῦρον καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ποιητῶν. ἐν δὲ Κυζίκῳ καὶ ταυρόμορφος ἱδρύεται.

<sup>h</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 1017 φάνηθι ταῦρος ἢ πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν | δράκων ἢ πυρι-φλέγων ὀρᾶσθαι λέων. Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1787 Θεοῦ Ταύρου ? Dionysos at Thespiæ, ? second century B.C.

<sup>35</sup> Death and resurrection of Dionysos. Cf. R. 89.

<sup>a</sup> Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* 69 (p. 378 E) Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν, θέρους δὲ ἐγρηγορέναι, τότε μὲν κατευνασμούς τότε δ' ἀνεγέρσεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. *De EI ap. Delph.* 388 F Διόνυσσον καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἴσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ φθοράς τινὰς καὶ ἀφανισμούς, (οἱ) τὰς ἀποβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεία ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα, περαίνουσι· καὶ ἄδουσι τῷ μὲν διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς, πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἐχούσης. Cf. Hesych. s.v. Ἴσοδαίτης· ὑπ' ἐνίων ὁ Πλούτων. Harpokr. s.v. Ἴσοδαίτης· ξενικός τις δαίμων, φ' τὰ δημόδη γύναια καὶ μὴ πάνυ σπουδαία ἐτέλει.

<sup>c</sup> Plut. 996 C τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσσον μεμυθευμένα πάθη τοῦ διαμελισμοῦ καὶ τὰ Τιτάνων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τολμήματα γευσασμένων τοῦ φόνου κολάσεις τε τούτων καὶ κεραυνώσεις, ἀνηγμένους ἐστὶ μῦθος ἐς τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν.

<sup>d</sup> *Orph. Hymn.* 53. 1 :

ἀμφιετῆ καλέω Βάκχον, χθόνιον Διόνυσσον,  
ἐγρόμενον κούραις ἅμα νύμφαις εὐπλοκάμοισιν,  
ὅς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱεροῖσι δόμοισιν ἰαῦν  
κοιμίζει τριετῆρα χρόνον Βακχίῳ ἀγνόν.

<sup>e</sup> Philochoros, *Frag.* 22 (Müller) ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ταφήν αὐτοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν. βάθρον δέ τι εἶναι ὑπονοεῖται ἡ σορὸς ἐν ᾗ γράφεται· ἐνθάδε κείται θανὼν Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης. Vide Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 573.

<sup>f</sup> Clem. *Protrept.* p. 15, Pott. οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτόν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβάλοντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον. . . . Ζεὺς δὲ . . . κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. ὁ δὲ . . . εἰς τὸν Πarnaσσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρόν.

<sup>g</sup> Tatian, *Adv. Graec.* c. 8 (p. 9, Schwarz) ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Λητοῖδου καλεῖται τις ὀμφαλός, ὁ δὲ ὀμφαλὸς ταφὸς ἐστὶ Διονύσου.

<sup>h</sup> Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας : Gomperz, 2, p. 16, col. 44 Διασπασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων ῥέας τὰ μέλη συνθείσης ἀνεβίω.

<sup>i</sup> Tzetzes Lycophr. 208 οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὰ Διονύσου μέλη ἅ διασπάρξαν, Ἀπόλλωνι ἀδελφῷ ὄντι αὐτοῦ παρέθεντο ἐμβάλοντες εἰς λέβητα· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι παρέθετο ὡς φησι Καλλιμάχος.

<sup>k</sup> Aug. *De Civit. Dei* 18. 12 Aliqui sane et victum scribunt Liberum et vinctum, nonnulli et occisum in pugna a Perseo, nec ubi sepultus fuerit tacent.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. *Il.* ζ 319 (Περσεύς) Διόνυσον ἀνείλεν ἐς τὴν Λερναίαν λίμνην ἐμβαλῶν.

<sup>m</sup> Clem. *Recogn.* 10 Liberi (sepulcrum) apud Thebas, ubi discerptus traditur.

<sup>36</sup> Δ. Εὐβουλεύς: Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* 7. 9 (p. 714 C) οἱ δὲ πάμπαν ἀρχαῖοι τὸν Διόνυσον αὐτὸν Εὐβουλῆ καὶ τὴν νύκτα δι' ἐκείνου εὐφρόνην προσείπον. Cf. *C. I. G.* 1948 (late inscr. of the *Museo Nani*) Ἀντιόχου τοῦ ἱεροφάντου γυνή . . . ἀνέθηκε τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ θεῷ Διονύσῳ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ τοῖς . . .

<sup>37</sup> Δ. Μελανθίδης: Konon (Phot. *Bibl.* p. 138) Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἕστερον Διονύσῳ Μελανθίδῃ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενοι θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ τῷ Ἀπατουρίῳ δι' ἱερά ἀνάπτουτες. Cf. Δ. Μελάναιγος, R. 69<sup>b, c</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Δ. Νυκτέλιος (vide supra 35<sup>b</sup>) in Megara: Paus. I. 40, 6 ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου. Cf. Ovid. *Metam.* 4. 11:

Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque  
ignigenamque satumque iterum solumque bimatrem.  
additur his Nyseus indetonsusque Thyoneus  
et cum Lenaeo genialis consitor uvae,  
Nycteliusque Eleleusque parens et Iacchus et Euan  
et quae praeterea per Graias plurima gentes  
nomina, Liber, habes.

Heraclit. *Frag.* cxxvii. (Bywater) ὠντὸς δὲ Ἀΐδης καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτεφ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσι. Vide R. 45<sup>e</sup>, Ritual, 76–82: *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Tarentum.

<sup>39</sup> Cult of Zamolxis in Thrace: Herod. 4. 94 Ἀθανατίζουσι τοιούδε τὸν τρόπον (οἱ Γέται): οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐώντους νομίζουσι, ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Ζάμολξιν δαίμονα. Cf. 5. 4 τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον (Τραυσοί) παίζοντές τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι γῆ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὄσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεῖς ἔστι ἐν ἀπάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. Phot. and *El. Mag. s. v.* Ζάμολξιν Ἀθανατίζουσι καὶ Τέριζοι καὶ Κρόβυζοι καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὡς Ζάμολξιν φασιν οἴχεσθαι, ἤξειν δὲ αὐθις. Phot. *s. v.* Ζάμολξιν Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς νομίμοις φησὶν ὅτι Ἑλληνικός τε γεγονὼς (Ζάμολξιν) τελετὰς κατέδειξε Γέταις τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀποθάνοι οὗθ' οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλ' ἔξουσι πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων, ἄκοδόμει οἴκημα κατάγειον. . . . Cf. inscr. from Philippi in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 319 reparatus item vivis in Elysiis:  
nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystides ad se  
florigero in prato congregem uti satyrum.

<sup>40</sup> Δ. Ἦβων: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 18, 9 Liberi patris simulacra partim puerili aetate partim iuvenis fingunt; praeterea barbata specie, senili quoque ut Graeci eius quem Βασσαρέα, item quem Βρισεία appellant, et

ut in Campania Neapolitani celebrant "Ἡβωνα cognominantes. *C. I. G. It. Sic.* 716 "Ἡβωνι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ θεῷ. Cf. 129<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Dionysos as wine-god.

<sup>a</sup> In Thrace, R. 75<sup>c</sup>: Macrob. I. 18, 1 Aristoteles, qui Theologumena scripsit, Apollinem et Liberum Patrem unum eundemque deum esse cum multis aliis argumentis adserat, etiam apud Ligyreos ait in Thracia esse adytum Libero consecratum ex quo redduntur oracula. Sed in hoc adyto vaticinaturi plurimo mero sumpto, ut apud Clarium aqua pota, effantur oracula. (Cf. Hom. *Il.* 9. 71 :

πλείαι τοι οἴνου κλισίαι τὸν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν  
ἡμάτιαι Θρήκηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα πόντον ἄγουσι.)

<sup>b</sup> Apollod. I. 8, 1 Οἰνεὺς βασιλεύων Καλυδῶνος παρὰ Διούσου φυτὸν ἀμπέλου πρῶτος ἔλαβε.

<sup>c</sup> Hesiod, *Works*, 614 Δῶρα Διόνυσου πολυγηθέος. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 284 οὗτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγώς.

<sup>d</sup> Δ. Ἀκρατοφόρος at Phigaleia: Paus. 8. 39, 6 πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Διόνυσου ναός· ἐπικλήσις μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀκρατοφόρος, τὰ κάτω δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σύνοπτα τοῦ ἀγάλματος ὑπὸ δάφνης τε φύλλων καὶ κισσῶν. ὁπόσον δὲ αὐτοῦ καθορᾶν ἔστι, ἐπαλήθιπται . . . κιννάβαρι ἐκλάμπειν.

<sup>e</sup> Δ. Ἐλευθερεὺς in Attica (cf. R. 47<sup>a</sup>, 69<sup>b</sup>, 127<sup>b</sup>): Hesych. s. v. Ἐλεύθερος· Διόνυσος ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς. Paus. I. 2, 5 μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Διόνυσου τέμενός ἐστιν οἶκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ· βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτυῶν ἄλλους τε θεοὺς ἐστῖων καὶ Διόνυσον· ἐνταῦθα καὶ Πήγασός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερεὺς, ὃς Ἀθηναίους τὸν θεὸν εἰσήγαγε· συνεπελάβετο δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀναμνήσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰκαρίου ποτὲ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 242 ἴστατο δὲ ὁ φαλλὸς τῷ Διόνυσῳ κατὰ τι μυστήριον· περὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φαλλοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγεται. Πήγασος ἐκ τῶν Ἐλευθερῶν, αἱ δὲ Ἐλευθεραὶ πόλις εἰσὶ Βοιωτίας, λαβὼν τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο μετὰ τιμῆς τὸν θεόν . . . μνήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ νόσος κατέσκηψεν εἰς τὰ αἰδοῖα τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . ὡς δὲ ἀπέειπον πρὸς τὴν νόσον . . . ἀπεστάλησαν θεωροὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐπανελθόντες ἔφασαν ἴασιν ταύτην εἶναι μόνην, εἰ διὰ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἄγιοι τὸν θεόν. πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἠγγελέμοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φαλλοὺς ἰδία τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν.

In Athens: Paus. I. 20, 3 τοῦ Διόνυσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν. δύο δὲ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ. I. 38, 8 (at Eleutherai) ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ ναός ἐστι Διόνυσου, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἐντεῦθεν Ἀθηναῖοις ἐκομίσθη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς μίμησιν ἐκείνου πεποιήται. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 225 Eleuther primus simulacrum

Liberi Patris constituit, et quemadmodum coli deberet ostendit. *C. I. A.* 3. 240 inscription on seat of theatre *ιέρεως Διονύσου Ἐλευθερέως*. See Festivals, R. 127<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Δ. *Εὐσταφύλος* in Lebadeia (cf. *Σταφυλίτης*, R. 11): *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 3098. *Διονύσω Εὐσταφύλω κατὰ χρῆσμον Διὸς Τροφωνίου* (late period.)

<sup>43</sup> Δ. *Λειβήνος*: *Hesych.* s. v. *ὁ Διόνυσος*.

<sup>44</sup> Δ. *Ληνεύς* at Mykonos: *Dittenb. Syllog.*<sup>2</sup> 615. 25 (*Ληλαιῶνος*) *δυωδεκάτει, Διονύσω Ληνεὶ ἐτήσιον, ὑπὲρ καρπῶν Διὶ χθονίῳ Γῆ χθονίῃ δερετὰ [? δ' ἐπτὰ] μέλανα ἐτήσια· ξένω οὐ θέμις· δαινύσθων αὐτοῦ.*

<sup>45</sup> Δ. *Λυαῖος, Λύσιος, Μεθυμναῖος*.

<sup>a</sup> *Athenae*. 363 B *τὸ μὲν ποτὸν μέθυ, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο δωρησάμενον θεὸν Μεθυμναῖον καὶ Λυαῖον καὶ Εὐῖον καὶ Ἴηιον προσηγόρευον.*

<sup>b</sup> *Plut. Quaest. Connyv.* p. 613 C *εἰ δὲ πάντων μὲν ὁ Διόνυσος Λύσιος ἐστὶ καὶ Λυαῖος.* Cf. R. 47<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> At Thebes: *Paus.* 9. 16, 6 *ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ θεάτρου Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησιν Λυσίου . . . ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐκάστου τὸ ἱερόν ἀνοιγνύναι φασὶν ἐν ἡμέραις τακταῖς.* Cf. *Photius*, s. v. *Λύσιοι τελεταί.*

<sup>d</sup> At Corinth: *Paus.* 2. 2, 6 *Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα πλὴν τῶν προσώπων· τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφίσιν ἐρυθρᾷ κεκόσμηται. Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι.*

<sup>e</sup> At Sikyon: *Paus.* 2. 7, 5 *μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶ χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἑλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι λίθου λευκοῦ· ταύτας τὰς γυναῖκας ἱερὰς εἶναι καὶ Διονύσω μαινέσθαι λέγουσιν. ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Σικωνίῳ ἐστὶ· ταῦτα μῆ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Κοσμητηρίου κομίζουσι, κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ δάδων τε ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων. ἡγεῖται μὲν οὖν ὃν Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν, . . . ἔπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύσιος, ὃν Θηβαῖος Φύνης εἰπούσης τῆς Πυθίας ἐκόμισεν ἐκ Θηβῶν.*

<sup>f</sup> At Eleusis: *Erh. Arch.* 1896, p. 52, inscr. ? first century B. C. *κανηφορήσασαν Διονύσω Λυαίῳ.* Cf. *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 3. 139 *καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον δὲ καθαρτικὸν μανίας φασί.*

<sup>g</sup> Δ. *Μόρυχος*: *Clem. Protrept.* p. 42 P *παρὰ τῆσιν αὐτῶν τοῦ Μορύχου Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀθήνησι γεγονέναι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φελλάτα καλουμένου λίθου, ἔργον δὲ εἶναι Σίμωνος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ. Zenob. Prov.* 5. 13 (*Μόρυχος*) *ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μολύνεσθαι ἐπειδὴν τρυγῶσι. Photius*, s. v. *Μωρότερος Μωρύχου· Πολέμων λέγεσθαι ταύτην παρὰ Σικελιώταις οὕτως . . . Μόρυχος δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Διόνυσος κατεπέθετο, διὸ τὸ μολύνεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ τρύγῃ γλεύκει τε καὶ σύκοις· μορύξαι δὲ τὸ μολῦναι.*

<sup>h</sup> Δ. *Ομφακίτης* and *Σταφυλίτης*, vide R. 11.



<sup>i</sup> Δ. Προτρύγαιος: Hesych. s. v. Προτρυγέα (? προτρύγαια): έορτή Διονύσου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. Pollux, I. 24 θεοὶ προτρύγαιοι, vide R. II, 102<sup>o</sup> (Laconian festival).

<sup>k</sup> Dionysos Βότρυς: inscr. Roman period from Philippi in Thrace, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 317 οἱ περὶ Ῥούφον Ζεῖπα μύστε βότρυος Διονύσου. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* P. 22 Διόνυσσον τὴν ἄμπελον, ὡς Θηβαῖοι προσηγόρευσαν.

<sup>l</sup> Dionysos ? Εὐεργέτης: Hesych. s. v. ὁ Διόνυσσος.

<sup>m</sup> Miracle of the wine at Teos: Diodor. 3. 66 Τήιοι μὲν τεκμήριον φέρουσι τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γεένσεως τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ἐν τῇ πόλει πηγὴν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἴνου ῥεῖν εὐφδιά διαφέροντος.

<sup>46</sup> Dionysos Λαμπτήρ at Pellene: Paus. 7. 27, 3 τοῦ δὲ ἄλλους τῆς Σωτείρας ἀπαντικρὺ Διονύσου Λαμπτήρὸς ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησιν. τούτῳ καὶ Λαμπτήρια έορτὴν ἄγουσι καὶ δᾶδᾶς τε ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζουσιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οἴνου κρατήρας ἰσῳᾶσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν. Cf. Schol. *Il.* 14. 396 Διόνυσσος . . . ἔφορος ὢν τοῦ πυρός. Cf. Diod. Sic. I. 11 Εὐμολπος ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἔπεσὶ φησιν. 'Ἀστροφαῆ Διόνυσσον ἐκ ἀκτίνεσσι πυρωπόν.' Tzetzēs, *Lykophr.* 212 φανστήριος δὲ λέγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὰ τούτου μυστήρια.

Dionysos as god of prophecy and healing.

<sup>47</sup> <sup>a</sup> Eurip. *Bacch.* 297-300:

μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὄδ'· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον  
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·  
ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολὺς,  
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμνηότας ποιεῖ.

Plut. p. 716<sup>c</sup> οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἐλευθερᾶ καὶ Δύσιον ἐκάλουν, καὶ μαντικῆς πολλὴν ἔχειν ἠγοῦντο μοῖραν οὐ διὰ τὸ βακχεύσιμον καὶ μανιῶδες ὡσπερ Εὐριπίδης εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ δουλοπρεπὲς καὶ περιδεὲς καὶ ἄπιστον ἐξαιρῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀληθεία καὶ παρρησία χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους δίδωσι.

In Thrace.

<sup>b</sup> Herod. 7. III οὔτοι (Σάτραι) οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον. Eur. *Hec.* 1267 ὁ Θρηξὶ μάντις εἶπε Διόνυσσος τάδε. Dio Cass. 51. 25 τούτων γὰρ (τῶν Ὀδρουσῶν), ὅτι τῷ τε Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπήνησάν οἱ, ἐφείσατο [ὁ Κράσσος], καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἧ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο, Βησσοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος. *Id.* 54. 34 Θραῖξ Βησσοῦς, ἱερεὺς

τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεποιήσατο τινὰς πολλὰ θειάσας (rebellion in time of Augustus). ? On Mount Pangaion: Eurip. *Rhes.* 970:

(Ἐρῆσος) κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς  
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κίσεται βλέπων φάος  
Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν  
ᾤκησε σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

Plut. *Crass.* 8 (the wife of Spartacus the Thracian) ὀμόφυλος οὔσα τοῦ Σπάρτακου, μαντικὴ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὄργιασμοῖς. At Leibethra in the territory of Olympos: Paus. 9. 30, 9 ἀφικέσθαι δὲ τοῖς Διβηθρίοις παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου μάντευμα ἐκ Θράκης . . .

At Amphikleia in Phokis.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. 10. 33, 10 ἂ μάλιστα ἄξιον Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν ὄργια, ἕσσοδος δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον οὐδὲ ἐν φανερωῶ σφίσιν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔστι. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄμφικλειέων μάντιν τέ σφίσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καὶ βοηθὸν νόσων καθεστηκέναι τὰ μὲν δὴ νοσήματα αὐτοῖς Ἄμφικλειεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἴαται δι' ὄνειράτων, πρόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἱερεύς ἐστι, χρᾶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος.

At Delphi.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ὑπόθ. Boeckh, p. 297 Πυθῶνος δὲ τότε κυριεύσαντος τοῦ προφητικοῦ τρίποδος, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτος Διόνυσος ἐθεμίστευσε. Macrob. 1. 18, 3 Item Boeotii Parnassum montem Apollini sacratum esse memorantes simul tamen in eodem et oraculum Delphicum et speluncas Bacchicas uni deo consecratas colunt, unde et Apollini et Libero Patri in eodem monte res divina celebratur. Quod cum et Varro et Granius Flaccus adfirmant, etiam Euripides his docet—

Διόνυσος ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς  
καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασσὸν κάτα  
πηδᾶ χορεύων.

In hoc monte Parnasso Bacchanalia alternis annis aguntur, ubi et Satyrorum, ut adfirmant, frequens cernitur coetus et plerumque voces propriae exaudiuntur itemque cymbalorum crepitus ad aures hominum saepe perveniunt . . . idem Euripides in Licymnio Apollinem Liberumque unum eundemque deum esse significans scribit:

δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, Παιὰν Ἀπολλων εὐλυρε.

Ad eandem sententiam Aeschylus:

ὁ Κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων ὁ Βακχεῖος ὁ μάντις.

<sup>48</sup> Δ. ἱατρός (?): Athenae. p. 22 E τοῦ Πυθικοῦ χρησμοῦ, ὃν ἀναγράφει Χαμαιλέων

εἴκοσι τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ εἴκοσι τὰς μετέπειτα  
οἴκῳ ἐνὶ σκιερῶ Διονύσῳ χρῆσθαι ἱητρῶ.

καὶ Μνησίθεος δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Διόνυσον ἰατρὸν φησὶ τὴν Πυθίαν χρῆσαι τιμᾶν Ἀθηναίους. Cf. p. 36 B (quoting from Mnesitheos) διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον πανταχοῦ ἰατρὸν. ἡ δὲ Πυθία εἴρηκέ τισι Διόνυσον ὑγιάτην καλεῖν. Cf. Hesych s. v. Παιώνιος· Διόνυσος.

<sup>49</sup> Oracle of Orpheus at Lesbos: Philostr. *Heroic.* 2, p. 306 (Kayser) ἡ κεφαλὴ (Ὀρφῶς) μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον ἐς Λέσβον κατασχοῦσα ῥήγμα τῆς Λέσβου ᾤκησε καὶ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῆ ἔχρησμάφει. Cf. Lucian, *adv. indoct.* 11 κἀκείνους ἀνελομένους, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν καταθάψαι, ἵνα περ ὕν τὸ Βακχείον αὐτοῖς ἔστι, τὴν λύραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ γε σώζεσθαι αὐτήν.

Political and moral ideas in cults of Dionysos.

<sup>50</sup> Δ. Αἰσυμνήτης at Patrai: vide Ritual, R. 88. Cf. Paus. 7. 21, 6 τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐγγὺς πεποιήται Πατρεῦσι γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τέμενος. Διονύσου δὲ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματα, ἴσοι τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολιῤσμσι καὶ ὁμώνυμοι. Μεσατέως γὰρ καὶ Ἀνθεύς τε καὶ Ἀροεὺς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα. ταῦτα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ Διονύσου ἑορτῇ κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου.

<sup>51</sup> a Δ. Πατρῶος at Megara: Paus. 1. 43, 5 παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον τάφος ἔστιν Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντοῦς· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυεΐδου τοῦ Κοιράνου τοῦ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος ἐς Μέγαρα ἑλθόντος Ἀλκάθου ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλιπύλιδος καθῆραι τοῦ παιδός. ᾤκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερόν Πολυεΐδος καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου· τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι τὸ φανερόν . . .· τοῦτον μὲν δὲ πατρῶον καλοῦσιν. Cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1212 Βακχίας ἐγένετο υἱὸς Διονύσου, διέτριβε δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ (ancestor of the Bakchiadae).

<sup>b</sup> ? προπάτωρ at Nikaia in Bithynia: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 39 (Dind. 2, p. 87) εὐχομαι τῷ τε Διονύσῳ τῷ προπάτορι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ κτίσαντι τῆσδε τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>52</sup> Δ. Σαώτης at Troizen. Paus. 2. 31, 5 βωμοὶ διεστηκότες οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἔστιν αὐτῶν Διονύσου κατὰ δὴ τι μάντευμα ἐπίκλησιν Σαώτου, δεύτερος δὲ Θεμίδων ὀνομαζόμενος. On Mt. Pontinos in Argolis: Paus. 2. 37, 2 ἐτέρῳ δὲ ναῶ Διόνυσος Σαώτης καθήμενον ξόανον.

<sup>53</sup> Δ. Πολίτης at Heraia in Arcadia, R. 22: cf. legend on coins of Nikaia and Tion in Bithynia, of Imperial period Διόνυσος κτίστης, Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 443, 444.

<sup>54</sup> Δ. ὁ δημόσιος: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Tralles, Teos, Magnesia ἐν Σιπύλῳ.

<sup>55</sup> Δ. Δημοτελής at Karystos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878, p. 276: τὸν ἐκ γένους ἱερεῖα Διονύσου δημοτελοῦς (inscr. of late period). Cf. Demosth. xx1. 53 ὁ τοῦ Διὸς σημαίνει ἐν Δωδώνῃ· Διονύσῳ δημοτελεῖ ἱερεῖον τελείου. Cf. *Hermes*, 1891, p. 474.

<sup>56</sup> Δ. Καθηγεμών: vide R. 104<sup>b</sup>, Teos, *Geogr. Reg.* At Philadelphia: *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 244, inscription of Roman Imperial period in honour of *ιεροφάντην τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου καὶ γραμματέα τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν ἀγόνων Δεῖων Ἀλείων Φιλαδελφείων*. At Pergamon: Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon*, 236 Ἀπολλόδωρος . . . Διονύσῳ Καθηγεμόνι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [? second century B. C.]. *Ib.* 248 Σωσάνδρου . . . κατασταθέντος . . . τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου ἱερέως. Cf. 221.

<sup>57</sup> Δ. ? Παιδείος at Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 1222, inscr. found near the theatre, *ἀγωνοθεσίας [Διονυσ]ῷ Παιδείῳ*, third century B. C.

Manumission of slaves at Naupaktos in the name of Dionysos.

<sup>58</sup> Collitz, *Dialect-Inscr.* 1426, 1427 (= *C. I. G.* 1756, 1757) ἀπέδοτο τῷ Διονύσῳ (τῷ ἐν) Ναυπάκτῳ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ σῶμα ἀνδρείου. Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 376-378.

<sup>59</sup> Δ. Εὐρύθεμις: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 104, late inscr. of Nisyros mentioning τὸ κοινὸν Διονυσιαστῶν Εὐ[ρυθεμιδ]ίων (probably correct restoration).

<sup>59</sup> a Inscr. from Mykonos: *ἐὰν δὲ μή, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπιβάλλειν ἱεράς τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς ἑκατόν*, vide *Hermes*, 1897, p. 618.

<sup>60</sup> Dionysos as war-god (? in cult).

a Pliny, *N. H.* 16. 62 *hedera Liberi Patris, cuius dei et nunc adornat (hedera) thyrsos galeasque ac scuta in Thraciae populis in sollemnibus sacris.*

b Macrob. 1. 19, 2 *Plerique Liberum cum Marte coniungunt . . . unde Bacchus Ἐννάλιος cognominatur . . . colitur etiam apud Lacedaemonios simulacrum Liberi patris hasta insigne non thyrsos.* ? Ἐλελεύς: vide R. 38. Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐλυεύς. Διώνσος ἐν Σάμῳ (Wentzel, *Epikleseis*, vii. 50 emends). Bergk, *Frag. Adesp.* 3. 108 βρόμιε, δορατοφόρ', ἐννάλιε, πολεμοκέλαδε, πάτερ Ἄρη.

c Plut. *Demetr.* 2 *μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν ἐξήλου Διώνσον, ὡς πολέμῳ τε χρῆσθαι δεινότατον, εἰρήνῃ τε αὐθις ἐκ πολέμου τρέψαι πρὸς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χάριν ἐμμελέστατον.*

d Eur. *Bacch.* 302 Ἄρεώς τε μοῖραν μεταλαβῶν ἔχει τινά.

e Lycophr. 206 Σωτήρα Βάκχον τῶν πάροιθε πημάτων | Σφάλτην ἀνεύαζοντες (referring to the wounding of Telephos).

The Bacchic orgy, ritual, and sacrifice.

<sup>61</sup> In Thrace and Macedon, vide R. 1. 47<sup>b</sup>.

a Diod. Sic. 5. 77 *τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ ἐν τοῖς Κίκοσιν (τελετήν), ὅθεν ὁ καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς ἦν, μυστικῶς παραδίδοσθαι.*

<sup>b</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 2 (in Macedon) *πάσαι μὲν αἱ τῆδε γυναῖκες ἔνοχοι τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὔσαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνές τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἡδωνίσι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄιμον Θρησσοῖσι ὅμοια δρῶσιν . . . ἢ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὄψεις μεγάλους χειροῆθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδυνόμενοι καὶ περιλειττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἀνδρας.*

<sup>c</sup> Ov. *Met.* 9. 640 :

Utque tuo motae, proles Semeleia, thyrsos  
Ismariae celebrant repetita triennia Bacchae.

Cf. 6. 587. *Remed. Amor.* 593 :

Ibat ut Edono referens trieterica Baccho  
ire solet fuis barbara turba comis.

<sup>d</sup> Polyaen. 4. 1 Ἀργεῖος βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων ἱερὸν ἰδρύεται Διονύσου ψευδάνορι καὶ τὰς παρθένους, ἅς πάλοι Κλώδωνας ἔκλεζον οἱ Μακεδόνες, αὐτὸς κληῖζειν ἔταξε διὰ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Μιμαλλόνας. Cf. Apollod. 3. 4, 3 ὁ δὲ (Ἑρμῆς) κομίζει (Διόνυσον) πρὸς Ἴνῶ καὶ Ἀθάμαντα καὶ πείθει τρέφειν ὡς κόρην.

<sup>e</sup> Strabo, p. 468 Διονύσου δὲ Σειληνοὶ τε καὶ Σάτυροι καὶ Τίτυροι καὶ Βάκχαι, Ληγαί τε καὶ Θυῖαι καὶ Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Ναῖδες καὶ Νύμφαι προσαγορευόμεναι. Hesych. s. v. Σανάδα· Ἀμερίας τοὺς Σειληνοὺς οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων.

<sup>f</sup> Athenae. p. 198 E (in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μακείται αἱ καλούμεναι μιμαλλόνες καὶ βασσάροι καὶ λυδαί, κατακεχυμέναι τὰς τρίχας καὶ ἐστεφανωμέναι τινὲς μὲν ὄφεισι, αἱ δὲ μιλαξί καὶ ἀμπέλφ καὶ κισσῶ.

<sup>g</sup> Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 8 Βασσάρων δὲ δὴ τῶν τὸ πάλοι τὰς Ταύρων θυσίας οὐ μόνον ζηλωσάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆ τῶν ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν βακχεία βορὰν τούτων προσθεμένων. . . . Cf. Cornutus, *ad Persium* 1. 101 Bassareus a genere vestis, qua Liber utebatur, demissa ad talos, quam Thraces Bassarim vocant. . . . Quidam a vulpibus (Bassarim vocant) quarum pellibus Bacchae succingebantur . . . vulpes inde Thraces Bassares dicunt. *Et. Mag.* p. 191, 5 λέγονται βασσάροι χιτῶνες οὓς ἐφόρουσαν αἱ Θράκται Βάκχαι, καλούμενοι οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ βασσαρέως Διονύσου. ἦσαν δὲ ποικίλοι καὶ ποδήρεις· Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἡδωνοῖς

ὅστις χιτῶνας βασσάρας τε λυδίας  
ἔχει ποδήρεις.

Pollux, 7. 59 λυδῶν δὲ βασσάρα χιτῶν τις, Διονυσιακός, ποδήρης.

<sup>h</sup> Macrobius, I. 18, 11: In Thracia eundem haberi solem atque Liberum accipimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magna religione celebrant, ut Alexander scribit, eique deo in colle Zilmisso aedes dicata est specie rotunda, cuius medium interpatet tectum. Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 9 Σαβάζιον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον οἱ Θράκες καλοῦσι, καὶ Σαβοῦς τοὺς ἱερούς αὐτῶν.

<sup>i</sup> Strabo, p. 470 ἐν Παλαμῆδει φησὶν ὁ χορός . . . “ Διόνυσον . . . ὃς ἀν’ Ἰδαν τέρπεται σὺν ματρὶ φίλα τυμπάνων ἰάκχοις.” 470-471 τῆς μὲν οὖν Κότυος τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἠδωνοῖς Δισχύλος μέμνηται καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ὀργάνων. τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εὐθέως ἐπιφέρει·

ὁ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν βόμβυκας ἔχων  
τόρνου κάματον,  
δακτυλόδικτον πῖμπλησι μέλος  
μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὀμοκλάν·  
ὁ δὲ χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλαις ὀτοβεῖ.

ταυρόφθογοι δ’ ὑπομυκῶνται  
ποθὲν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι  
τυμπάνου δ’ εἰκὼν ὥσθ’ ὑπογαίου  
βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβής.

ταῦτα γὰρ ἔοικε τοῖς Φρυγίοις· καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός γε, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ οἱ Φρύγες Θρακῶν ἄποικοί εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκείθεν μετενηχέθαι. καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἠδωνὸν Λυκοῦργον συνάγοντες εἰς ἓν τὴν ὁμοιοτροπίαν τῶν ἱερῶν αἰνίττονται.

<sup>k</sup> Lycophr. *Cass.* 1237:

Κισσοῦ παρ’ αἰπὺν πρῶνα καὶ Λαφυστίας  
κερασφόρους γυναικάς.

Schol. *ιβ.* Λαφυστίας ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ Λαφυστίου, ὄρους Βοιωτίας ὅθεν Λαφύστια λέγονται αἱ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Βάκχαι . . . κερατοφοροῦσι κατὰ μίμησιν Διονύσου.

<sup>62</sup> Phrygian Sabazios-Mysteries, see *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Koloe, Philadelphia.

<sup>a</sup> Dem. *De Cor.* 259 τῇ μητρὶ τελούση τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τᾶλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πληρῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελύων λέγειν ‘ἔφυγον κακόν, εἶδρον ἄμεινον’ . . . ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὀδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν καὶ βοῶν ‘εὐοὶ Σαβοῖ’ καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ‘ὔης ἄττης ἄττης ὔης’ ἔξαρχος καὶ

προηγμένων καὶ κιστοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος. Strabo, p. 471 referring to this passage ταῦτα γὰρ Σαβάζια καὶ Μητρώα.

<sup>b</sup> Photius, s. v. Σαβοί, Σαβούς. οἱ μὲν Σαβούς λέγεσθαι τοὺς τελουμένους τῷ Σαβαζίῳ. . . ὑπὸ δὲ τινων ὁ Διόνυσος Σαβός καλεῖται. Cf. R. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* 4. 6, 2, p. 671 F Σαββούς γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλοὶ τοὺς Βάκχους καλοῦσι. Steph. Byz. Σαβοί· ἔθνος Φρυγίας· λέγονται καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Βάκχου παρὰ Φρυξίν.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 14 P Σαβαζίου γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μνουμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δὲ ἔστιν οὗτος διεκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος ἀκρασίας Διός. κύει καὶ ἡ Φερρέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον ἀμέλει, φησί τις ποιητῆς εἰδωλικὸς 'ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατήρ ταύρου δράκων,' ἐν ᾗ κρύφιον βουκόλος τὸ κέντρον βουκολικὸν οἶμαι τὸ κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶν (vide R. 34).

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* p. 19 P (contents of the κίσται μυστικά) οὐ σσημαῖ ταῦτα καὶ πυράμιδες καὶ τολύπαι καὶ πόπανα πολυμόφαλα χονδροὶ τε ἄλῶν καὶ δράκων, ὄργιον Διόνυσου Βασάρου; οὐχὶ δὲ ροιαὶ πρὸς τοῖσδε καὶ κραδαία νάρθηκές τε καὶ κιττοί; cf. Theophr. *Charact.* 16 ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐὰν παρείαν, Σαβάζιον καλεῖν. Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 690 ὡς παρείας ὄν ὄφιν. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶδος εὐρίσκεται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῦ Διόνυσου.

<sup>f</sup> Aristoph. *Vesp.* 9:

A. ὕπνος μ' ἔχει τις ἐκ Σαβαζίου.

B. τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ' ἐμοὶ βουκολεῖς Σαβάζιον.

<sup>g</sup> Ἀρχιβούκολος at Perinthos: Dumont, *Inscr. et Mon. figurés de la Thrace*, p. 38 Σπέλλιος ἀρχιβούκολος.

<sup>h</sup> The βουκολικοί among the Iobacchi at Athens, R. 34<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Apollonia on the Euxine: *C. I. G.* 2052 late inscr. mentioning βουκόλος, λικνοφόρος, and other mystic titles.

<sup>k</sup> Fränkel, *Inschrift. Pergam.* 1. 248, Letter of Attalus III ἐπεὶ Βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη ἡ μήτηρ μου . . . πρὸς ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς προσηρέχη, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὸν Σαβάζιον, πατραπαράδοτον αὐτὸν κομίσασα εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἡμῶν ὃν καὶ ἐμὲ πολλαῖς πράξεσι καὶ ἐμὲ πολλοῖς κινδύνοις παραστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν ἡμῖν γένομενον ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένας ἐπιφανείας συγκαθιερώσαι τῷ Νικηφόρῳ Ἀθηναίᾳ, . . . διαταξάμεθα δὲ ἀκολούθως τούτοις καὶ περὶ θυσίων καὶ πομπῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῶν ἐπιτελουμένων πρὸ πύλεως αὐτῆς . . . ἐποιήσαμεθα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερέα διὰ γένους Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐμόν.

<sup>l</sup> Apollod. 3. 5, 1 εἰς Κύβελα τῆς Φρυγίας ἀφικνεῖται Διόνυσος· κάκει καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ ῥέας καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐκμαθὼν καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ἐκείνης τὴν στολήν.

<sup>m</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 12 P τὸν Διόνυσόν τινας Ἄτιν προσαγορεύεσθαι θέλουσιν, αἰδοίων ἐστερημένον.

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 75-81:

ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαίμων  
 τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδὼς  
 βιοτὰν ἀγιστεύει  
 καὶ θιασεύεται ψυχὰν  
 ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύων  
 ὁσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν  
 τά τε Ματρὸς Μεγάλας ὄργια Κυβέλας θεμιτεύων  
 ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσων  
 κισσῶ τε στεφανωθεὶς Διόνυσον θεραπεύει.

Cf. 126-134.

<sup>o</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Coniuv.* 671 B τὸν δὲ Ἄδωνιν οὐχ ἕτερον ἀλλὰ Διόνυσον εἶναι νομίζουσι. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τελουμένων ἑκατέρω περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς βεβαιοὶ τὸν λόγον.

<sup>p</sup> Arist. *Pol.* p. 1342 a πᾶσα βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τῶν δὲ ἁρμονιῶν ἐν τοῖς Φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἷον ὁ διθύραμβος ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι δοκεῖ Φρύγιον.

<sup>65</sup> Bacchic ὄργια in Lydia.

<sup>a</sup> Himer. *Or.* 3. 5 Λυδοὶ . . . μαίνονται τῷ θεῷ καὶ χορεύουσιν ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὺς ἔαρ ἐνείκη . . . ὁ ἥλιος.

<sup>b</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. Μάσταυρα. πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Μᾶς· Μᾶ δὲ τῇ ῥέᾳ εἶπετο, ἣ παρέδωκε Ζεὺς Διόνυσον τρέφειν. . . καὶ παρὰ Καρσὶν ὁ Διόνυσος Μάσαρις ἔνθεν ἐκλήθη. Cf. vol. 2 Artemis, R. 128.

<sup>c</sup> Orphic Hymn 48:

Κλυθί, πάτερ Κρόνου νιὲ Σαβάζιε, κύδιμε δαῖμον,  
 ὃς Βάκχον Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον εἰραφιώτην  
 μηρῶ ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθοι  
 Τμῶλον ἐς ἡγάθειον παρά θ' Ἴπταν καλλιπάρηον.

<sup>d</sup> *ibid.* 49: Ἴπταν κυκλήσκω Βάκχου τροφόν, εὐάδα κούρην,  
 μυστοπόλον τελετηῆσι ἀγαλλομένην Σαβοῦ ἀγνοῦ,  
 νυκτερίοισι χοροῖσιν ἐριβρεμέταο Ἰάκχου·  
 κλυθί μευ εὐχομένου, χθονίῃ μήτηρ, βασιλεία  
 εἶτε σύ γ' ἐν Φρυγίῃ κατέχεις Ἰδης ὄρος ἀγνοῦ,  
 ἣ Τμῶλος τέρπει σε.

Μουσ. Βιβλ. Σμυρν. 3, p. 169, dedication Μητρὶ Ἴπτα καὶ Διὶ Σ[αβαζίω]. Cf. *Geogr. Reg.* s. v. Lydia.

<sup>e</sup> Dionys. *Perieg.* 839:

οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ γυναῖκας ὀνόσσει . . .  
 εὔτε Διωνύσιοιο χοροστασίας τελείειν.



<sup>f</sup> Lucian, *De Saltat.* 79 ἡ μὲν γε βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι σατυρική οὔσα, οὕτω κεχείρωται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστος καιρὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων κáθηνται δι' ἡμέρας τιτάνας καὶ κορύβαντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὀρώντες· καὶ ὀρχοῦνται γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι.

<sup>64</sup> In Greece: Plat. *Phaed.* 69 C εἰσι γὰρ δὴ, φασὶν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελεταίς, νάρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοὶ βákχοι δέ τε παῦροι. Schol. Aristoph. *Egm.* 409 Bákchon οὐ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκάλουν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τελούντας τὰ ὄργια καὶ τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται φέρουσι. Cf. Zeus, R. 3.

Prominence of women in the ὄργια.

<sup>65</sup> Diod. Sic. 4. 3 τοὺς μὲν Βοιωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας καὶ Θράκας ἀπονημονεύοντας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν στρατείας καταδείξει τὰς τριετηρίδας θυσίας Διονύσῳ, καὶ τὸν θεὸν νομίζειν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφανείας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν βακχεΐα τε γυναικῶν ἀθροΐζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς παρθένους νόμιμον εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθουσιάζειν εὐαζούσαις καὶ τιμώσαις τὸν θεόν· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θυσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν, καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμνεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμουμένας τὰς ἱστορουμένας τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρεύειν τῷ θεῷ μαινάδας.

<sup>65 a</sup> Amphipolis, *Antih. Pal.* 7. 485 (Dioskorides) καὶ περιδινησασθε μακρῆς ἀνελίγματα χαίτης | Στυρμονικὴν ἄφειο Θυιάδες Ἀμφίπολι.

<sup>66</sup> Delphi, R. 89. Plut. 364 E (*De Isid. et Os.* 35) ἀρχικλά (? ἀρχίλαν) μὲν οὖσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Θυιάδων.

<sup>a</sup> Paus. 10. 6, 4 Οἱ δὲ Καστάλιόν τε ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα καὶ θυγατέρα ἐθέλουσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Θυίαν, καὶ ἱεράσθαι τε τὴν Θυίαν Διονύσῳ πρῶτον καὶ ὄργια ἀγαγεῖν τῷ θεῷ· ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ὅσαι τῷ Διονύσῳ μαινονται Θυιάδας καλεῖσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. Ἀπόλλωνος δ' οὖν παῖδα καὶ Θυίας νομίζουσιν εἶναι Δελφόν.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. 10. 32, 7 (Parnassos) τὰ δὲ νεφῶν τέ ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ αἱ Θυιάδες ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μαινονται.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* 10. 4, 3 Αἱ δὲ Θυιάδες γυναῖκες μὲν εἰσιν Ἀττικάι, φοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐς τὸν Παρνασσὸν παρὰ ἔτος αὐταί τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Δελφῶν ἄγουσιν ὄργια Διονύσῳ. ταύταις ταῖς Θυιάσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ χοροὺς ἱστάναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πανοπεῦσι καθέστηκε (cf. R. 47<sup>d</sup>). Cf. feast of Θυία at Elis, *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Elis.*

<sup>d</sup> Plut. 389 C (at Delphi) ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες τὸν διθύραμβον τὸν δὲ παιᾶνα καταπαύσαντες, τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν.

<sup>e</sup> Plut. 293 C-D (*Quaest. Graec.* 12) τρεῖς ἄγουσι Δελφοὶ ἐνναετηρίδας . . . τῆς δὲ Ἡρωίδος τὰ πλείστα μυστικὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὃν ἴσασιν αἱ Θυιάδες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δρωμένων φανερώς Σεμελῆς ἂν τις ἀναγωγὴν εἰκάσει.

f Soph. *Antig.* 1126:

σέ δ' ὑπὲρ διλόφοιο πέτρας στέροψ ὄπωπε  
λιγνὺς ἔνθα Κωρύκῃαι  
Νύμφαι στείχουσι Βακχίδες Κασταλίας τε νᾶμα.

ε Eur. *Ion*, 1125:

Ξοῦθος μὲν ᾄχετ' ἔνθα πῦρ πηδᾶ θεοῦ  
Βακχείου, ὡς σφαγαῖσι Διούσου πέτρας  
δέυσειε δισσᾶς παιδὸς ἀντ' ὀπηρίων.

h Aristoph. *Nub.* 603:

Παρνασίαν θ' ὃς κατέχων  
πέτραν σὺν πεύκαις σελαγεῖ  
βάκχαις Δελφίσιμ ἐμπρέπων  
κωμαστῆς Διόνυσος.

<sup>67</sup> In Phthiotis: Diod. Sic. 5. 50 οἱ περὶ τὸν Βούταν (Θρᾶκες) ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν περιέτυχον ταῖς Διούσου τροφοῖς περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δρίος τῷ θεῷ ὀργιαζούσαις ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι Ἀχαιᾷ ὀρμησάντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βούταν, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ῥιψᾶσαι τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐς θάλατταν ἔφυγον . . . τὸν δὲ (Διόνυσον) μανίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τῷ Βούτᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακόψαντα ῥίψαι ἐαντὸν εἰς τι φρέαρ καὶ τελευτήσαι. Cf. Bacchic madness of the Minyan women, vide R. 70, 77, 78.

<sup>68</sup> a Thebes, R. 75. Oracle quoted in late inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander, Kern, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 215 (*Ath. Mittheil.* 1890, pp. 331-332). (Cf. R. 5):

ἔλθετε δ' ἐς Θήβης ἱερὸν πέδον, ὄφρα λάβητε  
Μαινάδας αἱ γενεῆς Εἰνοῦς ἀπὸ Καδμηίης·  
αἱ δ' ὑμῖν δώσουσι καὶ ὄργια καὶ νόμιμ' ἐσθλά  
καὶ θιάσους Βάκχοιο καθειδρύσουσιν ἐν ἄστει.

κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν διὰ τῶν θεοπρόπων ἐδόθησαν ἐκ Θηβῶν Μαινάδες τρεῖς . . . καὶ ἡ μὲν . . . συνήγαγεν τὸν θίασον τὸν Πλατανιστηνῶν, ἡ δὲ . . . τὸν πρὸ πόλεως, ἡ δὲ . . . τὸν τῶν καταβατῶν. Another inscription preserved on the same base Θεῷ Διονύσῳ Ἀπολλώνειος Μοκόλλης ἀρχαῖος μύστης ἀρχαῖον χρησμὸν . . . λήσαντα γράψας σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἀνέθηκεν [? second century B. C.]. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 301:

qualis commotis excita sacris  
Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho  
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.

b Tanagra: Paus. 9. 20, 4 Ἐν δὲ τοῦ Διούσου τῷ ναῷ θεᾶς μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄξιον, λίθον τε ὃν Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος, θαῦμα δὲ παρέχεται μείζον ἔτι ὁ Τρίτων. ὁ μὲν δὴ σεμνότερος ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος τὰς γυναικῆς φησι τὰς Ταναγραίων πρὸ τοῦ Διούσου τῶν ὀργίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβῆναι καθαρσίωσιν ἔνεκα, νηχομέναις δὲ ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Τρίτωνα, καὶ τὰς γυναικᾶς εὔξασθαι Διόνυσόν σφισιν ἀφικέσθαι βοηθόν· ὑπακοῦσαι τε δὴ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ Τριτωνος

κρατῆσαι τῇ μάχῃ. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Central Greece,' p. 66, Tanagran coin of Antoninus Pius, D. standing between two columns, below his feet a Triton swimming.

<sup>c</sup> Thespiiai: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, p. 292 Μνάσιππος . . . τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα . . . ἱερεύσασαν, Διονύσῳ (? second century B.C.).

<sup>60</sup> Attica: vide R. 66<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Σημαχίδαί: δῆμος Ἀττικῆς, ἀπὸ Σημάχου, ᾧ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐπέξενώθη Διόνυσος, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ἱερεῖαι αὐτοῦ . . . Φιλόχορος δὲ τῆς Ἐπακρίας φησὶ τὸν δῆμον.

<sup>b</sup> Suidas, s.v. Μέλαν. Μελαναίγίδα Διόνυσον ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. αἱ τοῦ Ἐλευθῆρος θυγατέρες, θεασάμενοι φάσμα τοῦ Διονύσου ἔχον μέλαιναν αἰγίδα ἐμέψαντο· ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς, ἐξέμηνεν αὐτάς. μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐλευθῆρ ἔλαβε χρησμόν ἐπὶ παύσει τῆς μανίας τιμῆσαι Μελαναίγίδα Διόνυσον.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 146 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦ τε ἑορτὴ Ἀπατούρια καὶ Διονύσου Μελαναίγιδος βωμόν ἐδωμήσαντο. Cf. R. 37. Schol. Plat. *Symp.* p. 208 D gives the same story—but without mentioning D. Μελάναιγίς—probably from Hellanikos.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 241 κατὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἱ εὐγενεῖς παρθένοι ἐκانهφόρου. *C. I. A.* 2, add. 1388<sup>b</sup> κانهφορήσασαν Διονύσῳ (inscription found on Acropolis, second century B.C.). Cf. R. 45<sup>f</sup>; *C. I. A.* 2. 420.

<sup>e</sup> Sacred marriage of the King Archon's wife with Dionysos, R. 34<sup>e</sup>. Demosth. Κατὰ Νεαίρ. § 75 τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ νόμον ἔθεντο ἀστὴν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐπιμεμιγμένην ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀλλὰ παρθένον γαμῆν, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θύηται τὰ ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως . . . τὴν γε θεῶν γυναῖκα δοθησομένην καὶ ποιήσουσαν τὰ ἱερὰ τοιαύτην ἀξιόμην εἶναι. Cf. R. 124<sup>g</sup>. ? Legend of Dionysos' marriage with Althaia of Kalydon—Serv. *Aen.* 4. 127—another parallel.

<sup>f</sup> Arist. *Lysistr.* 1:

Ἄλλ' εἴ τις ἐς Βακχείου αὐτὰς ἐκάλεσεν,  
ἢ 'ς Πανὸς ἢ 'πὶ Κωλιάδ' ἢ 'ς Γενετυλλίδος,  
οὐδ' ἂν διελθεῖν ἦν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τυμπάνων.

<sup>70</sup> Bacchic madness of women in Minyan, Chian, Laconian, and Argive myths: Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3. 42; Anton. Liber. 10 (same version); Apollod. 3. 5, 2.

<sup>71</sup> Laconia: Paus. 3. 20, 4 near Taygetos πόλις ποτὲ ᾠκέϊο Βρυσεαί· καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόνας γυναῖξιν ἔστιν ὄραν. γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναί καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. [Cf. priestess at Kos, R. 13.] Verg. *Georg.* 2. 487 virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta: Philarg. *ib.* Bacchi orgia in montibus celebrari solebant a furiosis Bacchis quae a Spartanis . . . δύσ-

μαναι appellabantur. Vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v. Laconia*, p. 328. *Et. Mag.* 391. 12 Εὔσιος καὶ Εὔσιος ὁ Διόνυσος . . . καὶ τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπίφθεγμα Εὔσοι καὶ Εὔοι κατὰ Λάκωνας. Cf. Hesych. *s. v. Εὔας*. *s. v. Ἰνγγίης* ὁ Διόνυσος.

<sup>72</sup> Bacchic ὄργια in Phokis, 47<sup>c</sup>; Arcadia, at Heraia, R. 22; at Alea, R. 87; at Melangeia, see *Geogr. Reg.* p. 329; Hesych. *s. v. Ἀῆναι* Βάκχαι. Ἀρκάδες. At Aigai, *Geogr. Reg.* p. 329. Elis, R. 34<sup>c</sup>. Miletos, *Geogr. Reg.* p. 331. Rhodes: Hesych. *s. v. Θουωνίδας* ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Ῥοδίοις. τοὺς σκίνους φάλητας.

<sup>73</sup> Βακχείος at Sikyon, vide R. 45<sup>e</sup>; at Corinth, R. 45<sup>d</sup>; at Rhodes, R. 103<sup>a</sup>; Βακχεύς in Naxos, R. 6; at Erythrai, *Geogr. Reg.* p. 331; Mykonos, R. 85<sup>c</sup>; Βάκχιος and Βάκχος, vide Tralles, *Geogr. Reg.* p. 331; Βάκχος at Pergamon, R. 85<sup>d</sup>; at Crete, vide Zeus, R. 3; at Knidos, Hirschfeld, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* no. 786 ἔδοξε Κνιδίοις γνώμα προστατῶν περὶ ὧν τοὶ Βάκχοι ἐπῆλθον ὅπως ἀγνεύηται τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Βάκχου μὴ ἐξείναι καταλύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Βάκχων μηδένα. Philostr. *Vit. Ap.* 6. 11 κἄν Ἥδωνοι τιτες ἢ Λυδοὶ βακχεύωσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς ὡς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἴνου πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτιεῖ τούτους (ἢ γῆ). Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 143 ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον, ῥεῖ δ' οἴνω, ῥεῖ δὲ μελιττᾶν νέκταρι. Plat. *Ion*, p. 534 Α αἱ Βάκχαι ἀρύττονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἔμφρονες δὲ οὔσαι οὔ.

<sup>74</sup> Phallic ritual. ? in Thrace: *Lex. Rhét.* 246. 19 εἰθῦφαλλοι· εἶδος φῶδης ὄρχουμένης· Ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἰδοῖον δερμάτινον καὶ τελετὴ τις περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τῇ Κοτυττοῖ ἀγομένῃ. R. 1<sup>b</sup>, 16, 41<sup>e</sup>, 71, 102<sup>e</sup>, 106<sup>e</sup>, 127<sup>i</sup>, 129<sup>e</sup>. Cf. Clem. Alex. p. 30 P φαλλοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνίστανται Διονύσφ. ? Phallic cult of Dionysos in the Kabeiri mysteries, *ib.* p. 16.

<sup>75</sup> Pursuit of the God: in Boeotia, R. 77. Plut. p. 717 A παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίοις τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ γυναῖκες ὡς ἀποδεδρακότα ζητοῦσιν εἶτα παύονται καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας καταπέφευγε καὶ κέκρυπται. p. 291 A Ἀγριωνίοις καὶ Νυκτελίοις, ὧν τὰ πολλὰ διὰ σκότους δρᾶται, πάρεστιν (ὁ κριττός) . . . αἱ γὰρ ἔνοχοι τοῖς βακχικοῖς πάθει γυναῖκες εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν κριττὸν φέρονται, καὶ σπαράττουσι δραττόμεναι ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ διεσθίουσι τοῖς στόμασι. Cf. Hesych. *s. v. Ἀγρᾶνια* ἑορτὴ ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων. *s. v. Ἀγριάνια* νεκύσια παρὰ Ἀργείοις καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐν Θήβαις. Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 2447:

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τῶν Ἀγριῶνων Νικομάχου,  
ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Διονύσου . . . Τύνχανος

first century B. C. Month Ἀγριώνιος at Chaironeia, *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 3404; at Lebadeia, *ib.* 3082; Oropos, *ib.* 247; Sparta, vide *Annual British School*, 1906, p. 447. Kos and Kalymna, Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, pp. 326-330, at Rhodes, R. 85<sup>c</sup>; ? in Byzantion, Bischoff, *de fast. Graec.* 374. Cf. R. 1. Schol. *Il.* 6. 131 (Lykourgos pursues Dionysos with an ox-goad).

<sup>76</sup> Death of the god in ritual (cf. R. 35).

<sup>a</sup> Paus. 8. 37, 3 παρά δὲ Ὀμήρου Ὀνομάκριτος παραλαβὼν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα Διονύσῳ τε συνέθηκεν ὄργια, καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῷ Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐποίησεν αὐτουργούς. Cf. R. 82, 83. Diod. Sic. 5. 75 τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης ὃν Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς παρέδωκε διασπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων. At Patrai: Paus. 7. 18, 3 Οἱ Πατρεῖς περὶ Διονύσου λέγουσι τραφῆναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσάτει καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ Τιτάνων ἐς παντοῖον ἀφικέσθαι κίνδυνον.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Legends of the death of Orpheus. Proclus Plat. *Rep.* 398 Ὀρφεὺς αἶτε τῶν Διονύσου τελετῶν ἡγεμῶν γενόμενος τὰ ὅμοια παθεῖν λέγεται τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ. Paus. 9. 30, 7 Μακεδόνων οἱ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Πιερίαν ἔχοντες καὶ πόλιν Δίον φασὶν ὑπὸ τὴν γυναικῶν γενέσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὀρφεῖ. Cf. Plat. *Sympr.* 179 E. Konon 45 ἐφόιτα μὲν οὖν τακταῖς ἡμέραις ὠπλισμένον πλήθος Θρακῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐν Λειβήθροις, εἰς οἴκημα συνερχόμενον μέγα τε καὶ πρὸς τελετὴν εὖ πεποιημένον ὅποτε δ' ὀργιάζειν εἰσίσαι, πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπετίθεσαν τὰ ὄπλα, ὃ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπιτηρήσασαι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀράμεναι, . . . τὸν Ὀρφέα κατὰ μέλη ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν σποράδην . . . λαβόντες οὖν (τὴν κεφαλὴν) ὑπὸ σήματι μεγάλῳ θάπτονσι τέμενος αὐτῷ περιέρξαντες, ὃ τέως μὲν ἠρῶν ἦν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξενίκησεν ἱερὸν εἶναι ἑσθίας τε γὰρ καὶ ὄσοις ἄλλοις θεοὶ τιμῶνται γεραίρεται. ἔστι δὲ γυναιξὶ παντελῶς ἄβατον. Cf. Plut. *Vil. Alex.* 14. Eratosth. *Catal.* c. 24 ὃς τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐκ ἐτίμα . . . ὅθεν Διόνυσος ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε τὰς βασσαρίδας, ὡς φησιν Αἰσχύλος . . . αἴτινες αὐτὸν διέσπασαν . . . αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι συναγαγοῦσαι (τὰ μέλη) ἔθαψαν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις Λειβήθροις. Oracle of Orpheus at Lesbos, R. 49. In Thesprotis: Paus. 9. 30, 6 Νεκυμαντείον there associated with legend of Orpheus. Maroneia: *Hell. Journ.* 1896, p. 321 dedication Ὀρφεῖ καὶ Σιαύε, ? first century A. D.

<sup>c</sup> Legend of Lykourgos: Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 14 Lycurgus vites eius (Dionysi) amputare coepit: quapropter per furorem a diis inmissum ipse sibi crura succidit. Apollon. 3. 5, 4 ὃ δὲ (Λυκοῦργος) μεμνηὼς Δρύαντα τὸν παῖδα ἀμπέλου νομίζων κλῆμα κόπτει, πελέκει πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτὸν [var. lect. αὐτόν] ἐσωφρόνησε: τῆς δὲ γῆς ἀκάρπον μενούσης ἔχρησεν ὃ θεὸς καρποφορήσειν αὐτήν, ἣν θανατωθῆ Λυκοῦργος: Ἠδωνοὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐς τὸ Παγγαῖον αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγόντες ὄρος ἔδησαν: κάκει κατὰ Διονύσου βούλησιν ὑπὸ ἵππων διαφθερεῖς ἀπέθανεν. Cf. R. 61 i. Cf. the legend of Lykourgos in the cave (Soph. *Ant.* 957) with similar legend of Zamolxis in Strabo, 298.

<sup>d</sup> Death of Pentheus: Oppian, *Cyneg.* 4. 304:

θὲς δὲ παρὰ σκοπιῆσι, πυρίσπορε, Πενθέα ταῦρον,  
ταῦρον μὲν Πενθήα δυσώνυμον, ἄμμε δὲ θῆρας  
ἰομβόρους . . .  
ἴφρα μιν, ὦ Διόνυσε, διὰ στόμα δαιτρείσωμεν.

ὡς φάσαν εὐχόμεναι τάχα δ' ἔκλυε Νύσιος ἀρῆς.

Πενθέα μὲν δὴ ταῦρον ἐδείξατο . . .

Paus. 2. 2, 6 [on Kithairon] τὰς δὲ (γυναῖκας) ὡς ἐφώρασαν, καθελκῦσαι τε αὐτικά Πενθέα καὶ ζῶντος ἀποσπᾶν ἄλλο ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος· ὕστερον δέ, ὡς Κορίνθιοι λέγουσι, ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ σφίσις ἀνευρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκείνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸδε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποιήνται ταύτας.

<sup>6</sup> Slaying of the priest at Potniai : Paus. 9, 8, 2 ἐνταῦθα καὶ Διονύσου ναός ἐστιν Αἰγοβόλου· θύοντες γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προήχθησαν ποτε ὑπὸ μέθης εἰς ὕβριν, ὥστε καὶ Διονύσου τὸν ἱερέα ἀποκτείνουσιν. ἀποκτείναντας δὲ αὐτικά ἐπέλαβε νόσος λοιμώδης, καὶ σφίσις ἀφίκετο ἴαμα ἐκ Δελφῶν θύειν παῖδα ὠραῖον· ἔτει δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον τὸν θεόν φασιν αἶγα ἱερεῖον ὑπαλλάξαι σφίσις ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός. Cf. story of the murder of the priest of Dionysos at Mitylene, Ael. *Var. Hist.* 13. 2.

<sup>77</sup> The Maenads sacrificed at Orchomenos : Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 38 τίνες οἱ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ψολόεις καὶ τίνες αἱ Ὀλεῖαι; τὰς Μινύου θυγατέρας φασὶ Λευκίπηνη καὶ Ἀρσινόη καὶ Ἀλκαθὴν μαρείσας ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιθυμῆσαι κρεῶν . . . παρασχεῖν Ἴππασον τὸν υἱὸν διασπάσασθαι κληθῆναι οὖν τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας αὐτῶν δυσειματοῦντας ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πένθους Ψολόεις, αὐτὰς δὲ Ὀλείας, οἷον ὄλοάς. καὶ μέχρι νῦν Ὀρχομένιοι τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὕτω (Ὀλείας) καλοῦσι. καὶ γίνεται παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίοις φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διονύσου ξίφος ἔχοντος. ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν καταληφθεῖσαν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ἀνείλεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ζώϊλος ὁ ἱερεὺς. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 5, 2 (Διόνυσος) ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος· κἀκεῖ πάλιν οὐ τιμῶντων αὐτόν, ἐξέμηνε τὰς γυναῖκας. αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοὺς ἐπιμαστιδίους ἔχουσαι παῖδας, τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο.

<sup>78</sup> Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3. 42 (legend of the Minyades) παῖδα ἀπαλὸν ὄντα καὶ νεαρὸν διασπᾶσαντα, οἷον νεβρόν.

<sup>79</sup> Sacrifice of the bull-calf as Dionysos at Tenedos : Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 12. 34 Τενέδιοι δὲ τῷ ἀνθρωπορραίστῃ Διονύσῳ τρέφουσι κύουσαν βοῦν, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἄρα αὐτὴν οἶα δῆπου λεχῶ θεραπεύουσι. τὸ δὲ ἀρτιγενὲς βρέφος καταθύουσιν ὑποδήσαντες κοθόρνους· ὃ γε μὴν πατάξας αὐτὸ τῷ πελέκει λίθοις βάλλεται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θύλατταν φεύγει.

<sup>80</sup> Photius, *s. v.* νεβρίζειν ἢ νεβροῦ δέρμα φορεῖν ἢ διασπᾶν νεβρούς· κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον πάθους.

<sup>81</sup> Galen, *De Antidot.* 1. 6, xiv. 45 K οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ βακχεύοντες εἰώθασιν διασπᾶν τὰς ἐχίδνας, πανομένου τοῦ ἥρος οὕτω δὲ ἡργμένου τοῦ θέρου. Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 5. 19 Bacchanalia . . . quibus nomen Omophagiis . . . ut vos plenos numine ac maiestate doceamus, caprorum reclamantium viscera cruentatis oribus dissipatis. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 11 P Διόνυσον Μαινόλην ὀργάζουσι Βάκχοι ὠμοφαγία τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεανομίας τῶν φόνων, ἀνεστημένοι τοῖς ὄφεισιν, ἐπολοδύζοντες Εὐάν.

<sup>82</sup> Firm. Mat. p. 84 Cretenses . . . festos funebres dies statuunt et annum sacrum trieterica consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes, quae puer moriens aut fecit aut passus est, vivum laniant dentibus taurum et per secreta silvarum dissonis clamoribus eiulantes fingunt animi furentis insaniam. Praefertur cista in qua cor soror abscondiderat. Cf. Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 360 δῖέσπαν βοῦς (αἱ Βάκχαι) καὶ ἥσθιον ὠμὰ κρέα. Cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 735.

<sup>83</sup> Paris: Schol. Clem. Alex. 92 P (Klotz, vol. 4, p 119) ὠμὰ γὰρ εἶσθιον κρέα οἱ μούμενοι Διονύσῳ δείγμα τοῦτο τελούμενοι τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ ὅν ὑπέστη Διόνυσος πρὸς τῶν Μαινάδων. Harpokrat. s. v. ἀπομάττων ὡς ἄρα οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὸν Διόνυσον ἐλυμήναντο γύψῳ καταπλασάμενοι. Cf. 129 h.

<sup>84</sup> Plut. *De defect. Orac.* 14, p. 417 C ἡμέραι ἀποφράδες καὶ σκυθρωπαί, ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστείαί τε καὶ κοπετοὶ πολλαχοῦ πάλιν τε αἰσχρολογίαὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς. Cf. Dionysiac ritual at the mouth of the Loire with διασπασμός, Strab. p. 198 [from Poseidonios].

<sup>85</sup> Other animal sacrifice.

<sup>a</sup> *Goat.* Vide Argolis, *Geogr. Reg.* p. 328: Serv. *Aen.* 3. 18 aut haec immolantur quae obsunt eorum muneribus, ut porcus Cereri . . . hircus Libero.

<sup>b</sup> *Id.* 8. 343 Caper quae est hostia Liberi propria. At Mykonos: Dittenb. *Sylog.* 373. 27 Βακχιῶνος δεκάτῃ ἐνδεκάδι Διονύσῳ Βακχεῖ χίμαρος καλλιστεύων τὴν τιμὴν ἱεροποιοὶ δίδόντων καὶ συνεστιάσθων, δαινύσθων δὲ αὐτοῦ. Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* 5. 159 in sacris Liberi consuetudo talis est, ut occiso capro omnes sacratum sanguinem eius bibant. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2. 404. Hesych. s. v. Τραγηφόρου αἱ κόραι Διονύσῳ ὀργιάζουσαι τραγῆν περιήπτοντο. Cf. R. 69<sup>b, c</sup> Διόνυσος Μελανάγισ. Paus. 2. 35, 1 at Hermione Διονύσου ναὸς Μελανάγισδος. τοῦτῳ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἄγουσι, καὶ ἀμίλλης κολύμβου καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἄθλα. Vide R. 76<sup>o</sup> Δ. Αἰγοβόλος.

<sup>c</sup> *Kid.* C. I. A. 1. 4 (fifth century B.C.) Γαμηλιῶνος φθίνοντος . . . ἔριφος κριτός. Cf. Hesych. s. v. ἐρίφιος. ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Λάκωσιν. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀκρωρεία ἑκαλεῖτο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Σικυῶνος Ἀκρωρείτης (? ὁ Διόνυσος), παρὰ δὲ Μεταποντίους Ἐρίφιος. Ἀπολλόδωρος φησι. In Rhodes, in the territory of Lindos, C. I. G. *Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 906 Ἀγριανίου ἐνάται ἐξ εἰκάδος Διονύσῳ ἔριφος. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 4, 3 Διόνυσον δὲ Ζεὺς ὡς ἔριφον ἀλλάξας τὸν Ἥρας θυμὸν ἔκλεψε.

<sup>d</sup> *Bull.* R. 79, 82, 116. Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 360 τὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Τυροῦς Διονύσου τοῦ ταυροφάγου. Cf. *Geogr. Reg.* s. v. Arcadia, p. 328. Cf. C. I. G. 3538, l. 32 τριένου δὲ βοὸς Διὶ καὶ Διὶ Βάκχῳ at Pergamon. Cf. R. 103<sup>x</sup>. ? At Delphi: Lyc. *Cass.* 206.

<sup>e</sup> *Sheep*, at Mykonos: R. 44. Cf. Hermes, supra, p. 35.

<sup>f</sup> *Pig and Stag* (at Kos): Collitz, *Dialect-Inschr.* 3636 Διονύσῳ Σκυλλίτα χοῖρος καὶ ἔλαφος. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 341 χοῖροι τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐθύοντο. Schol. Clem. Alex. (Klotz, vol. iv, p. 108) χοιροψάλας Διόνυσος ἐν Σικυῶνι τιμᾶται τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὡς Πολέμων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἄτταλον ἐπιστολῇ.

<sup>86</sup> Human sacrifice, R. 77, 78.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. *Protrept.* p. 36 Ρ Δεσβίους Διονύσῳ τὴν ὁμοίαν προσάγειν θυσίαν (ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττει) Δωσίδας λέγει. Porph. *De Abstin.* 2. 55 ἔθουον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ὀμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρωπον διασπῶντες καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ. Plut. *Them.* 13 Θεμιστοκλεῖ . . . σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι . . . τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον . . . οἱ πολλοὶ ἠγάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι.

<sup>b</sup> The animal substituted for human life: legend at Potniai of D. Αἰγοβόλος. R. 76<sup>o</sup>: legend at Patrai concerning the sacrifice of a maiden to Δ. Καλυδώνιος, Paus. 7. 21, 1-5. Cf. human sacrifice among the Getai in the worship of Zamolxis, Herod. 4. 94.

<sup>87</sup> Paus. 8. 23, 1 (at Alea) Διονύσου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα· τούτῳ παρὰ ἔτος Σκίερίαν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ ἐν Διονύσου τῇ ἑορτῇ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν μαστιγοῦνται γυναῖκες, καθὰ καὶ οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐφηβοὶ παρὰ τῇ Ὀρθίᾳ.

<sup>88</sup> *Ib.* 7. 19, 6 (at Patrai) Παύσασθαι δὲ οὕτω λέγονται θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνθρώπους. ἐκέχρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν ὡς βασιλεὺς ξένος παραγενομένος σφισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ξενικὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος δαίμονα, τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν τῆς Τρικλαρίας παύσει. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Εὐαίμονος λαμβάνει λάρνακα. Διονύσου δὲ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῇ λάρνακι. *Ib.* 20. 1 τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς λάρνακος ἐπέκλησις μὲν ἔστιν Αἰσυμνήτης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα θεραπεύοντες ἐννέα τέ εἰσιν ἄνδρες, οὓς ἂν ἐκ πάντων ὁ δῆμος προέληται κατ' ἀξίωμα, καὶ ἴσαι γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσι. μιᾷ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς φέρει τὴν λάρνακα ὁ ἱερεὺς. Vide Artemis, R. 35. (Cf. Paus. 3. 24, 3 at Brasiai on Laconian coast οἱ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν οἱ ἐνταῦθα οὐδέσιν ὁμολογοῦντες Ἑλλήνων ὡς Σεμέλη τέκει τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Διός, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθείσα ἐς λάρνακα αὐτῇ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθείη· καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκπεσείν φασιν ἐς τὴν σφετέραν, καὶ Σεμέλην μὲν, οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν περιούσαν ἔτι εὐρεῖν, ἐπιφανῶς θάψαι, Διόνυσον δὲ ἀναθρέψαι λέγουσιν. . . . Βρασιᾶται δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἰνώ σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀφικέσθαι πλανωμένην, ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ ἐβελῆσαι τοῦ Διονύσου γενέσθαι τροφόν. καὶ ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἔνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ, καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πέδιον Διονύσου κῆπον.)



<sup>89</sup> Ritual of resurrection or return of the God. Cf. R. 35. Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* 35, p. 364 F Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενῆς Διόνυσος ἐπίκλην ἐστίν· ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σάλπιγγων ἐξ ὕδατος, ἐμβάλλουτες ἐς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσοις ἀποκρύπτουσι, ὡς Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀσίων εἴρηκεν. Ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιτανικά καὶ τὰ Νυκτέλια τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὀσίριδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναβιώσεσι καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις. 671 E σάλπιγξι μικραῖς ὡσπερ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἀνακαλοῦμενοι τὸν θεὸν χρῶνται. Cf. Rhodian festival, *Jahresheft. Öster. Arch. Inst.* 1904 τῷ ὑδραύλῃ τῷ ἐπεγείροντι τὸν θεόν . . . καὶ τοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὑμῆσαι κατὰ μῆνα καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ καθόδοις δυσι τοῖς . . . (Roman Imp. period). Plut., p. 365 A καὶ Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκείσθαι νομίζουσι· καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ὅσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρητον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅταν αἱ Θυιάδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην. Cf. Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 1. 166 Nonnulli Liberum Patrem apud Graecos Λικνίτην dici adserunt: vannus autem apud eos λίκνον nuncupatur, ubi de more positus esse dicitur, postquam est utero matris editus. Cf. Demeter, R. 229<sup>g-1</sup>, vol. 3, p. 361.

<sup>89a</sup> Cereal offerings (cf. Demeter, R. 211, 229<sup>g</sup>, offerings of first-fruits in λίκνον): Theocr. *Id.* 26:

χαῖ μὲν ἀμερξάμεναι λασίας δρυὸς ἄγρια φύλλα  
κισσόν τε ζῶοντα καὶ ἀσφύδελον τὸν ὑπὲρ γᾶς  
ἐν καθαρῷ λειμῶνι κάμον δυοκαίδεκα βωμῶς,  
τὼς τρεῖς τῷ Σεμέλῃ, τὼς ἐννέα τῷ Διονύσῳ.  
ἱερὰ δ' ἐκ κίστας ποπανεύματα χερσὶν ἐλοῖσται  
εὐφάμῳς κατέθετο νεοδρέπτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

Wineless offerings at Athens, vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* 'Attica,' p. 327.

Plut. *De Sanit.*, p. 132 F αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ πολλὰκις νηφάλια θύομεν.

<sup>89b</sup> *Paroemiog. Graec. Diogen.* 3. 43 Βάκχης τρόπον· ἐπὶ τῶν σιωπηλῶν, παρ' ὅσον αἱ Βάκχαι σιγῶσιν.

<sup>89c</sup> ? Birth-legends arising out of local ritual, Hom. *Hymn. Dionys.* 1:

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ' οἱ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἡνεμοέσθη  
φάσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος, εἰραφιῶτα,  
οἱ δὲ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήντι  
κυσαμένην Σεμέλῃν τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύῳ,  
ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβησιν, ἄναξ, σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι.

Theocr. *Id.* 26. 33:

χαίροι μὲν Διόνυσος ὃν ἐν Δρακάνῳ νιφόντι  
Ζεὺς ὕπατος μεγάλην ἐπιγουνίδα κάτρετο λύσας.

Cf. Diod. 3. 66 ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι Ἑλληνίδες τῆς τούτου

τεκνώσεως· καὶ γὰρ Ἡλείοι καὶ Νάξιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ τὰς Ἐλευθερὰς οἰκοῦντες καὶ Τήιοι καὶ πλείους ἕτεροι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀποφαίνονται τεκνωθῆναι.

### The God of Festivals.

<sup>90</sup> Plato, *Laus* 653 D θεοὶ δὲ οἰκτεῖραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος . . . Μούσας Ἀπόλλωνά τε Μουσηγέτην καὶ Διόνυσον συνεορταστὰς ἔδοσαν. 790 E αἱ τῶν ἐκφρόνων Βακχειῶν ἰάσεις ταύτη τῇ τῆς κινήσεως ἅμα χορεία καὶ μούση χρωμέναι.

<sup>91</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 377 :

ὄς τάδ' ἔχει  
θιασεύειν τε χοροῖς,  
μετά τ' αἰλοῦ γελάσαι  
ἀποπαῦσαι τε μερίμνας.

Soph. *Ant.* 1146 :

Ἰὼ πῦρ πνειόντων  
χοράγ' ἄστρον, νυχίων  
φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε.

<sup>92</sup> Arist. *Lysistr.* 1279 :

πρόσαγε χορόν, ἐπάγαγε Χάριτας  
ἐπὶ δὲ κάλεσον Ἄρτεμιν  
ἐπὶ δὲ δίδυμον ἀγέχορον Ἰήϊον  
εὐφρον', ἐπὶ δὲ Νύσιον  
ὄς μετὰ μαινάσι Βάκχιος ὄμμασι δαίεται.

### Festival titles.

<sup>93</sup> Dionysos Αἰλωνεύς in Athens : *C. I. A.* 3. 297 on seat in theatre of Dionysos ἱερέως Αἰλωνέως Διονύσου. Cf. 193 private dedication Διονύσω Αἰλωνεῖ . . . ἐπὶ ἱερέως Φιλήμονος (Roman period).

<sup>94</sup> Dionysos Ἐναγώνιος at Magnesia on Maeander : Kern, *Inscr.* v. *Magnesia*, 213<sup>a</sup>. Ἱερεὺς Διονύσου ἐναγωνίου (first century B. C.).

<sup>95</sup> Dionysos Θριάμβος : Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28 Θριάμβον αὐτὸν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπὰς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβου. Cf. Diod. Sic. 5. 2. Athenae. p. 30 B. Τιμᾶται παρὰ Λαμψακηνοῖς ὁ Πρίηπος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐξ ἐπιθέτου καλούμενος οὕτως, ὡς Θριάμβος καὶ Διθύραμβος. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 525 Ἰθὶ Διθύραμβ' ἐμὰν ἄρσενά τάνδε βᾶθι νηδύν. Cf. *Geog. Reg. s. v.* Delphi. Plat. *Laus* 700 B Διονύσου γένεσις Διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 25 ταῖς Διονύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες διθύραμβος ; Schol. *ibid.* ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐν μὲν τοῖς Ὑπορχήμασιν ἐν Νάξῳ φησὶν εὐρεθῆναι πρῶτον διθύραμβον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν διθύραμβων ἐν Θήβαις, ἐπαυθὰ δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Bergk, *Frag. Adesp.* 3. 109 Ἰακχε διθύραμβε (θριάμβε Dind.) σὺ τῶνδε χοραγέ. Pratinas Fr. 1. 10 ἄδε σοι δεξιὰ | καὶ ποδὸς διαρριφά, θριαμβοδιθύραμβε, |

κισσοχαίτ' ἀναξ, ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δωρίαν χορείαν. Plut. *Vit. Marcell.* 22  
Διονύσῳ . . . ὃν Εὖιον καὶ Θριάμβον ὀνομάζομεν.

<sup>96</sup> Dionysos Ληνεύς at Mykonos: R. 44.

<sup>97</sup> Dionysos Μελπόμενος: Paus. 1. 2, 5 (Διονύσου τέμενος near the Dipyron at Athens) Διόνυσον δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελπόμενον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῶδε ἐφ' ὁποίῳ περ' Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. *C. I. A.* 3. 20 ἱερεὺς Μελπομένου (? time of Hadrian). Cf. 274 ἱερεὺς Μελπομένου Διονύσου ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν. 278 Δ. Μελπομένου ἐκ τεχνειῶν. At Acharnai: Paus. 1. 31, 6 Διόνυσον (ὀνομάζουσι) Μελπόμενον. Dionysos Μουσαγέτης: see *Geogr. Reg.* Naxos, p. 333. Harpokrat, *s. v.* Εὐνεΐδαι· γένος ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον Εὐνεΐδαι, ἦσαν δὲ κιθαρωδοὶ πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας παρέχοντες τὴν χρεῖαν. Phot. *s. v.* γένος Ἀθήγησι μουσικὸν ἀπὸ Εὐνεω τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ Ὑψιπέλους. [Cf. Hom. *Il.* 7. 468.] At Priene: Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inscriptionen von Priene* 174, l. 15 θύσει (ὁ ἱερεὺς) δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ Μελπομένῳ (second century B. C.).

<sup>98</sup> Dionysos (?) Παραπαΐζων: private dedication Διονύσῳ Παραπαΐζοντι, found at Eleusis: *Éph. Arch.* 1895, p. 103 (inscr. ? third century A. D.).

<sup>99</sup> Dionysos Χορείος: *C. I. A.* 3. 34<sup>b</sup>, letter of Trajan τοῖς περὶ Διόνυσον τὸν χορείον τεχνίταις. Cf. Διόνυσος Χορεὺς at Paros, *Ath. Mitth.* 1901, p. 219.

<sup>100</sup> Δ. Τριετηρικός: inscr. of Roman period from Melos, probably connected with a company of μύσται, *Hell. Journ.* 1897, p. 15 (*C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 1089) Διονύσῳ Τριετηρικῷ.

<sup>101</sup> Τριετηρικά festivals: Hom. *H. Frag. in Bacch.* l. 111:

ὦς δὲ τάμεν τρία σοι πάντως, τριετηρίσιν αἰεὶ  
ἄνθρωποι ῥέξουσι τελεέσσας ἐκατόμβας.

Ov. *Fast.* 1. 393

Festa corymbiferi celebrabas, Graecia, Bacchi,  
Tertia quae solito tempore bruma refert.

<sup>a</sup> In Thrace: R. 61<sup>c</sup>, 64.

<sup>b</sup> Boeotia: R. 65, 68, 77. Prob. Verg. *Georg.* 3. 43 Cithaeron mons est Boeotiae, ubi arcana Liberi Patris sacra celebrantur tertio quoque anno quae trieterica dicuntur. *Orph. Hymn.* 45. 6:

(Σεμέλη) τιμὰς τευξαμένη παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης,  
ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἀνὰ τριετηρίδας ὥρας,  
ἦνίκα σοῦ Βάκχου γονίμην ὠδίνα τελοῦσι  
εὐιέρων τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστήριά θ' ἀγά.

<sup>c</sup> Delphi: R. 66.

d Opus: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 282 ἀγωνοθεήσας τῶν τριητηρικῶν Διονυσείων (time of Augustus).

e Alea: R. 87.

f Andros: Paus. 6. 26, 2 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἄνδριοι παρὰ ἔτος σφίσιον ἐς τοῦ Διούσου τὴν ἑορτὴν ρεῖν οἶνον αὐτόματον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Cf. R. 105<sup>a</sup>.

g At Mitylene: *Ael. Var. Hist.* 13. 2 αἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τριητηρίδες ἀφίκοντο.

h Pergamon: Fränkel, *Inschriften*, 248.

i Priene: Hiller von Gärtringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene*, 113, l. 79 (first century B. C.) τὰς ἀγομένας τῷ Διονύσῳ . . . τριητηρίδας.

k Korkyra: *C. I. G.* 1845. R. 104<sup>i</sup>.

l Crete: R. 82.

<sup>102</sup> Other festivals.

a In Thrace: R. 2.

b In Greece: *Προτρύγαια*: R. 45<sup>i</sup>.

c Delphi: R. 66.

d Ἀγριώνια in Boeotia: R. 75.

e Festival at Thespiai: *C. I. G.* 1633 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος . . . ἱερατεύσασαν Ἰσιδος καὶ Ἀνούβιδος τῇ πόλει εἰς τὴν Διούσου ἑορτὴν. At Orchomenos: *C. I. G.* 1579 ἄνδρεςσι χοραγείσαντες νικάσαντες Διονύσῳ ἀνέθεικαν (circ. 100 B. C.). At Chaironeia: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3409 ἀγωνοθεήσας Διονυσίων . . . Διονύσῳ . . . ἀνέθεκε. *Ib.* 3392 ἐλεικνοφόρησε Σάτυρος . . . ἐπιμέλεισθαι δὲ τὸν ἱερεῖα Διούσου. *Plut.* 527 D ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰλαρῶς, ἀμφορεύς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, εἶτα τράγον τις εἶλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ὁ φαλλός· ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παρεώραται καὶ ἠφάνισται, χρυσομάτων περιφερομένων καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ ζευγῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ προσωπείων.

f Agrionia, in Kos, Kalymna, Byzantion, Lindos, R. 75.

g Θυῖα, in Elis: R. 34<sup>c</sup>, and *Geogr. Reg.* Elis, p. 329.

h Lampteria, at Pellene; R. 46.

i At Patrai: R. 88 ἑορτὴ Διούσου Αἰσυμνήτου.

k At Hermione: R. 85<sup>b</sup>.

l In Laconia: Paus. 3. 22, 2 Διούσου δὲ ὄρος ἱερὸν Λαρύσιον καλούμενόν ἐστι . . . καὶ ἦρος ἀρχομένου Διονύσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τε ἐς τὰ δρώμενα λέγοντες καὶ ὡς βότρυν ἐνταῦθα ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὠραῖον. Vide *Geogr. Reg.* 'Laconia,' p. 328. Athenae. p. 631 B (at Sparta) ἡ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς πυρρίχη Διονυσιακὴ τις εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐπεικειστέρα οὕσα τῆς ἀρχαίας. ἔχουσι γὰρ οἱ

ἀρχοῦμενοι θύρους ἀντὶ δοράτων, προίενται δὲ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ νάρθηκας καὶ λαμπάδας φέρουσιν, ὄρχουνται τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ (τὰ περὶ) τοὺς Ἴνδουὺς ἔτι τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Πενθέα.

<sup>m</sup> Naupactos: (?) Schol. Arist. *Acharn.* 194. Διονύσια δὲ ἑορτὴ Διονύσου ἦν ἦγον Ναυπάκτιοι.

<sup>n</sup> At Eretria: *C. I. G.* 2144 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου εἶπε' ἐπειδὴ τῆ πομπῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ἡ φρουρὰ ἀπῆλθεν.

<sup>o</sup> Megara: *C. I. G. Sept.* 21 τὰ Διονύσια, circ. 180 B.C. Sikyon, R. 45<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Argos: R. 89.

<sup>q</sup> On the road from Argos to Tegea: Paus. 2. 24, 6 Πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἐρασίνου ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐκβολαῖς Διονύσῳ καὶ Πανὶ θύουσι, τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι καλουμένην Τύρβην. Festivals at Phigaleia and in the territory of the Κυναιθαεῖς, vide *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* 'Arcadia,' pp. 328, 329.

<sup>r</sup> Aigina: *C. I. G.* 2139<sup>b</sup> ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον . . . Διονυσίων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, second century B.C.

<sup>s</sup> Delos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, 105 εἰς Διονύσια παίδων κομφιδῶν τραγιδῶν . . . οἱ δὲ ἐπεδείξαντο τῷ θεῷ.

<sup>t</sup> Paros: *C. I. G.* add. 2374<sup>e</sup> τὰ Διονύσια τὰ μεγάλα. Naxos: vide *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* p. 333.

<sup>u</sup> Astypalaia: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 169 τοὶ πρυτάνιες τοὶ πρυτανεύοντες μῆνα Ἰοβάκχιον στεφανωσάντων αὐτὸν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ τραγιδίῳ.

<sup>v</sup> Syros: *C. I. G.* 2347<sup>c</sup> τὰ Διονύσια.

<sup>w</sup> Tenos: *C. I. G.* 2330-1 τὰ Διονύσια. Cf. *B. C. H.* 1902, p. 430, 1903, p. 242.

<sup>x</sup> Keos: *C. I. G.* 2354, 2358 τὰ Διονύσια. Athenae. 456 D φασὶν ἐν Ἰουλίδῳ τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ θυόμενον βοῦν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν νεανίσκων παῖσθαι πελέκει' πλησίον δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οὔσης. . . .

<sup>y</sup> Chios: Dittenb. *Syll.* 150, circ. 277 B.C. ἀνειπεῖν τὸν ἱεροκῆρυκα Διονυσίοις ὅταν οἱ τῶν παίδων χοροὶ μέλλωσιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

<sup>z</sup> Amorgos: *C. I. G.* add. 2263<sup>c</sup> τὰ Διονύσια. Imbros: *Geogr. Reg.*, p. 333.

<sup>103 a</sup> Rhodes: *C. I. G.* 2525<sup>b</sup>, inscr. of the Dionysiastai mentioning ἅ τῶν βακχείων ὑποδοχά.

<sup>b</sup> Lindos: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* i. 762 τὰ Σμίνθια in honour of Dionysos. Athenae. p. 445 A-B Ἀνθείας δὲ ὁ Λίνδιος . . . ὡς φησι Φιλόμνηστος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμινθείων, . . . πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυσίαζεν . . . οὗτος δὲ καὶ

κωμωδίας ἐποίει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ποιημάτων, ἃ ἐξήρχε τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ φαλλοφοροῦσι. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 57 τὰ Διονύσια combined in Roman period with τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

c Kos: Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.* no. 5, inscr. mentioning τὰ Διονύσια and the ἱεροκᾶρῆς.

d Thera: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 217.

e Pontos: R. 63 c. Lampsakos: *C. I. G.* 3640 proclamation of a crown τοῖς Διονυσίοις.

f Erythrai: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 6 ἀγωνοθέτας τῶν Διονυσίων καὶ Σελευκείων (earlier part of third century B. C.).

g Teos: *C. I. G.* 3062 fragmentary inscr. mentioning ἡ ἄνοιξις τοῦ νεῶ and ἡ εἰς τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Διονύσου πορεία — καὶ θυμιάσθαι καὶ λύχνους ἐνάπτεσθαι ἐν τῷ νεῶ. 3067 τὰ Διονύσια.

h Ionia: R. 63 c. Smyrna and Miletos *Geogr. R.*, p. 331.

i Magnesia on Maeander: Kern, *Inscr.* 102, 106, &c.

k Knidos: *C. I. G. Graec. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 322 (first century B. C.) Διονυσίων ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ μουσικῷ.

l Tarentum: Plat. *Laws*, p. 637 πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν.

<sup>104</sup> The τεχνίται Διονύσου. *Arist. Rhet.* 3. 2 καὶ ὁ μὲν Διονυσοκόλακας, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς τεχνίτας καλοῦσιν.

#### Centres of activity.

a Lebedos: Strab. 643 Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μέχρι Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐν ἣ ἡ πανήγυρις τε καὶ ἀγῶνες κατ' ἔτος συντελοῦνται τῷ Διονύσῳ. ἐν Τέῳ δὲ ᾧκουν πρότερον . . . ἐμπεσοῦσης δὲ στάσεως εἰς Ἐφεσον κατέφυγον. Ἀττάλου δὲ εἰς Μυόννησον αὐτοὺς καταστήσαντος . . . πρεσβεῖονται Τήϊοι δεόμενοι Ῥωμαίων μὴ περιδεῖν ἐπιτελιζομένην σφίσι τὴν Μυόννησον, οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν εἰς Λέβεδον, δεξαμένων τῶν Λεβεδίων ἀσμένως διὰ τὴν κατέχουσαν αὐτοὺς ὀλιγανδρίαν.

b *C. I. G.* 3067 inscr. from Teos (period of Eumenes II of Pergamon), complimentary vote of the τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον . . . ἡ παρὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀθάνατος δόξα, οὓς καὶ θεοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ πάντες Ἑλλήνες τιμῶσι, δωδωκότες τὴν τε ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν πᾶσι . . . κατακολουθοῦντες τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος χρησμοῖς. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906, p. 101 τὸν στέφανον ἀνακηρῦξαι Διονυσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι.

c In Argos: Le Bas-Foucart, *Mégaride* 116<sup>a</sup> τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας, τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ συνόδου.

<sup>d</sup> Thrace: Dumont, *Inscr. et monum. figur. de la Thrace*, p. 38, dedication in reign of Septimius Severus τῷ Βακχείῳ Ἀσιανῶν.

<sup>e</sup> Macedon, Pieria: Lüders, *Die Dionys. Künstl.* no. 99 (Le Bas 504) τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν τῶν εἰς Ἴσθμὸν καὶ Πιερίαν συντελούντων.

<sup>f</sup> Opous: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3. 278 (Collitz, *Dialect-Inschrift.* 1502) ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις τοῖς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας συντελοῦσι δὲ ἐν Ὀπούντι· ἐπειδὴ Σωτέλης . . . καὶ ἁ γυνὰ αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν τῇ ἀνιερώσει ἃ ἐποίησαντο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις, . . . διασαφῆσαντες ἐν τῇ ἀνιερώσει ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνη ἡ σύνοδος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀργύριον θυσίας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις.

<sup>g</sup> Delphi: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 348 (cf. p. 352), in recently discovered hymn to Apollo Βάκχου μέγας θυρσοπλήξ ἐσμός (?) ἱερός τεχνιτῶν. Cf. Amphictyonic decree giving ἀσυλία and ἀτέλεια to the τεχνίται, Lüders, *Die Dionys. Künstl.* no. 74.

<sup>h</sup> Aitolia: *C. I. G.* 3046 decree recognizing the ἀσυλία of temple of Dionysos in Teos γινομένης τοῖς Τηίοις τῆς ἐγδικάξις καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς οἰκονομίας καθὼς καὶ τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς τεχνίταις ὁ νόμος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν κελεύει. *Circ.* 190 B. C.

<sup>i</sup> Korkyra: *C. I. G.* 1845, private bequest to the state (l. 3) εἰς τὰν τῶν τεχνιτῶν μίσθωσιν τῷ Διονύσῳ. l. 16 ἀγέτω τὰ Διονύσια ἀφ' οὗ κ' ἄρξωνται παρ' ἄτερον ἐνιαυτὸν (? second century B. C.).

<sup>k</sup> Thebes: *C. I. G.* 2413, 2414, two letters of Roman consul to the τεχνίται (circ. 100–70 B. C.) συγχωρῶ ἕνεκα τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτηδέματος οὗ προεστήκατε ὑμᾶς παντάπασιν ἀλειτουργήτους εἶναι: 2414 Στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν χαίρειν. 2485 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας. *Thespiai* cf. *R.* 104<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Chalkis: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892, p. 92 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας συντελούντων δὲ ἐν Χαλκίδι (inscr. second century B. C.).

<sup>m</sup> Athens: *R.* 99. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 96, decree of Amphictyones of Delphi πρῶτος δὲ πάντων (ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων) συναγαγὼν τεχνιτῶν σύνοδον (καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν) θυμηλικούς καὶ σκηρικούς ἀγῶνας ἐποίησεν (second century B. C.). *Athenae.* 212 D ὑπήνησαν δ' αὐτῷ (Ἀθηναίων) καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται, τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ νέου Διονύσου καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτην εὐχὰς τε καὶ σπονδὰς. *Peiraieus: Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 47, decree of the Διονυσιασταί, circ. 300 B. C. κατεσκευάσατο τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου τοῖς ὄργεῶσιν καὶ προσιδρύσατο κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Eleusis: C. I. A.* 2. 628 (circ. 100 B. C.), inscr. referring to ἡ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν and to their θυσίαι τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ.

<sup>n</sup> Isthmos and Nemea: R. 104<sup>c</sup> k. Thespiai: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 316, decree—third century B. C.—of the τεχνίται οἱ ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας (in answer to a letter from the city of Thespiai inviting them to take part in the reorganization of the festival of the Muses) ὁ θυμελικὸς ἀγὼν στεφανίτης πρῶτον ἐγένετο, ἀγνωθετοῦντος Ἱεροκλέους, ἱερέως δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν Μνασίωνος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν Αἰσχύλου.

<sup>o</sup> Sikyon: *Plut. Vit. Arat.* 53 μέλη ἤδεδοτο πρὸς κιθάραν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν.

<sup>p</sup> Messenia: *Plut. Vit. Cleom.* 12 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας ἐκ Μεσσηνίας διαπορευομένους λαβῶν.

<sup>q</sup> Kypros: *C. I. G.* 2620 Ἀφροδίτη Παφία ἢ πόλις Παφίων Κάλλιππον Καλλίππου ἀρχιερέοντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν.

<sup>r</sup> Smyrna: *C. I. G.* 3190 ἡ ἱερά σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρισέα Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν καὶ μυστῶν Μάρκον Διήλιον Χαριδήμου Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν . . . βάκχον τοῦ θεοῦ. 3176 Μάρκος Διήλιος Καίσαρ . . . συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρισέα Διόνυσον χαίρειν (both of same period, 147 A. D.). Cf. *C. I. G.* 3160 Βρησεὶ Διονύσῳ Οἰνόμαος πρῦτανις καὶ ὑμνωδός.

<sup>s</sup> Priene: *Plut. Vit. Anton.* 57 (Ἀντώνιος) τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις Πιρήνην ἔδωκεν οἰκητήριον.

<sup>t</sup> Iasos: Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie Mineure* 281 Γνώμη τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον . . . (tragic and comic actors sent to Lykia and elsewhere) τοὺς δὲ νεμηθέντας πάντας ἐπιτελέσαι τοὺς τῶν Διονυσίων ἀγῶνας ἐν τοῖς ὠρισμένοις καιροῖς πάντα παρασχόντας ἀκολούθως τοῖς τῶν Ἰασέων νόμοις (*C. I. G.* 2671 τὰ Διονύσια at Iasos). Cf. inscr. in *Hell. Journ.* 1887, pp. 98 and 101.

<sup>u</sup> Pessinous: *C. I. G.* 4081 οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνεῖται (late Roman). At Ankyra: Lüders, op. cit. no. 94 ψήφισμα τῆς ἱερᾶς θυμελικῆς περιπολιτικῆς συνόδου (τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης) περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Τραιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν νέον Διόνυσον [τεχνιτῶν στ]εφανιτῶν. So also at Aphrodisias, *id.* 95.

<sup>v</sup> Tralles: *C. I. G.* 2933 ἡ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.

<sup>w</sup> At Tigranokerta in Armenia: *Plut. Vit. Lucull.* 29 πυνθανόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλήφθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, οὓς ὁ Τιγράνης πανταχόθεν ἤθροϊκε μέλλων ἀποδεικνύει τὸ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θέατρον, ἐχρήσατο τούτοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας κτλ.

<sup>x</sup> Ptolemais in Egypt: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 9, p. 154. At Alexandria: Athenae. 198 C (in the πομπή of Ptolemy Philadelphus) ἱερεὺς Διονύσου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται.



<sup>v</sup> Neapolis: Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 21 τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν αὐτὸς εἰς Νέαν πόλιν καταβὰς ἐνέτυχε πλείστοις. Cf. *C. I. G. Sic. Ital.* 737 διὰ βίου ἀρχιερέα ἱερᾶς συνόδου θυμελικῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν (period of Antoninus Pius).

<sup>z</sup> Rhegion: *C. I. G.* 5762 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν (early Roman period).

<sup>aa</sup> Syracuse: Lüders, op. cit. no. 101.

<sup>bb</sup> Magnesia on Maeander: Kern, *Inschr. v. Magnesia*, 89, l. 21, decree of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν. ὅπως οὖν φαίνεται τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τιμῶν τήν τε τῆς θεᾶς ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Μαγνήτων.

<sup>106</sup> The festival of Θεοδαΐσια.

Hesych. *s. v.* Θεοδαΐσιος Διόνυσος. Suidas, *s. v.* Ἀστυδρόμια παρὰ Λίβυσιν οἰοῦναι τῆς πόλεως γενέθλια, καὶ Θεοδαΐσια ἑορτὴ ἐν ἧ ἑτίμων Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Νύμφας. Cf. the Θεοξένια at Delphi, vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Delphi, p. 326. In Andros: Plin. *N. H.* 2. 231 Andro in insula templo Liberi patris fontem nonis Ianuariis semper vini sapore fluere Mucianus ter consul credit: dies Θεοδαΐσια vocatur. Anaphe: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 249, l. 23 τοῖς Θεοδαΐσιος. Lesbos: *ib.* ii. 68, l. 9 Θεοδαΐσια. ? Kos: Paton and Hicks 36<sup>a</sup>, month Θεοδαΐσιος. Kalymna: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, 31, l. 16, month Θεοδαΐσιος. Rhodes: *C. I. G.* 8518, Dittenb. *Sylog.* 375, month Θεοδαΐσιος. Lindos: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* i. 905 month Θεοδαΐσιος. *ib.* 791 Βοκόπια Θεοδαΐσια. Crete: *C. I. G.* 2554, l. 32, treaty between Latous and Olous ἐν Θεοδαΐσιος παραγγέλλοντες. ? Cretan month Θεοδαΐσιος = Attic Gamelion, vide Paton and Hicks, p. 332.

<sup>106a</sup> The καταγωγή at Priene: Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inschr. v. Priene* 174 (second century B. C.) ἐπὶ τοῖσδε πωλοῦμεν τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Φλέου· ὁ πριάμενος ἱερήσεται χρόνον ὅσον ἄμ βιοῖ ἱερήσεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ καταγωγίου . . . l. 19 ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ στολὴν ἢν ἄμ βούληται καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν μῆγα Ληναῖωνα καὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνα· καὶ τοῖς καταγωγίσις καθηγήσεται τῶν συγκαταγόντων τὸν Διόνυσον.

#### Attic Festivals.

<sup>106</sup> In the month Ποσειδεῶν.

<sup>a</sup> Theophr. *Char.* 3 Ποσειδεῶνος τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια. Hesych. *s. v.* Διονύσια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Διονύσῳ ἦγετο, τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀγροὺς μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος (τὰ δὲ Λήναια μηνὸς Ληναίωνος, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἄστει Ἐλαφηβολιδίωνος).

<sup>b</sup> Plut. 1098 B-C καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεράποντες ὅταν Κρόνια δεῖπνῶσιν ἢ Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρὸν ἄγωσι οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν τὸν ὄλολυγμὸν ὑπομείναις καὶ τὸν θόρυβον.

c Aristoph. *Acharn.* 202 :

ἄξω τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς εἰσιῶν Διονύσια.

241 :

Εὐφημεῖτε εὐφημεῖτε.

προῖτω 's τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἢ κληφόρος'

ὁ Ξανθίας τὸν φαλλὸν ὀρθὸν στησάτω.

κατάθου τὸ κανοῖν ὦ θύγατερ, ἴν' ἀπαρξώμεθα.

d Athenae. p. 622 D (song of the φαλλοφόροι) :

“Σοὶ Βάκχε τάνδε μούσαν ἀγλαίζομεν,  
ἀπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλω μέλει,  
καιάν, ἀπαρθέεντον, οὐχὶ ταῖς πάρος  
κεχρημέναν ᾠδαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον,  
κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον.”

εἶτα προστρέχοντες ἐτώθαζον οὓς ἂν προέλοιτο, στάδην δὲ ἔπραττον' ὁ δὲ φαλλοφόρος ἰθὺ βαδίζων καταπλησθεῖς αἰθάλω. Aristot. *Poet.* 4 ἢ δὲ [κωμῳδία] ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά [ἐξαρχόντων], ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα.

e Harpokration, s.v. Θεοῖνια. Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ διαδικασίᾳ Κροκωνιδῶν πρὸς Κοιρωνίδας. τὰ κατὰ δήμους Διονύσια Θεοῖνια ἐλέγετο, ἐν οἷς οἱ γεννηταὶ ἐπέθνον' τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον Θεοῖνον ἔλεγον, ὡς δηλοῖ Αἰσχύλος καὶ Ἴστρος ἐν α' Συναγωγῶν.

f Schol. Lycophr. 1247 ὡς Αἰσχύλος' πάτερ Θεοῖνε, Μαινάδων ζευκτήριε (Aesch. Frag. 350). Photius, s.v. Θεοῖνον ἱερὸν Διονύσου' ἀφ' οὗ καὶ γένος. Cf. R. 124<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Salamis: *C. I. A.* 2. 594 Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τραγυδοῖς. Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 54 κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐς Σαλαμίνα ἄρχοντα καὶ εἰς Πειραιεὶά δήμαρχον οἱ τὰ τε Διονύσια ποιοῦσιν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ χορηγοὺς καθιστάσι.

<sup>108</sup> Eleusis: cf. Demeter-Persephone, R. 230. *Éph. Arch.* 1883, 83 Διονυσίων τῷ πατρίῳ ἀγῶνι Ἐλευσίνι (third century B. C.). *C. I. A.* 4. 574<sup>h</sup> (inscr. from Eleusis ? fourth century B. C.) ὁ δήμαρχος τέθηκε τῷ Διονύσῳ ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν δημοτῶν.

<sup>109</sup> Brauron: Schol. Ar. *Pax* 874 ἐν Βραυρωνῶν τὰ Διονύσια ἤγετο καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δῆμον.

<sup>110</sup> Kollytos: Aeschin. *contr. Timarch.* 157 ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγρούς Διονυσίοις κωμῳδῶν ὄντων ἐν Κολλύτῳ. Cf. Demosth. *De Cor.* 180.

<sup>111</sup> Acharnai: *C. I. A.* 4. 587<sup>b</sup> (2, p. 147) inscr. of fourth century mentioning τὸ θέατρον [? from Acharnai].

<sup>112</sup> Icaria: *C. I. A.* 4 (2, p. 139), no. 572<sup>c</sup> ἐψηφίσθαι Ἰκαριεῦσιν ἐπαυρέσαι Νίκωνα τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ὅτι στεφανοῦσιν Ἰκαριεῖς Νίκωνα καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰκαριέων τὸν δήμαρχον ὅτι καλῶς καὶ δικαίως τῷ

Διονύσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐποίησεν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. *C. I. A.* 4 (2), p. 250 ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ. *Papers Americ. School*, v. pp. 86–87 *Μησιλόχος* . . . τραγωδοῖς χορηγῶν ἐνίκα (fourth century B. C.). Athenae. p. 40 B ἀπὸ μέθης καὶ ἡ τῆς κωμωδίας καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγωδίας εὔρεσις ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εὐρέθη. Cf. fragment of Eratosthenes ap. Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2, 4 Ἰκάριοι ποσὶ πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο.

<sup>113</sup> Phlye: Isai. *Or.* 8. 15 εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦγεν αἰεὶ ἡμᾶς. Cf. § 35 Κίρων ἐπέκρητο οὐσίαν ἀγρὸν μὲν Φλυῆσι.

<sup>114</sup> Axone: *C. I. A.* 2. 585 Διονυσίων τοῖς κωμωδοῖς τοῖς Αἰξωνῆσι.

<sup>115</sup> ? Myrrhinous: *C. I. A.* 2. 578 τῇ δὲ ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ποσιδεῶνος μηνὸς χρηματίζειν περὶ Διονυσίων.

<sup>116</sup> Peiraieus: Demosth. *Meid.* 10 Νόμος. Εὐλόγορος εἶπεν ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ἢ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ κωμωδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγωδοί. *C. I. A.* 4 (2), p. 202, no. 834<sup>b</sup>, col. 1, l. 28 εἰς Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐπιστάταις εἰς θυσίαν ΔΔ. *C. I. A.* 2. 467, 16 καὶ τοῖς Πειραιαῖοις τῷ Διονύσῳ ταῦρον παρήγαγον καὶ ἔθυσαν (οἱ ἔφηβοι), circ. 100 B. C.; cf. 2. 589. Cf. Aelian *Var. Hist.* 2. 13 καὶ Πειραιοὶ δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοῦ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐκεῖ κατῆει (ὁ Σωκράτης). *C. I. A.* 2. 741<sup>a</sup> [ἐγ Διο]νυσίων τῶν [ἐν Πει]ρα[ιεῖ παρὰ βοων]ῶν in schedule of state-accounts, period of Lycurgos.

<sup>116a</sup> Plat. *Rep.* 475 D οἷ τε φιλήκοι . . . ὥσπερ ἀπομεισθωκότες τὰ ὄπα ἐπακοῦσαι πάντων χορῶν περιθέουσι τοῖς Διονυσίοις, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πόλεις οὔτε τῶν κατὰ κώμας ἀπολειπόμενοι.

<sup>117</sup> Ἀσκολιασμός: Aristoph. *Plut.* 1129 ἀσκολιάς ἐνταῦθα. Schol. *ib.* ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐτίθεντο ἀσκούς πεφυσημένους καὶ ἀηλιμένους, εἰς οὓς ἐναλλόμενοι ὠλίσθανον, καθάπερ Εὐβουλος ἐν Δαμαλείᾳ, φησὶν οὕτως

καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις ἀσκὸν εἰς μέσον  
καταθέντες εἰσάλλεσθε καὶ καχάζετε  
ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρρέουσιν ἀπὸ κελεύματος.

. . . Ἀσκόλια (sic) ἦν ἑορτὴ τοῦ Διονύσου, ἐν ἣ ἀσκούς διαφυσῶντες καὶ ὄγκουντες ἐρρίπτουν καὶ ἄνωθεν ἤλλοντο ἐπάνω αὐτῶν ἐνὶ ποδί, ἐκίνουν δὲ γέλωτα καταπίπτοντες, ὁ μὲντοι μὴ καταπεσὼν ἐλάμβανεν αὐτὸν οἴνου πλήρη. Cornut. *Theol.* 30 ἐκδέρνοντας αὐτὸν (τὸν τράγον) εἰς τὸν ἀσκὸν ἐνάλλονται κατὰ τὰς Ἀττικὰς κώμας οἱ γεωργοὶ νεανίσκοι. Verg. *Georg.* 2. 382:

praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum  
Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti  
mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.

<sup>118</sup> ? Μίμησις: an element in the earliest rural cults. Cf. 102<sup>o</sup>. Ulpian, *Demosth.* p. 294 οἱ πομπεύοντες τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θεραπείας ἐπόμπειον οἱ μὲν τὸ τῶν Σατύρων σχῆμα σώζοντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν

Βακχῶν, οἱ δὲ τὸ τῶν Σειληνῶν. Cf. Athenae. p. 622 B οἱ δὲ ἰθύφαλλοι καλούμενοι προσωπεῖον μεθύοντων ἔχουσι, καὶ ἑσπεφάνωνται χειρίδας ἀνθινὰς ἔχοντες. Cf. 106 d.

<sup>119</sup> The Λήναια at Athens.

a Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1155 Λήναια χορηγῶν. *Ib.* 504 :

αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγῶν  
κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεισιν' οὔτε γὰρ φόροι  
ἤκουσιν οὔτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ σύμμαχοι.

Schol. *ib.* ὁ τῶν Διονυσίων ἀγῶν ἐπετελεῖτο δις τοῦ ἔτους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἕαρος ἐν ἄστει, ὅτε καὶ οἱ φόροι Ἀθήνησιν ἐφέροντο, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ἀγροῖς ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ λεγόμενος, ὅτε ξένοι οὐ παρήσαν Ἀθήνησι· χεიმῶν γὰρ λοιπὸν ἦν. Cf. Schol. *ib.* 201.

b Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 954 οὐκ ἐξῆν δὲ ξένον χορεύειν ἐν τῷ ἀστικῷ χορῷ. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ληναίῳ ἐξῆν' ἐπεὶ καὶ μέτοικοι ἐχορήγουν.

c Plato, *Protag.* p. 327 D ἀλλ' εἰεν ἄγριοι τινες, οἳ περ οὐς πέρυσι Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ.

d Demosth. *Meid.* 10 καὶ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἡ πομπή καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί.

e *Ath. Polit.* 57. 1 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν] . . . ἔπειτα Διονυσίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ [πομπή καὶ ἀγῶν' τὴν] μὲν οὖν πομπὴν κοινή πέμπουσιν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταί, τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα διατίθῃσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς.

f Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 482 ἐν τοῖς Ληναίοις ἀγῶσι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δαδούχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει, καλέετε θεόν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσι 'Σεμελίη' Ἰακχε, πλουτοδότα.

g *C. I. A.* 2. 741 (l. 10) ἐγ Διονυσίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ παρὰ μυστηρίων ἐπιμελητῶν. Suid. *s. v.* τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σκώμματα . . . Ἀθήνησι γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῇ οἱ κωμάζοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντάς τε ἔσκωπτόν τε καὶ ἐλοιδόρου. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς Ληναίοις ὕστερον ἐποίουν. Cf. *id. s. v.* ἐξ ἀμάξης· ἡ λεγομένη ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Λήναια.

h Season of the year, vide R. 44, 106<sup>a</sup>. Hesiod, *Op.* 504 Μῆνα δὲ Ληναίωνα κάκ' ἤματα, βουδόρα πάντα. Cf. Schol. *ib.* Ἴωνες δὲ τοῦτον (τὸν Γαμηλιῶνα) . . . Ληναίωνα καλοῦσι. . . τῷ Γαμηλιῶνι, καθ' ὃν καὶ τὰ Λήναια παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. (So also Bekker's *Anecd.* pp. 235, 6.) Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 378 τὰ δὲ Λήναια ἐν τῷ μετοπώρῳ ἤγετο, ἐν οἷς οὐ παρήσαν οἱ ξένοι, ὅτε τὸ δράμα τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς ἐδιδάσκετο.

<sup>120</sup> Δ. Λήναιος = ? Δ. ἐν λίμναις. Hesych. ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγῶν' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἄστει Λήναιον περίβολον ἔχον μέγαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Ληναίου Διονύσου ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐπετελοῦντο οἱ ἀγῶνες Ἀθηναίων πρὶν τὸ θέατρον οἰκοδομηθῆναι. Cf. Isai. 8. 35 ἐν ἄστει . . . παρὰ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσιον.

<sup>121</sup> Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *Ran.* 218 Λίμνη τόπος ἱερὸς Διούσου ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἶκος καὶ νεὼς τοῦ θεοῦ. Hesych. *s. v.* Λίμναι· ἐν Ἀθήναις τόπος ἀνειμένους Διούσῳ, ὅπου τὰ Λήναια [MS. λαία] ἤγετο.

<sup>122</sup> ? Lenaia in the Attic Demes: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Λήναιος· ἀγὼν Διούσου ἐν ἀγροῖς. Schol. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 3 (Klotz, vol. iv, p. 92) ἀγροικὴ ᾧδὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ληνῷ ἀδομένη ἣ καὶ περιεῖχε τὸν Διούσου σπαραγμόν. Cf. ἐπιλήναιος ὄρχησις, Longus, 2. 36. ? At Eleusis: *C. I. A.* 2. 834<sup>b</sup> (schedule of sacrificial expenses of the Ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινιώθεν, 328 B. C.) ἐπιστάταις ἐπιλήναια εἰς Διούσια θῦσαι Δ Δ (col. 2, l. 46). Cf. l. 68 ἐς Χόας δημοσίοις ἱερεῖον . . . κεράμια . . . οἶνον δύο μετρηταί.

<sup>123</sup> Lenaia? at Mykonos, R. 44. Month Ληναιῶν at Delos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 26: Kios in Bithynia, Le Bas-Waddington *Asie Mineure*, 1140: Samos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, 480: Kyzikos, *C. I. G.* 3664: Lampsakos, *C. I. G.* 3641 B: Smyrna, *C. I. G.* 3137 (l. 36): Erythrai, Dittenberg, *Syll.* 370, l. 25: Ephesos, Hicks, *Greek Inscr. Brit. Mus.* iii. 2, no. cccclxxvii, col. E: Magnesia on the Maeander, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893, 32 ὥστε τῷ Ληναιῶν μηνὶ τὰ εἰδισμένα αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν . . . Φιλήμων ὁ ἅππας τοῦ Διούσου (inscr. of Imperial period concerning donations to a Bacchic society), Kern, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 117. Month Ληναιοβάκχιος at Astypalaia, *C. I. G.* 2483.

<sup>124</sup> Anthesteria.

<sup>a</sup> Thuc. 2. 15 καὶ τὰ ἔξω ἱερά πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἴδρυνται . . . . . καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διούσου ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διούσια τῆ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσι.

<sup>b</sup> (Demosth.) κ. Νεαίρ. § 76 τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν τοῦ Διούσου καὶ ἀγιάτατον ἐν Λίμναις . . . ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ἀνοίγεται τῆ δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός (cf. R. 41<sup>e</sup>).

<sup>c</sup> Harpokrat. *s. v.* Χόας· ἐορτὴ τις παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἀγομένη Ἀνθεστηριῶνος δωδεκάτῃ· φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀνθεστήρια μὲν καλεῖσθαι κοινῶς τὴν ὄλην ἐορτὴν Διούσῳ ἀγομένην, κατὰ μέρος δὲ Πιθόγαια, Χόας, Χύτρον. Athenae. 465 A Φανόδημος πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ φησι τοῦ ἐν Λίμναις Διούσου τὸ γλεῦκος φέροντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν πίθων τῷ θεῷ κινρᾶναι, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς προσφέρεσθαι. Schol. Arist. *Ac'h.* 960 φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος . . . Πιθογίαν, Χόας, Χύτραν.

<sup>d</sup> Harpokrat. *s. v.* Χύτροι . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ τις ἐορτὴ Χύτροι . . . ἤγετο δὲ ἡ ἐορτὴ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐορτῶν.

e Schol. G. Aristoph. *Ran.* 220 Θεόπομος ἐκτίθεται, μετὰ τὸ σωθῆναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ πεφευγότες ἀνθρώπους· ἡ ἡμέρα πρῶτως ἐθάρρησαν χύτραν τῷ πυρὶ ἐπιστῆσαι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀφεψῆσαι τὰ ἐμβληθέντα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἑορτὴν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ποιήσαντες Χύτρος ἐκάλεσαν. ἔθνον δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδεὶν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν, Ἐρμῆ δὲ Χθονίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, καὶ τῆς ἐσφομένης χύτρας ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐδεὶς τῶν ἱερέων ἐγέυετο. οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείσε παραγενόμενοι ἐγέοντο τῶν χυτρῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὸν Ἐρμῆν ἐξιλάσκοντο. ἡμέρα δὲ τὰς χύτρας ἐκείνας ἦσαν ἐσφούντες καὶ οὐ νυκτί. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1075 Schol. Θεόπομος τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐψῆσαι φησι χύτραν πανσπερμίας (ὄθεν οὕτω κληθῆναι τὴν ἑορτὴν) καὶ θύειν τοῖς Χουσι Ἐρμῆ Χθονίῳ τῆς δὲ χύτρας οὐδένα γέυσασθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι τοὺς περισωθέντας, ἰλασκομένους τὸν Ἐρμῆν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποθανόντων. ἐν μᾶ ἡμέρα ἄγονται οἱ τε Χύτροι καὶ οἱ Χόες ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν ᾧ πᾶν σπέρμα εἰς χύτραν ἐψῆσαντες θύουσι μόνῳ τῷ Διούσῳ καὶ Ἐρμῆ. οὕτω Δίδυμος (repeated by Suidas, s. v. Χύτροι).

f Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 220 ἦγοντο δὲ ἀγῶνες αὐτόθι οἱ Χύτρινοι καλούμενοι, καθά φησι Φιλόχορος. Cf. *Et. Mag.* 774. 56 Ὑδροφόρια ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι πένητις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ἀπολομένοις. Paus. I. 18, 7 τέμενος Γῆς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίας· ἐναυθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἐδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄλφιστα πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες. Plut. *Sull.* 14 τῇ νομηρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ . . . ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν.

g Plut. *Symp.* p. 655 E τοῦ νέου οἴνου Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐνδεκάτῃ μηνός κατάρχονται, Πιθογιαν τὴν ἡμέραν καλοῦντες. Cf. 735 E. Cf. Schol. Hes. *Op.* 370 καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ Πιθογία, καθ' ἣν οὔτε οἰκίτην οὔτε μισθωτὸν εἶργειν τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τοῦ οἴνου θεμιτὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ θύσαντας πᾶσι μεταδιδόναι τοῦ δώρου τοῦ Διούσου. Cf. R. 124 k.

h Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 960 Ὁρέστης μετὰ τὸν φόνον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφικόμενος, ἦν δὲ ἑορτὴ Διούσου Ληναίου. ὡς μὴ γένοιτο σφίσιν ὁμόσπονδος ἀπεκτονῶς τὴν μητέρα, ἐμχανήσατο τοιόνδε τι Πανδίων. χοᾶ οἴνου τῶν δαιτυμόνων ἐκάστῳ παραστήσας, ἐξ αὐτοῦ πίνειν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑπομινύνας ἀλλήλοις, ὡς μήτε ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατήρος πίοι Ὁρέστης μήτε ἐκείνος ἀχθοῖτο καθ' αὐτὸν πίνων μόνος. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Ἀθηναίους ἑορτὴ ἐνομίσθη οἱ Χόες. (So also Schol. Aristoph. *Egm.* 95.) Cf. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 949.

i Athenae. 437 C τὴν δὲ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτὴν τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιτελουμένην Φανόδημος φησι Δημοφῶντα τὸν βασιλέα . . . βουλόμενον ὑποδέξασθαι παραγενόμενον τὸν Ὁρέστην Ἀθήναζε. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἱερά οὐ θέλων αὐτὸν προσιέναι οὐδ' ὁμόσπονδον γενέσθαι μῆπω δικασθέντα ἐκέλευσε συγκλεισθῆναι τε τὰ ἱερά

καὶ χοᾶ οἴνου ἐκάστω παρατεῆναι . . . παρήγγειλέ τε καὶ τοῦ πότου παυσάμενους τοὺς μὲν στεφάνους οἷς ἐστεφάνωντο πρὸς τὰ ἱερά μὴ τιθέναι διὰ τὸ ὁμορόφους γενέσθαι τῷ Ὁρέστη, περὶ δὲ τὸν χοᾶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον περιθεῖναι καὶ τῇ ἱερείᾳ ἀποφέρειν τοὺς στεφάνους πρὸς τὸ ἐν Λίμναις τέμενος, ἔπειτα θύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα.

<sup>k</sup> Hesych. *s. v.* Μιαιραὶ ἡμέραι· τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν αἷς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κατοικομένων ἀνίεναι ἐδόκουν. Phot. μιαιρὰ ἡμέρα· ἐν τοῖς Χουσίῳ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ δοκοῦσιν αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν τελευτησάντων ἀνίεναι ῥάμνων ἔωθεν ἐμασῶντο καὶ πίττη τὰς θύρας ἔχριον. Eustath. *Il.* 24. 527 τοῦ τοιούτου τῶν κακῶν πίθου εἴη ἂν καὶ ἡ Πιθιογία, οὐχὶ ἑορτάσιμος κατὰ τὴν παρ' Ἡσιόδω, ἐν ἣ ἄρχομένου πίθου ἔχρημ κορένυσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀποφράς.

<sup>l</sup> Hesych. *s. v.* θύραζε, Kāres, οὔκετ' Ἀνθεστήρια. Photius, *s. v.* θύραζε Kāres· οἱ μὲν διὰ πλῆθος οἰκετῶν Καρικῶν εἰρησθαι φασίν· ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀνθεστηρίοις εὐωχουμένων αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐργαζομένων. . . . τινὲς δὲ οὕτως τὴν παροιμίαν φασί· θύραζε Κῆρες, οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἀνθεστήρια· ὡς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ἀνθεστηρίοις τῶν ψυχῶν περιερχομένων.

<sup>m</sup> Arist. *Acharn.* 1000:

ΚΗΡΥΞ ἀκούετε λεῶ' κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς Χόας  
πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος, ὅς δ' ἂν ἐκπίη  
πρώτιστος, ἄσκον Κητσηφῶντος λήψεται.

*Ib.* 1085:

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἐπὶ δείπνον ταχὺ  
βάδιζε τὴν κίστην λαβὼν καὶ τὸν χοᾶ'  
ὁ τοῦ Διούσου γάρ σ' ἱερεὺς μεταπέμπεται.

<sup>n</sup> Schol. Rav. *ibid.* 1001: ἐν ταῖς Χοαῖς ἀγὼν ἦν περὶ τοῦ ἐκπιεῖν τινα πρῶτον χοᾶ, καὶ ὁ πῖων ἐστέφετο φυλλίνῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἄσκον οἴνου ἐλάμβανεν. πρὸς σάλπιγγος δ' ἔπινον.

<sup>o</sup> *Ib.* 1224 ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ Βασιλεὺς; ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκον. Schol. δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ Βασιλεὺς εἶχε τῆς ἀμίλλης τοῦ χοός.

<sup>p</sup> Ag. *Ran.* 217 ἐν Λίμναισι . . . ἠνίχ' ὁ κραυγαλόκωμος τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι χωρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.

<sup>q</sup> (Demosth.) κ. Νεαίρ. § 76 [vide R. 69<sup>o</sup>] καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διούσου παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Λίμναις· καὶ αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστηκεν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα. [Cf. R. 34<sup>o</sup>] § 78 βούλομαι δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα καλέσαι, ὅς ὑπηρετεῖ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικί, ὅταν ἐξορκοῖ τὰς γεραίρας ἐν κανοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ, πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν . . . Ὅρκος Γεραιῶν. Ἀγιστεύω καὶ εἰμὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀγνή ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐ καθαρειούτων καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας, καὶ τὰ Θεόγνια (? θεοῖνια) καὶ τὰ Ἰοβάκχεια γεραίρω τῷ Διούσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις. Hesych.

σ. τ'. Γεραραί . . . αὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ ἐν Δίμναις τὰ ἱερά ἐπιτελοῦσαι τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἰδ'. *Et. Mag.* Γεραίραι· παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γυναικῆς τινες ἱεραί, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς καθίστησιν ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς βωμοῖς Διονύσου διὰ τὸ γεραίρειν τὸν θεόν· οὗτω Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασεύς.

<sup>r</sup> Plut. *Dec. Orat. Vit.* 7. 1, 10 Εἰσήνεγκε (Λυκούργος) δὲ καὶ νόμους, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν κομφοδῶν, ἀγῶνα τοῖς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ τὸν νικῆσαντα εἰς ἄστῳ καταλέγεσθαι, πρότερον οὐκ ἔξόν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκλειοπτότα.

<sup>s</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* p. 73, 12 (Kayser) ἐπιπλήξαι δὲ λέγεται περὶ Διονυσίων Ἀθηναίους, ἃ ποιεῖται σφίσι ἐν ὄρῳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος . . . ἐς τὸ θέατρον συμφοιτᾶν ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὑποσημνάντος ὀρχοῦνται καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρφείας ἐποποιίας τε καὶ θεολογίας τὰ μὲν ὡς Ὀραὶ τὰ δὲ ὡς Νύμφαι τὰ δὲ ὡς Βάκχαι πράττουσιν, ἐς ἐπιπλήξην τούτου κατέστη.

<sup>125</sup> Χόες in other communities. At Salamis: Philostr. *Heroica*, p. 314 (Kayser) (Αἴας ὁ Τελαμώνιος) ἠττίκιζέ τε ἅτε οἶμαι Σαλαμίνα οἰκῶν . . . καὶ ὅτε Ἀθήνησιν οἱ παῖδες ἐν μῆνὶ Ἀντιστηριῶν στεφανοῦνται τῶν ἀνθέων, τρίτῳ ἀπὸ γενεᾶς ἔτει, κρητῆράς τε τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐστήσατο καὶ ἔθισεν ὅσα Ἀθηναῖοις ἐν νόμῳ· μεμῆσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφασκε τουτωνῶν τῶν Διονυσίων κατὰ Θησεία. In Magnesia: Athenae. 533 D-E Πόσις δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ Μαγνητικῶν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντα θῦσαι Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Παναθήναια ὀνομάσαι, καὶ Διονύσῳ Χοοπότη θυσίασαντα καὶ τὴν Χοῶν ἑορτὴν αὐτόθι καταδείξαι. In Sicily: Athenae. 437 B Τιμαῖος δὲ φησιν ὡς Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος τῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῇ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐκπιόντι χαῶ ἄθλον ἔθηκε στέφανον χρυσοῦν: p. 437 E, τὸν Διονύσιον τοῖς οἰκέταις συνεορτάζοντα ἐν τῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῇ.

<sup>126</sup> Anthesteria at Teos: Röhl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 497 (public commination formulae, fifth century B. C.) καθημένους τωγῶνος Ἀνθεστηρίοισι καὶ Ἑρακλείοισι καὶ Δίοισιν, ἐν τῆπαρῇ ἔχεσθαι. ? At Apollonia in Chalkidike: Athenae. p. 334 F πρότερόν φασι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἐλαφηβολιώων συντελεῖν τοῖς τελευτήσασιν, νῦν δὲ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος. ? At Smyrna: vide *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Ionia. ? At Priene: R. 105<sup>a</sup>. ? At Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* Fasc. 3. 329 ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀντιστήρος τοῦ Πυθοχρήστου (? first century B. C.).

Τὰ μεγάλα Διονύσια.

<sup>127</sup> a Thuc. 5. 20 αἰται αἰ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν.

b Oracles from Delphi and Dodona quoted Demosth. *Meid.*

§ 52:

Αὐδῶ Ἑρεχθεΐδαισι, ὅσοι Πανδίωνος ἄστῳ  
ναίετε καὶ πατρίοισι νόμοις ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτάς,  
μεμῆσθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐρυχόρους κατ' ἀγνιάς  
ἰστάναι ὥραιων (? ὠραίων) Βρομίῳ χάριν ἄμμιγα πάντας,  
καὶ κισῶν βωμοῖσι κάρη στεφάνοις πυκάσαντας.



περὶ ὑγείας θύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι Διὶ ὑπάτω Ἡρακλεῖ Ἀπόλλωνι προστατηρίῳ·  
περὶ τύχας ἀγαθὰς Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυιῇ Λατοῖ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ κατ' ἀγυῖας κρατῆρας  
ἰστάμεν καὶ χοροὺς ἰστώναι καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις  
πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαις.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁ τοῦ Διὸς σημαίνει ἐν Δωδώνῃ· Διονύσῳ δημοτελεῖ ἱερὰ τελεῖν καὶ κρατῆρα  
κεράσαι καὶ χοροὺς ἰστώναι, Ἀπόλλωνι ἀποτροπαίῳ βουὴν θύσαι, καὶ στεφανη-  
φορεῖν ἑλευθέρους καὶ δούλους, καὶ ἐλευνύει μίαν ἡμέραν.

<sup>c</sup> Aeschin. κ. Κτησιφ. § 67 Δημοσθένης γράφει ψήφισμα . . . ἐκκλησίαν  
ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἰσταμένου τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς ὄτ' ἦν  
τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προαγών, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. περὶ Παραπρεσβ.  
§ 61 τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψήφισμα, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει τοὺς πρυτάνεις μετὰ τὰ  
Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὴν ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησίαν προγράψαι δύο ἐκκλησίας  
τὴν μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα.

<sup>d</sup> Demosth. κ. Μειδ. § 10 ΝΟΜΟΣ. Εὐήγορος εἶπεν· ὅταν . . . ἦ . . .  
τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ  
καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί. Arist. *Ath. Polii.* 56 ἔπειτα παραλαβὼν (ὁ ἄρχων) τοὺς  
χορηγοὺς τοὺς ἐνηνεγμένους ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν ἐς Διονύσια ἀνδράσι καὶ παισὶν  
καὶ κωμῳδοῖς, καὶ ἐς Θαργήλια ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισὶν (εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ἐς Διονύσια  
κατὰ φυλάς, εἰς (δὲ) Θαργήλια δευεῖν φυλαῖν εἰς).

<sup>e</sup> *C. I. A.* 2. 307 (Decree circa 290 B. C.) ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης . . .  
ἐπετέλεσε δὲ τοὺς προαγῶνας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἐπεμελήθη  
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων τῶν τε Διονυσιακῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

<sup>f</sup> *C. I. A.* 4. 318<sup>b</sup> περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἄρχων περὶ τῆς θυσίας ἧς  
ἔθυσεν τῷ Διονύσῳ . . . δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὸν δῆμον  
ἀ ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἄρχων γεγόναι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ  
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐν τεί χώρᾳ  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄρχων . . . ἐπιμεμελήται δὲ καὶ τῆς πομπῆς τῷ Διονύσῳ μετὰ  
τῶν παρέδρων καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν (B. C. 281). Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56  
πομπῶν δ' ἐπιμελεῖται (ὁ ἄρχων) . . . καὶ τῶν Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων μετὰ  
τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν.

<sup>g</sup> *C. I. A.* 3. 1110 (Ἐλαφηβολιῶνα) . . . ἔθυσεν τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν ἐν τῇ  
πομπῇ θυσίαν ὁ αὐτὸς Βασιλεὺς (circ. 130 B. C.).

<sup>h</sup> *C. I. A.* 2. 470 εἰσηγαγον δὲ (οἱ ἔφηβοι) τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἐσχάρας, θύσαντες τῷ θεῷ. 471 εἰσηγαγον δὲ (οἱ ἔφηβοι) καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτὸς καὶ ἔπεμψαν τοῖς Διονυσίοις  
ταῦρον ἄξιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃν καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πομπῇ. Alciphri. 2. 3,  
16 ἐμοὶ γένοιτο τὸν Ἀττικὸν αἰεὶ στέφεσθαι κισσὸν καὶ τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάρας  
ἰμῆσαι κατ' ἔτος Διόνυσον. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2. 1 (Kayser, p. 235)  
ὅποτε ἦκοι Διονύσια καὶ κατιοὶ ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἔδος, ἐν Κεραμικῷ  
ποτίζων (Ἡρώδης) ἀστοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ ξένους κατακειμένους ἐπὶ στιβάδων κιττοῦ.

Paus. I. 29, 2 (near the Akademeia) ναὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν εἰς ὃν τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζουσιν ἐν τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις.

i ? Phallic ritual at the Δ. ἐν ἄστει : C. I. A. I. 31 (decree concerning the colony of Brea, circ. 444 B. C.) Βοῦν δὲ καὶ [πρόβατα δύο ἀπά]γειν ἐς Παναθῆναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Διονύσι]α φαλλόν.

k Xen. *Hipparch.* 3. 2 καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες.

l Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 241 κατὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἱ εὐγενεῖς παρθένοι ἕκαστην φέρουσι ἣν δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα τὰ κανᾶ, ἐφ' ὧν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀπάντων ἐτίθεισαν. Cf. C. I. A. 2. 420, decree concerning the single choephoros chosen οἴσουσαν τὸ ἱερὸν κανοῦν τῷ θεῷ.

m Schol. Demosth. 22. § 68 ἔθος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ τοῖς Παναθηναίοις τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀφίεσθαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις παρασχόντας ἐγγυητάς.

n C. I. A. iii. 97 Πιστοκράτης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος Σατύρου Αὐρίδαι πομποστολήσαντες καὶ ἄρχοντες γενόμενοι τοῦ γένους τῶν Βακχιαδῶν ἀνέθηκαν.

<sup>128</sup> Oschophoria : vide Aphrodite, R. 104. Athena. R. 27<sup>b</sup>, vol. I, pp. 291–292. Plut. *Theb.* 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν (Θησεὺς ἐκ Κρήτης), αὐτόν τε πομπεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους οὕτως ἀμπεχομένους ὡς νῦν ἀμπέχονται τοὺς ὄσχους φέροντες. φέρουσι δὲ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀριάδῃ χαρίζόμενοι διὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι συγκομιζομένης ὀπώρας ἐπανῆλθεν. Cf. Lucian, *Calumn.* 16 ἐγένετό τις ὃς διέβαλλε τὸν Πλατωνικὸν Δημήτριον, ὅτι ὕδωρ τε πίνει καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων γυναικεία οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις. Proclus, *Chrestomath.* p. 425 (Gaisford) Ὅσχοφορικὰ μέλη παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἦδεδο· τοῦ χοροῦ δὲ δύο νεανία κατὰ γυναῖκας ἐστολισμένοι, κλῆμα ἀμπέλου κομίζοντες . . . τῆς ἑορτῆς καθηγοῦντο . . . ἄρξαι δὲ Θησεία φασὶ πρῶτον τοῦ ἔργου . . . χαριστήρια ἀποδιδούς Ἀθηναῖα καὶ Διονύσῳ . . . ἦν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡ παραπομπὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Σκιδάδος τέμενος. Schol. Nikand. *Alexiph.* 109 Ὅσχοφόροι λέγονται Ἀθήνησι παῖδες ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἀμιλλώμενοι κατὰ φυλάς. Athenae. 631 Β τρόποι δὲ αὐτῆς (τῆς γυμνοπαιδικῆς ὀρχήσεως) οἱ τε ὀσχοφορικοὶ καὶ οἱ βακχικοί, ὥστε καὶ (τὴν ὀρχησιν) ταύτην εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ἀναφέρεσθαι. ? The Haloa attached to Dionysos, vide Demeter, R. 18 and vol. 3, p. 46 : the τρύγητος offered to Dionysos at Eleusis, *ib.* R. 211.

<sup>129</sup> Mysteries of Dionysos, ? recognized by the States.

a In Thrace : Orphic τελετή, R. 61<sup>a</sup>, 74.

b Phrygia : R. 35<sup>a</sup>.

c Boeotia : Thebes, R. 68. Eur. *Bacch.* 472 (ὄργια) ἄρρητ' ἀβακχεύοισιν εἰδέναι βροτῶν. Kithairon, τριετηρικά mysteries R. 100.

d Delphi : R. 66<sup>e</sup>, 89; Phokis, 47<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Attica: Demeter-Persephone, R. 210<sup>b</sup>, 218<sup>n</sup>, 229, 230. *Geogr. Graec. Minor.* Didot II, p. 406 (citation from Arrian) οὔτε τὸν Θηβαῖον τὸν τῆς Κάδμου οὔτε ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς Διὸς καὶ Κόρης παῖδα σέβουσιν. Cf. R. 62<sup>d</sup>. Aristid. I, p. 50 (Dind.) κήρυκές τε καὶ Εὐμολπίδαι παρέδρον Ἐλεουσινίας αὐτὸν ἐκτήσαντο. Arnobius, 5. 28 pudor me habet Alimuntia illa proferre mysteria, quibus in Liberi honorem patris phallos subrigit Graecia. Cf. Clem. *Protr.* p. 29 P τὰ ἐν Ἀλμοῦντι τῆς Ἀττικῆς μυστήρια.

<sup>f</sup> Sikyon: Δ. Βακχείος ? mystic, R. 45<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Tegea: Δ. Μύστης, vide *Geogr. Reg.* Demeter-Persephone, s. v. Tegea.

<sup>h</sup> Lerna: vide Demeter, R. 115<sup>b</sup>. Paus. 2. 37, 5 (in the vicinity) εἶδον . . . τὴν Ἀλκυονίαν λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασιν Ἀργεῖοι Διόνυσον ἐς τὸν Ἄιδην ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλην ἀνάξοντα . . . 6 τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν (τὴν λίμνην) Διόνυσω δρώμενα ἐν νυκτὶ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον οὐχ ὅσιον ἐς ἅπαντας ἦν μοι γράψαι (cf. R. 89). ? Return of Semele in Spring. Pind. *Frags.* 45:

ὀπότ' οἰχθέντος Ὀρᾶν θαλάμου  
εὐδομον ἐπάγησιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεια,  
τότε βάλλεται ἐπ' ἀμβρόταν χθόν' ἔραται  
Ἴων φόβαι, ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μίγνυται,  
ἀχέϊ δ' ὀμφαῖ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς,  
ἀχέϊ τε Σεμέλαν ἐλικάμπυκα χοροί.

Argos: Nonnus, 47. 733 ὀμηγερέες δὲ πολῖται | μυστιπόλῳ χρίοντο παρήια λευκάδι γύψῳ.

<sup>i</sup> Laconia: *Geogr. Reg.* s. v.

<sup>k</sup> ? Patrai: R. 76<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> ? Kos: Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 5. Crete: R. 82, vide Zeus, R. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Astypalaia: ? Ἰοβάκχεια state-mysteries, R. 103<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Tenos: *Geogr. Reg.* s. v.

<sup>o</sup> Naples: *C. I. G. It. Sic.* 717 θεῶ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Ἡβωνι Μ. Πλωτίου Γλυκεροῦ ἐπιτεχθεῖς ἐς τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην βουλὴν καὶ ἐξ ἔθους μυηθεῖς ταύτης τῆς ἱεροσύνης. Cf. R. 40.

<sup>p</sup> State-mystery of Sabazios at Pergamon, R. 62<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> ? Δ. οἰκουρός in reference to mysteries, Lycophr. *Cass.* 1247.

<sup>181</sup> Fragment of Orphic poem in Cretan inscription (? third century B. C.). Comparetti, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 123:

Δίψα αἴδος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πῖ' ἀμοῦ  
Κράνας· αἰεὶ ῥέω ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῇ κυπαρίσση·  
Τίς δ' ἔσι; πῶ δ' ἔσι; Γᾶς υἱὸς ἡμὶ καὶ οὐρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.

<sup>132</sup> Fragments of same poem in inscriptions from Petilia and Sybaris: *Hell. Journ.* 3. 116. (Collitz, *Dial. Inscr.* 1654. *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1879, 1880):

Ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν, καθαρὰ χθονίων βασιλεία,  
 Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι·  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὐχομαι εἶναι  
 Πωῖαν δ' ἀνταπέτισ' [ἀντ'] ἔργων οὐτι δικαίων·  
 Εἴτ' ἐμὲ Μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
 [Βροντῆ] τ' ἀστεροπῆ τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντι κεραυνῶ.  
 Κύκλου δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο

Ὀλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔση ἀντὶ βροτοῦ·  
 Ἐριφος ἐς γὰλ' ἔπετον.

<sup>133</sup> Plut. p. 611 D (*Cons. ad ux.* c. 10) καὶ μὴν ἅ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις, οἱ πείθουσι πολλοὺς λέγοντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῆ τῶ διαλυθέντι κακὸν οὐδὲ λυπηρὸν ἐστι, οἷδ' ὅτι κωλύει σε πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργασμῶν, ἃ σύμμιμεν. P. 360 F φυγαὶ Διονύσου καὶ πλάναι Δήμητρος οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν Ὀσσηρικῶν καὶ Τυφωικῶν . . . ὅσα τε μυστικοῖς ἱεροῖς περικαλυπτόμενα . . .

<sup>134</sup> Proclus, *in Tim.* 5. 330 Οἱ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ τῶ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῆ Κόρη τελοῦμενοι . . . εὐχονται· κύκλου τ' αὐ λῆξαι καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι κακότητος.

<sup>135</sup> Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 2. 389 Sacra Liberi Patris ad purgationem animi pertinere . . . per oscilla genus purgationis.

<sup>136</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Convin.* 4. 5, p. 671 D Σύ τὸν πατριώτην θεὸν (Διόνυσον) ἐγγράφεις καὶ ὑποποιεῖς τοῖς Ἑβραίων ἀπορρήτοις; . . . τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν ἐς τοῦτο τεκμηρίων μόνοις ἐστὶ ῥητὰ καὶ διδακτὰ τοῖς μνουμένοις παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν τριετηρικὴν παντέλειαν. Cf. Io. Lyd. *De Mens.* 4, p. 84.

<sup>137</sup> Aristid. 1, p. 49 ἦδη δὲ τιῶν ἤκουσα καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶη ὁ Διόνυσος. Cf. *Geogr. Reg.* s.v. *Pergamon*.

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER

The Euxine: Olbia, Herod. 4. 79 ἐπεθύμησε [Σκύλης] Διονύσῳ Βακχίῳ τελεσθῆναι. Cf. Latyschev. 1. 12 τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἐν τῶ θεάτρῳ. Panti-kapaion: cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Thrace,' p. 9 Dionysos with panther and thyrsos on third-century coins.

Thrace: R. 1<sup>a</sup>, 2, 39, 41<sup>a</sup>, 45<sup>k</sup>, 47<sup>b</sup>, 60<sup>a</sup>, 61<sup>a</sup>, 61<sup>g-h</sup>, 73, 74, 76<sup>b, c</sup>, 86<sup>b</sup>, 104<sup>d</sup>. Schol. Eur. *Alk.* 968 ὁ δὲ φυσικὸς Ἡρακλείδης εἶναι ὄντως φησὶ στανίδας τινὰς Ὀρφέως γράφων οὕτως· 'τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου κατε-

σκέασται ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης, ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Αἴμου, ὅπου δὴ τις ἐν σάνισιν ἀναγραφὰς εἶναι φασιν.' Cf. Ares, R. 7. Apollonia, 62<sup>i</sup>. *El. Mag.* s. v. Βαλῖαι, αἱ ταχέαι . . . καὶ Βαλιὰ διαποίκιλος (χιτῶν) καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Θράκες. Perinthos, 62<sup>g</sup>. Byzantion, 75. Kallatis, 14. Maroneia, 76<sup>b</sup>: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 217, Fig. 160, obv. head of Dionysos vine-crowned, rev. Dionysos standing holding bunch of grapes and two boughs of the narthex, inscr. Διονύσου Σωτήρος Μαρωνιτῶν, second century B. C.

Paionia: Hesych. s. v. Δύαλος· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Παιόσι. (Cf. Δυαλεῖς, Attic phratry at Myrrhinous near Phlye, *C. I. A.* 2. 600.)

Macedon, 61<sup>b-f</sup>, 61<sup>k</sup>, 104<sup>e</sup>. Arrian, *Anab.* 4. 8 εἶναι γὰρ ἡμέραν ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου Μακεδόσι. *El. Mag.* s. v. Γιωγίσι· ἄκρα μεταξύ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελλήνης· καὶ Γιωγὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Διόνυσος εἶρηται..

Leibethra, 45<sup>b</sup>, 76<sup>b</sup>.

(?) Amphipolis, 65<sup>b</sup>.

? Apollonia, 126.

Thessaly, 24, 78. Larissa, *Eph. Arch.* 1901, p. 130, inscr. second century B. C. mentioning τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου. Near Volo (probably on the site of the ancient Glaphyrai, vide Kern, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1907, p. 86) inscr. published *Hell. Journ.* 1906, p. 163 Ἐρμων εὐξάμενος Διονύσῳ.

Phthiotis, 67. Lamia, *C. I. A.* 4. 373<sup>h</sup> ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου (third century B. C.).

Phokis: Amphikleia 47<sup>c</sup>. *C. I. G.* 1738 (time of Septimius Severus) ψηφίσματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μ. Οὔλπιον Δαμάσιππον, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Διονύσου τὸν Βοιωτάρχην . . . ἡ γυνὴ ἐν Διονύσου τεμένει (ἀνέστησεν). Delphi, 35<sup>e-f-g</sup>, 47<sup>d</sup>, 66<sup>a</sup>, d-h, 85<sup>d</sup>, 89, 104<sup>g</sup>. *C. I. G.* 1689 (Amphictyonic inscr.) ὅπως ἂν ἡ θυσία τῷ Διονύσῳ. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 12 ταῖδε θυσίαι Λαβυαδῶν τῶπελλαίου μηνὸς τῷ Διονύσῳ, inscr. fifth century B. C. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 400, recently discovered Paean to Dionysos, fourth century B. C.:

II. 1-12. [Δεῦρ' ἄνα Δι]θύραμβε Βάκχ'  
 εἴνε θυρσῆ]ρες Βραϊ-  
 τά, Βρόμι' ἠρινα[ῖς ἴκου  
 ταῖσδ' ἱεραῖς ἐν ὤραις.  
 Εὐοῖ, ὦ Ἰδ[βακχε, ὦ Ἰε Παιά]ν  
 ὄν Θήβαις ποτ' ἐν Εὐίαῖς  
 Ζηνὶ γείνατο καλλιπαις Θυόνα·  
 πάντες δ' [ἄστέρες ἀγχ]όρευ-  
 σαν, πάντες δὲ βροτοὶ χάρη-  
 σαν σαῖς Βάκχιε γένναις·  
 \*Ἰθι Παιάν, \*Ἰθι Σωτήρ,

εὐφρων τάνδε] πόλιν φύλασσο'  
εὐαίῳνι σὺν [δ'λαβῶ].

1. 110. δειξάι δ' ἐγ' ξενίοις ἐτεί-  
οις θεῶν ἱερῶ γένοι συναίμα  
τόνδ' ὕμνον.
1. 131. Πυθιάσιν δὲ πεντετηρ-  
ῖσι τροπαῖς ἔταξε βάκ-  
χου θυσίαν χορῶν τε πολλ-  
ῶν κυκλίαν ἄμιλλαν.

Aitolia, 41<sup>b</sup>, 104<sup>h</sup>. Naupaktos, 58, 102<sup>m</sup>. See Achaia (Patrai).  
Korkyra, 101<sup>i</sup>, 104<sup>i</sup>.

Thesprotis, 76<sup>b</sup>.

Opeus, 101<sup>d</sup>, 104<sup>f</sup>; vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

Boeotia, 5, 61<sup>k</sup>, 64, 75, 76<sup>d</sup>, 101<sup>a</sup>.

Akraiphiai on Mt. Ptoon: Paus. 9. 23, 5 θεάς δὲ ἄξια ἐνταῦθα Διονύσου ναός ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα. Anthedon: Paus. 9. 22, 6 Διονύσου τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται καὶ ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον. Chaironeia 75, 102<sup>e</sup>. Plut. *Cim.* 2 οἱ τότε σωθέντες εἰκόνα τοῦ Δουκούλλου λιθίνην ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέστησαν. Eleutheraï, 41<sup>e</sup>. Haliartos, 32. On Helikon near Askrai: Paus. 9. 30, 1 Διόνυσος ὁ μὲν Λυσιππου, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε Σύλλας τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ὀρθόν, ἔργον τοῦ Μύρωνος θεάς μάλιστα ἄξιον μετὰ γε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρεχθέα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ οὐκ οἴκοθεν, Ὀρχομενίου δὲ ἀφελόμενος τοὺς Μινύας. Lebadeia, 42, 75 (dedication on wall of cave Θυμάδης ἀνέθεικε Ξενοῖος Πανὶ Διονύσῳ, third century B. C.). Orchomenos, 77, 102<sup>d</sup>. Paus. 9. 38, 1 Ὀρχομενίου δὲ πεποιήται . . . καὶ Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότερον Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. Potniai, 76<sup>e</sup>. Tanagra, 68<sup>b</sup>. *C. I. G.* 1599 (dedicatory inscription possibly from temple). Thebes, 10, 35<sup>m</sup>, 45<sup>c</sup>, <sup>e</sup>, <sup>k</sup>, 68, 75, 89<sup>c</sup>, 104<sup>k</sup>, 129<sup>c</sup>. Vide Apollo, R. 185<sup>h</sup>. Paus. 9. 12, 4 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τότε, ὡς ὁμοῦ τῶ κεραυνῶ βληθέντι ἐς τὸν Σεμέλης θάλαμον πέσοι ξύλον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Πολύδωρον δὲ τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο χαλκῶ λέγουσιν ἐπικοσμήσαντα Διόνυσον καλέσαι Κάδμον πλησίον δὲ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα καὶ τοῦτο Ὀνασιμίδης ἐποίησε δι' ὅλου πλήρες ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ· τὸν βωμὸν δὲ οἱ παῖδες εἰργάσαντο οἱ Πραξιτέλους. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Central Greece,' pp. 74-75, head of bearded Dionysos on coins, B. C. 426-395: p. 79, head of bearded Dionysos facing, B. C. 395-387. Thespiiai, 34<sup>h</sup>, 68<sup>c</sup>, 102<sup>e</sup>. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1786 Ἀ γὰ ἱερὰ Διονύσω κῆ τᾶς πόλιος Θεσπέων. *Ib.* 1867 ἱέρειαν διὰ βίου Δήμητρος Ἀχέας, ἔκγονον δὲ τῶν τὸν Διόνυσον ἀναθέντων. Paus. 9. 26, 8 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ Διονύσου καὶ αὐθις Τύχης, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ὑγείας.

On Lake Kopais: vide Demeter-Perseph. R. 12.

Oropos, 75.

Attica (vide vol. 1, Hera, R. 29<sup>d</sup>, vol. 3, Demeter, R. 229, 230), 66<sup>c</sup>, 69<sup>a, b</sup>, 106, 117, 122. Athens, 17, 34<sup>e</sup>, 37, 41<sup>e</sup>, 45<sup>e</sup>, 48, 57, 62<sup>a, d, e</sup>, 69<sup>c, d, e</sup>, 85<sup>c</sup>, 93, 97, 99, 104<sup>m</sup>, 119, 124, 127, 128. Athenae. p. 533 C τὸ Ἀθήνησι τοῦ Διονύσου πρόσωπον ἐκείνου [Πεισιστράτου] τινὲς φασιν εἰκόνα. Paus. 1. 20, 1 Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα. Ἔρωτα δὲ ἐστήκοτα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον Θυμῖλος ἐποίησεν. Schol. Soph. O. C. 100 Φιλόχορος δὲ καὶ περὶ τινων ἄλλων θυσιῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δρωμένων (sc. νηφαλίων) φησὶν ἐν τῇ β' τῶν Ἀτθίδων Διονύσῳ τε καὶ ταῖς Ἐρεχθέως θυγατράσι. Attic Demes: Acharnai, 9, 111. Axone, 114. Brauron, 109. Eleusis, 45<sup>f</sup>, 98, 104<sup>m</sup>, 108, 122; vide Demeter, R. 18, 211, 229-230. Eleutherai, 41<sup>e</sup>, 89<sup>c</sup>, Halimous, 129<sup>e</sup>. Ikaria, 112. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 14, 7 Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐφ' οὗ Δημήτηρ καὶ Διόνυσος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθον. ἀλλὰ Δημήτρα μὲν Κελεὸς ὑπεδέξατο, Διόνυσον δὲ Ἰκάριος, καὶ λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ κλῆμα ἀμπέλου. Kollytos, 110.

Marathon: C. I. A. 2. 601 decree of the κοινὸν τῶν Τετραπόλεων (? third century B. C.) τὴν μὲν μίαν στήσαι ἐμ Μαραθῶνι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διονύσου. C. I. A. 2. 1324 (fourth century B. C.), list of ἱεροποιοί: Τετραπόλεις τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνέθεσαν. Cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 262 s. v. Ἦρωσ Ἰατρός ὁ Ἀριστόμαχος, ὃς ἐτάφη ἐν Μαραθῶνι παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον. Myrrhinous, 21, ? 115. Peiraeus, 104<sup>m</sup>, 116. Phlye, 21, 113. Salamis, 107. Semachidai, 69<sup>a</sup>.

Megara, 14, 38, 51<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>o</sup>. Paus. 1. 43, 5 ᾠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολυεΐδος, καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλην τοῦ προσώπου.

Corinth, 45<sup>d</sup>. Isthmos, 104<sup>c</sup>.

Sikyon, 16<sup>a</sup>, 45<sup>e</sup>, 85<sup>c, f</sup>, 104<sup>n</sup>. Herod. 5. 67 τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε. Cf. Demeter, R. 78.

Phlious: Paus. 2. 13, 7 Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλλο Ἰσιδος· τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου δῆλον πᾶσι, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θεάσασθαι μόνον ἔστι. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Pelop.'* p. 35, head of Dionysos on coins of Phlious, B. C. 370-280.

Nemea, 104<sup>c</sup>.

Epidauros: vide Artemis, R. 26<sup>l</sup>. C. I. G. 1177 ('inter rudera Asclepieii') Εἰρεὺς Καλλιμαχος Βρομίῳ ἰδρύσατο βωμόν.

Troizen, 52. Paus. 2. 31, 2 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ναῷ βωμοὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ γῆν ἄρχειν· καὶ φασιν ἐξ Ἄιδου Σεμέλην ὑπὸ Διονύσου κομισθῆναι ταύτην.

Hermione, 85<sup>b</sup>. *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Pelop.'* p. 161, Dionysos on late Imperial coins.

Argolis, 35<sup>k</sup> 1, 52, 70, 102<sup>a</sup>, 104<sup>o</sup>, 129<sup>h</sup>. Cf. Demeter, *Geogr. Reg.* vol. 3, p. 370. Argos, 34<sup>b</sup>, 75, 89, 104<sup>c</sup>. Paus. 2. 23, 1 ἐντεῦθεν ἐρχομένοι οὐδὲν καλουμένην κοίλην ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβοίας. συμβάσσης γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῆς πρὸς τῷ Καφηρεῖ ναυαγίας, τοὺς δυνηθέντας ἐς τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν τῶν Ἀργείων ῥίγος τε πιέζει καὶ λιμός· εὐξαμένοι δὲ θεῶν τινα ἐν τοῖς παρούσιν ἀπόροις γενέσθαι σωτήρα, αὐτίκα ὡς προσήεσαν ἐφάνη σφίσι Διονύσου σπήλαιον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε δὲ αἶγες ἄγριαι φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἠθροισμένοι· ταύτας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σφάζαντες τὰ τε κρέα ἐδείπνησαν καὶ δέρμασιν ἐχρήσαντο ἀντὶ ἐσθῆτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἐπισκειάσαντες τὰς ναὺς οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἐπάγονται τὸ ἐκ σπηλαίου ξόανον καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἐς τὸδε τιμῶντες ἔτι. Δ. Κρήσιος. Paus. 2. 23, 7 Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου. Περσεῖ γὰρ πολεμήσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐθις ἐλθόντα ἐς λύσιν τοῦ ἔχθους τὰ τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆναι μεγάλως λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, καὶ τέμενός οἱ δοθῆναι τοῦτο ἐξαιρέτον. Κρησιὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἠνομάσθη, διότι Ἀριάδην ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψαν ἐνταῦθα. Cf. Aphrodite, R. 104.

Laconia, 19, 25, 60, 70, 71, 88, 102<sup>1</sup>. Sparta, 75, 102<sup>1</sup> Δ. Κολωνάτας. Paus. 3. 13, 7 ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἦ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναὸς, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος ὃν τῆς οδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην Διόνυσφ φασι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα. τῷ δὲ ἥρωι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιπίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἕνδεκα, ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· δρᾶν δὲ οὕτω σφίσις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. Cf. Schol. Aeschin. κ. Τιμαρχ. p. 729 (Dind. p. 17) Διονυσιάδες ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι. Hesych. s. v. Δύσμαι· αἱ ἐν Σπάρτῃ χωρίτιδες Βάκχαι. Strab. 363 τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλίμναζε τὸ προύστειον, καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ Λίμνας. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐν Λίμναις ἐφ' ὑγροῦ βεβηκὸς ἐτύχανε, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ ξηροῦ τὴν ἰδρυσιν ἔχει. At Brasiai: R. 71. Cf. Paus. 3. 24, 3 καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον Διόνυσου κῆπον (connected with legend of Ino). At Amyklai, 3. 19, 6 θεῶν δὲ σέβουσιν οἱ ταῦτη τὸν τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ψίλακα ἐπονομάζοντες· ψίλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ περὰ, ἀνθρώπους τε οἶνος ἐπαίρει. . . . Cf. Macrob. 1. 18. 2 apud Lacedaemonios etiam in sacris quae Apollini celebrant, Hyacinthia vocantes, hedera coronantur Bacchico ritu. At Alagonia: Artemis, R. 55 f. On Mt. Ilion, near Las, 3. 24, 7 Διονύσου ναὸς. Statue at Gythion, vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg.* s. v. 'Laconia.' Near Alea, 87.

Arcadia, 72. Paus. 8. 19, 2 Διονύσου ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν, καὶ ἐορτὴν ὦρα ἄγουσι χειμῶνος, ἐν ἣ λῖπα ἀηλιμμένοι ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀγελῆς βοῶν ταῦρον, ὃν



ἄν σφισιν ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ποιήσῃ, ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 32, 3 κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ σταδίου πέρας Διόνυσου ναὸς. Melangeia, 8. 6, 5 ἔστι κρήνη καλουμένη Μελιαστῶν' οἱ Μελιασταὶ δὲ οὔτοι δρῶσι τὰ ὄργια τοῦ Διόνυσου, καὶ Διόνυσου τε μέγαρον πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἔστιν ἱερόν Μελαινίδος. Orchomenos: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Pelop.' p. 191, Dionysos on coins of Sept. Severus. Pheneos: *ib.* p. 198, on coin of Caracalla. Psophis, p. 198, on coin of Sept. Severus. Tegea: Dionysos Μύστης (vide Demeter. *Geogr. Reg.* 'Tegea'). Paus. 8. 53, 7 Διόνυσου τε ἱερά δύο καὶ Κόρης βωμός. Phigaleia: R. 41<sup>d</sup>, 27: Diod. Sic. 15. 40 παρεσέπεσον ἐς τὴν Φιάλειαν καὶ Διονυσίων κατὰ τύχην ὄντων.

Messenia, 104<sup>p</sup>. ? On Mt. Eua: Paus. 4. 31, 4 τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τῷ ὄρει φασὶ Βακχικόν τι ἐπίφθεγμα Εὐοὶ Διόνυσου πρῶτων ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῦ τε εἰπόντος καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Διόνυσῳ γυναικῶν. ? Near Kyparissia on the coast, 4. 36, 7 Διονυσιάδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Pelop.' p. 115, Dionysos on coin of Kyparissia, Sept. Severus.

Elis, 31, 34<sup>c</sup>. Paus. 6. 26, 1 ἱερόν ἐστι Διόνυσου . . . τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους' θεῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόνυσον σέβουσιν Ἥλείοι, καὶ τὸν θεόν σφισιν ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐς τῶν Θυῖων τὴν ἑορτὴν λέγουσι . . . λέβητας δὲ ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς ἐς οἶκημα ἐσκομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς κατατίθενται κενούς, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων, σφραγίδας δὲ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἱερεῖς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ἦ, ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐπιβάλλουσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν . . . ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ οἶκημα εὐρίσκουσιν οἴνου πεπλησμένους τοὺς λέβητας (same story, but apparently recorded independently, as that in Aristotle, p. 842). Paus. 5. 14, 10, at Olympia πρὸς τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διόνυσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῷ . . . βωμός. ? On the Alpheios, 89<sup>c</sup>. Paus. 6. 24, 8 (in Elis) Ἔστι καὶ Σειληνοῦ ναὸς ἐνταῦθα, ἰδίᾳ τῷ Σειληνῷ καὶ οὐχ ὁμοῦ τῷ Διόνυσῳ πεποιημένος. Μέθη δὲ οἶνον ἐν ἐκπώματι αὐτῷ δίδωσι. θνητὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος τῶν Σειληνῶν εἰκάσαι ἂν τις μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς ταφοῖς αὐτῶν.

Achaia. Aigai: Schol. Hom. *Il.* 13. 21 ἄγεται καὶ Διόνυσῳ ἑορτὴ ἐν ἧ ὁ χορὸς συστάς τὰς τοῦ δαίμονος τελετὰς ὀργιάζῃ, θανμάσιον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι φασιν ἔργον. ἄμπελοι γάρ, ἄς καλοῦσιν ἐφημέρους, ἀνισχύουσι μὲν ἡμέρας καρπὸν βλαστάνουσιν, ὥστε δρέποντας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἐσπέραν οἶνον ἀφθονον ἔχειν. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Εὐφορίωνι. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Pelop.' Pl. IV. 1-6, p. 16, head of Dionysos on coins of Aigai from 500-370 B.C. dominant type. Aigion: *ib.* p. 15, Pl. IV. 15, head of young Dionysos, first century B.C. Bura: Paus. 7. 25, 9 ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Διόνυσου τέ ἐστι. Patrai, 50, 76<sup>a</sup>, 86<sup>b</sup>, 88. Paus. 7. 21, 1 καὶ Διόνυσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν ἱερόν ἐπὶ κλήσιν Καλυδωνίου' μετεκομίσθη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Διόνυσου

τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ Καλυδῶνος. Pellene, 46: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Pelop.' p. 32  
Dionysos Λαμπτήρ (?) on coin of Sept. Severus.

Asia Minor—Interior.

Pontos, 63<sup>f</sup>. Bithynia: Nikaia, 51<sup>b</sup>, 53. Cf. *C. I. G.* 3745, Roman  
Imp. period. Steph. Byz. Διονύσου πόλις, ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἢ πρότερον Κρουνοί.  
'Διονυσιακοῦ δὲ προσπεσόντος ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῖς τόποις ἀγάλματος'  
(Scymn. Perieg. 753) οὕτως ἐκλήθη.

Phrygia, 34<sup>a</sup>, 35<sup>a</sup>, 61<sup>i</sup>, 62<sup>a, b, c, l, n, o</sup>. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Διονύσου  
πόλις β' Φρυγίας, κτίσμα Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμένους ξόανον εὐρόντων Διονύσου  
περὶ τοὺς τόπους. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 562, coin-legend Imperial  
period, ἱερεὺς Διονύσου. Pessinous, 104<sup>u</sup>. Ankyra, 104<sup>u</sup>. *C. I. G.*  
4020 διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου (third century A. D.).

Lydia, 63, 73. Philadelphia, 56. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, 308 Διὶ  
Κορυφαίῳ Δία Σαβάζιον. Koloe: *Mém. d. l'Académ. Belg.* xxx. p. 3,  
note 1 ἡ Κολονηῶν κατοικία καθιέρωσεν Δία Σαβάζιον, inscr. found at Goula  
in Phrygia. Aphrodisias: *C. I. G.* 2739 Τιβ. Κλαύδ. Καίσαρα Γερμανικὸν  
αὐτοκράτορα ὁ δῆμος καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ Διονύσου. 2784  
Τι. Κλαύδ. Ἀπολλώνιος Αὐρηλιανὸς ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου θεοῦ Διονύσου.  
Cf. R. 104<sup>u</sup>. At Blaudos on the Phrygian-Mysian border: Conze,  
*Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, p. 98, Taf. XVII. 7, relief  
representing Sabazios on throne holding spear? and patera, worshippers  
offering incense on altar by which is tree with snake: dedication  
Μένανδρος Ἀθηνόδωρου Διὶ Σαβαζίῳ εὐχήν. Antiocheia (ad Pisidiam):  
*C. I. G.* 3979 ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ Διονύσου. Vide  
*Papers of American School*, vol. ii, p. 54 (Sterrett), inscr. from Pisidia  
mentioning οἱ μύσται τοῦ Διὸς Σαβαζίου. Ikonion, vol. 3, Demeter,  
R. 60. Tigranokerta, 104<sup>w</sup>.

Asia Minor coast and vicinity.

Tion in Bithynia, 53. Kios, 123.

Kyzikos, 123. Hellespont, 104<sup>b</sup>.

Dedications to Dionysos in the district of Kyzikos: *Hell. Journ.*  
1907, p. 65 θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ Διονύσῳ Κεβρηνίῳ. Cf. *Hell. Journ.* 1905, 57.

Lampsakos, 95, 103<sup>e</sup>, 123.

Pergamon, 18, 56, 62<sup>k</sup>, 85<sup>d</sup>, 101<sup>h</sup>. Zeus-Bacchos: vide vol. 1,  
Zeus, R. 62.

Magnesia ἐν Σιπύλῳ, *C. I. G.* 3137 (inscr. in Oxford containing  
the covenant between Smyrna and Magnesia concerning alliance with  
Seleukos), l. 85 οἱ δὲ ἐμ Μαγνησίᾳ κάτοικοι (ἀναθέτωσαν τὴν ὁμολογίαν) ἐν τῇ  
ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διονύσου.

Ionia, 63<sup>f</sup>.

Smyrna, 104<sup>r</sup>, 123. Philostr. *Vita Soph.* 1. 25, 1 πέμπεται γάρ τις μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶν μεταρσία τριήρης ἐς ἀγοράν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερεὺς, οἶον κυβερνήτης, εὐθύνει πείσματα ἐκ θαλάττης λύουσαν. Aristid. 1, p. 373 (Dind.) καλοῦσι γάρ σε ἦρος ὥρα πρώτη Διονυσίοις, τριήρης ἱερά τῷ Διονύσῳ φέρεται κύκλω δι' ἀγορᾶς. *Ib.* p. 440 τριήρης τις ἦν δεικνυμένη μὲν Διονυσίοις, ὑμνουμένη δ' ἐν τοῖς κατάπλοις, σύμβολον νίκης παλαιᾶς, ἣν ἐνίκων Σμυρναῖοι βακχεύοντες Χίους. Herod. 1. 150 τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὄρτην ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ. Vide vol. 2, Artemis, R. 137<sup>c</sup> (*C. I. G.* 3161 private dedication to Dionysos, third century B. C.).

Erythrai, 103<sup>f</sup>, 123. Dittenb. *Syll.* 370, l. 147 Διονύσου Βακχέως ἐπάνιον. l. 145 Διονύσου Πυθοχρήστου.

Teos, 28, 45<sup>m</sup>, 89<sup>e</sup>, 103<sup>g</sup>, 104<sup>av</sup> b, h, 126. *C. I. G.* 3092 (inscr. of Roman period, decree of Βουλή and Δήμος) Διόνυσος . . . ὁ τῆς πόλεως θεός. Cf. 3108 (late Roman) τὸν προεστῶτα τῆς ἱερωτάτης πόλεως ἡμῶν Διόνυσον. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 170 τῷ γένει παντὶ καὶ τῷ καθηγμονί θεῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Κρέων . . . στρατηγῆσας . . . καθιέρωσεν (dedication probably referring to the house of Attalos, vide v. Prott, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1902, p. 165). *C. I. G.* 3046 ἐπεὶ Τήϊοι πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντες . . . παρεκάλεον τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ὅπως τὰν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν τὰν τε χώραν ἐπιχωρήσωντι ἱερὰν εἶμεν καὶ ἄσυλον τοῦ Διονύσου, &c. (rights of asylum confirmed by Aetolians, B. C. 190 (?); by Rome, *ib.* 3045).

Lebedos, 104<sup>a</sup>.

Ephesos, 123.

Priene, 97, 104<sup>s</sup>, 105<sup>a</sup>.

Magnesia on the Maeander, 5, 68<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>k</sup>, 104<sup>bb</sup>, 125. Kern, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 214, altar dedicated Διονύσῳ καὶ Σεμέλῃ Ἀριστεὺς Ζήνωνος. *Ib.* 151 (inscr. in theatre) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησαν Γάϊον Ἰούλιον . . . ἱερέα Διονύσου ἀπὸ προγόνων.

Miletos: *Arch. Anz.* 1906, p. 9, inscr. of late Hellenic period found near the site.

τὴν ὁσίην χაίρειμ πολήτιδες εἴπατε Βάχαι  
 ἱερίην, χρηστήν τοῦτο γυναικὶ θέμις,  
 ὑμᾶς κείς ὄρος ἦγε καὶ ὄργια πάντα καὶ ἱρὰ  
 ἦνεικεμ πάσης ἐρχομένη πρὸ πόλεως.

Cf. Diod. Sic. 13, 104.

Tralles, 104<sup>v</sup>. *C. I. G.* 2919, inscr. in reign of Artaxerxes-Ochos, circ. 351 B. C. (probably restored later) ὅσα ἐψηφίσαντο Τραλλεῖς ἱκετηρίην εἶναι Διονύσῳ Βακχίῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἱκετὴν μὴ ἀδικεῖν· χάρος ἱερὸς ἄσυλος Διονύσου Βάχχου· τὸν ἱκετὴν μὴ ἀδικεῖν, μηδὲ ἀδικούμενον περιορᾶν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐξῶλη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ.

Caria, 63<sup>b</sup>. Iasos, 104<sup>t</sup>. Knidos, 73, 103<sup>i</sup>. Cf. vol. 3, p. 224. Mylasa: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 106 *ιερεὺς Σαβαζίου . . . Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ* (? first century B. C.). Halikarnassos: Bekker *Anecd.* 1, p. 224 οἱ δὲ Ὀμβρικοὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλικαρνασέων Βάκχος: vide *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.*, 1895, p. 91.

Lykia, 104<sup>t</sup>: inscr. from Tlos mentioning an *ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Καβίρων*, who is also *ιερεὺς Διονύσου*, *Hell. Journ.* 1895, p. 122 (Roman period).

Termessos: *C. I. G.* add. 2366<sup>i</sup> *ιέρεια θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Διονύσου διὰ βίου*. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 263 *θεὸς μέγας Διόνυσος*.

Attaleia in Pamphylia: vide vol. 4, Apollo, R. 65.

Egypt: Alexandria, 104<sup>x</sup>. Meineke *Anal. Alex.* p. 346 (from Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* ii. 7) ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸς Διόνυσον τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλεύσασι συγγένεια οὕτω περιέχει ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Διονυσίᾳ φυλῇ δημοὶ εἰσι κατεκεχωρισμένοι, Ἄλθης ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης γυναικὸς Διονύσου θυγατρὸς δὲ Θεστίου Ἀλθαίας. Naukratis: vide Apollo, R. 52. Ptolemais, 104<sup>x</sup>. *C. I. G.* 4893 ὑπὲρ Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς . . . οἱ συνάγοντες ἐν Σῆτει τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου νήσῳ Βασιλισταί (prayers to Dionysos and Egyptian divinities: the Βασιλισταί amalgamated with Διονυσιασταί).

Libya, R. 105, on coins of Kyrene, fourth century B. C., head of young Dionysos with thyrsos. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 730.

The Islands of the Aegean.

Euboea: Chalkis, 104<sup>l</sup>. Eretria, 102<sup>n</sup>. Karystos, 55. Histiaia: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Central Greece,'* p. 127, head of Dionysos on coin, B. C. 313-265. Cf. *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Argolis.

Aigina, 102<sup>r</sup>. Paus. 2. 30, 1 temple of Dionysos καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ (ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς) καὶ γένεια Διόνυσος ἔχων πεποίηται.

The Cyclades.

Andros, 101<sup>f</sup>, 105. *C. I. G.* 2349<sup>l</sup> *ιέρεια τοῦ Διονύσου* (Greek period). Tenos, 102<sup>w</sup>. *C. I. G.* 2336<sup>b</sup> ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δήμος . . . Ἀὐρ. Σάτυρον . . . ἐπιμελησάμενον τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου οἴκων καὶ ἀναθέντα χρήματα δρῶσι . . . ἐτείμησεν. Mykonos, 44, 59<sup>a</sup>, 85<sup>a</sup>. Delos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 338, ? first century B. C. Συσίων . . . *ιερεὺς γενομένος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα . . . κληρονομήσασαν τῷ Διονύσῳ*. (Cf. *ib.* 1883, p. 103, lists of choregi at the Apollonia and Dionysia, *ib.* 1881, 508.) R. 102<sup>g</sup>, 123. *C. I. A.* 2. 985 (circ. 95 B. C.) *ιερεὺς Ἀνίου*. (Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 80.) Syros, 102<sup>v</sup>. Keos, 102<sup>x</sup>. Paros, 99, 102<sup>t</sup>. Naxos (cf. vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 104), 6, 25, 89<sup>c</sup>. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 125 Ipsi (Baccho) consecrata est quae et Dia dicitur. *C. I. G.* 2265 (fourth

century B. C.) public document dated by name of the *ιερεὺς Διονύσου*. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878, 587 Ἐγωναθετήσας τῶν μεγάλων Διονυσίων Διονύσῳ Μουσαγέτῃ (late Roman).

Melos, 100. Amorgos, 10, 102<sup>z</sup>. *C. I. G.* add. 2264<sup>g</sup> (Aigiala) Λεωνίδης καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἱερατεύσαντες Διονύσῳ ἀνέθηκαν. 2264<sup>m</sup> (Minoa) Διονύσῳ Μειωώτῃ καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι (period of Antonines).

#### North Aegean.

Thasos: *Ath. Mitth.* 1903, p. 458, inscr. of fifth century B. C. containing decree ἀναγράφαντες ἐς λίθον θέσθω ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διονύσου. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 392, inscr. of sixth century B. C. found at Thasos Ζηνὸς καὶ Σεμελῆς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης ταυπέπλων ἐστάσιον παῖδες τῆσδε πόλεως φύλακοι. Fifth-century Dionysiac coin-types, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thrace,'* pp. 216–219. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 229, Fig. 166, coin-type on tetradrachms, second century B. C., head of Dionysos with band across forehead and ivy-crown (Coin Pl. 25).

Imbros: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 163 τοῖς Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι (second century B. C.).

#### Tenedos, 79.

Lesbos, 16, 45<sup>a</sup>, 49, 86<sup>a</sup>, 105. *C. I. G.* 2167 παρὰ τῷ θέῳ Ζωννύξῳ. Mitylene 77, 101<sup>g</sup>. *Et. Mag. s. v.* Βρισαίος· οὕτως ὁ Διόνυσος . . . ἀπὸ ἄκρας Λεσβιακῆς Βρῆσης ἧς μέμνηται Ἀνδροτίων. ὅτι τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῇ Βρίσῃ φησὶν ἰδρῦσθαι ὑπὸ Μάκαρος. *Steph. Byz.* Ἄκρα Λέσβου ἐν ἧ ἰδρυται Διόνυσος Βρισαίος. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 445, private dedication Διονύσῳ Βρησαγῆ(υεῖ). ? third century B. C. Cf. R. 40, 104<sup>r</sup>.

Chios, 30, 70, 86<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>y</sup>, 123. *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 7. 95 Πολέμων φησὶ παρὰ Χίοις μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον δεδέσθαι καὶ παρ' Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ τὸ ἔδος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.

Samos, 7, 15, 60<sup>b</sup>, 123. *Steph. Byz. s. v.* Γόργυρα· τόπος ἐν Σάμῳ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις, ἐν ᾧ Διόνυσος Γοργυρεὺς τιμᾶται. *Eph. Arch.* 1896, p. 252 Δαλλίῳ Διονύσῳ Ἀνθέστιος (private dedication of late period), vide Perdrizet, *ib.* Cf. *Hesych. s. v.* Δάλα· Ἄμπελος. Cf. 89<sup>c</sup> (Ikaria).

#### South Aegean.

Kalymna, 75, 105. Kos, 13, 75, 85<sup>f</sup>, 103<sup>c</sup>, 105. Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.* 27.

Nisyros, 59. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 164 ἱερεὺς Διονύσῳ (?) third century A. D.

#### Astypalasia, 102<sup>u</sup>, 123.

Thera, 103<sup>d</sup>, 125. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* iii. 468 (circ. 162 B. C.) ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Θηραίων ὑπὲρ Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βασιλίσσας Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν φιλοματῶρων καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν Διονύσῳ. *ib.* 522 Ἄ Βουλὰ καὶ ὁ Δᾶμος

ἐτείμασεν Μνασίκρατον ἱερέα διὰ γένους τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Διονύσου (circ. 90 A.D.). *Ib.* 420, inscription mentioning the γεραιὰ τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεῶν Διονύσου.

Anaphe, 105.

Rhodes, 72, 89, 103<sup>a</sup>, 105. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 68 ἱερατεύσας Διονύσφ. Strab. 652 πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἑκοσμήθη, ἃ κείται τὰ μὲν πλείστα ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ. Kameiros: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 707 Διονύσου . . . Αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου. Lindos, 85<sup>c</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup>. *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 835 ἱερεὺς Σαράπιος καὶ Ποσειδᾶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Διονύσου (Lindos, first century B.C.). Cf. *ib.* 809 ἱερατεύσας Ἀθαναΐα Λωδία, Διὶ Πολιεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ, Διονύσφ, Ποσειδᾶνι Ἰππίῳ, third century B.C.

Karpathos: *C. I. G. Mar. Aeg.* 1. 996 ἱερατεύσας Διονύσου.

Crete, 82, 105, vide supra s.v. Argolis. Cf. vol. 1, Zeus, R. 3. *C. I. G.* 3047 (reply from city of Eleutherna to the Teians concerning the ἀσυλία of temple of Dionysos at Teos) δεδόχθαι τοῖς κοσμίῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἐλευθερναίων ἀποκρίνεσθαι Τηίοις φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις οὔσι, διότι τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ αὐτοὶ σεβόμεθα.

Kypros, 104<sup>a</sup>.

Italy: Tarentum, 103<sup>1</sup>. Vide *Hell. Journ.* 1886, pp. 9-22, shrine of chthonic Dionysos and Persephone: collection of votive terracottas in *Ash. Mus.* Rhegion, 104<sup>z</sup>.

Thurioi: Diod. Sic. 12. 11.

Herakleia on the Siris: *C. I. G. It. Sic.* 6451, l. 7 ἐπὶ τὼς χώρως τὼς ἰαρὼς τὼς τῷ Διονύσῳ. Naples, 40, 104<sup>y</sup>, 129<sup>o</sup>.

Sicily, 125. Akrai: *C. I. G. It. Sic.* 205 Διονύσου ἱερατεύοντος Ἀρίστωνος.

Tauromenion: *ib.* 430, temple-accounts of Dionysos cult.

Syracuse, 104<sup>aa</sup>. Hesych. s. v. Διονυσοφόροι· ἀρχὴ ἐν Συρακούσαις.

## SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF COIN-TYPES

Thrace, &c.: Abdera, Gardner, *Types*, iii. 29, fifth-century type, Dionysos clad in himation standing holding kantharos. Dionysopolis in Moesia: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thrace'* &c. p. 24, Dionysos with oinochoé and thyrsos, at his feet altar?; coin-type of Gordianus Pius. Marcianopolis, *ib.* p. 39, Dionysos with kantharos, thyrsos, and panther; Gordianus Pius. Nikopolis, *ib.* p. 42, Dionysos with grapes and

thyrsos; Septim. Severus. p. 45, Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos; Caracalla. Tomi, *ib.* p. 55, Dionysos with cothurni, holding kantharos and thyrsos, at his feet panther; Marcus Aurelius. Hadrianopolis, *ib.* p. 118, Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos, at his feet panther; Caracalla. Nikopolis ad Nestum, *ib.* p. 136, Dionysos with bunch of grapes, resting on thyrsos; Sept. Severus. Perinthos, *ib.* p. 159, Dionysos holding kantharos and thyrsos; Gordianus Pius. Philippopolis, *ib.* pp. 162-163, Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos; Antoninus Pius, Faustina Junior. Serdica, *ib.* p. 172, Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos, panther; Caracalla. Trajanopolis, *ib.* p. 179, Dionysos with kantharos, resting on thyrsos, panther; Caracalla. Head of Dionysos on coins of king Kentriporis, *ib.* p. 204, circ. B.C. 356 (bearded, with ivy-crown). Bizya, *ib.* p. 22 (on rev. Seilenos with kantharos and askos), early Roman. Byzantion, *ib.* pp. 97-98, early Roman. Callatia, *ib.* p. 22, pre-Roman. Plotinopolis, *ib.* p. 169. Alopekonnesos (Thracian Chersonnese), *ib.* p. 188, fourth century B.C.; *ib.* Maenad with ivy-wreath.

Macedon: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Macedon,'* p. 11, head of young Dionysos with band across forehead, ivy-wreath, B.C. 168-146; cf. p. 18. Amphipolis, *ib.* p. 48, head with band and ivy-wreath, ? second century B.C. Lete, *ib.* pp. 76-80, dominant archaic and fifth-century type, ithyphallic satyr with nymph. Mende, *ib.* pp. 80-83, dominant types Dionysiac, from B.C. 500-346 (?), Seilenos or Dionysos reclining on ass, Seilenos standing by: head of Dionysos with ivy-wreath, B.C. 400-346. Thessalonike, *ib.* pp. 109-110, head of young Dionysos with ivy-wreath, frequent type on copper coins after B.C. 168.

Thessaly: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thessaly and Aetolia.'* Lamia, pp. 22-23, Pl. III. 12, 13, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, B.C. 400-344; similar type on coins of Malienses, p. 35, Pl. VII. 5. Peparethos, p. 53, Pl. XI. 14, 15, types of bearded and young Dionysos ivy-crowned, on rev. kantharos or amphora with vine branch. Cf. *Hell. Journ.* 1907, Pl. IV. 2, seated bearded Dionysos holding wine-cup, archaic style, but probably circ. 480 B.C.

Illyria: Apollonia, *ib.* p. 60, Pl. XII. 11, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, second century B.C. Pharos, p. 84.

Epiros: Kassope, *ib.* p. 98, Pl. XXXII, bearded type, second century B.C.

Korkyra: *ib.* p. 125, fourth-century type, Dionysos galloping on panther and thrusting with thyrsos, Pl. XXII. 14, 15, pp. 133-135, head of young Dionysos on third-century coins,

Zakynthos: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 360, Imperial types—Pan carrying the infant Dionysos; Dionysos standing.

Corinth: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Corinth,' p. 31, Pl. X. 4, behind head of Athena small standing figure of bearded Dionysos, holding kantharos and grapes.

Athens: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Attica,' p. 35, second century B. C., Dionysos seated facing on throne, holding two torches, Demeter standing by him with long torch in each hand (bronze). Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 142, bearded Dionysos seated on throne, holding wine-cup and sceptre, hair hanging in long tresses and crowned with ivy, himation covering lower body and left shoulder (bronze, second century B. C.); ? copy of statue of Alkamenes, Coin Pl. 31, p. 143 bearded Dionysos standing clad in long chiton, archaic hair, with wine-cup and thyrsos (bronze); ? copy of statue of Kalamis, young Dionysos standing in long chiton with mask and thyrsos (bronze).

Crete and the Aegean Islands: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 31, Kydonia, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned on coins 200-67 B. C. Sybrita, p. 79, Pl. XIX. 12, on fourth-century coin young Dionysos riding on panther with thyrsos. Gardner, *Types*, ix. 4 (fourth century), Dionysos seated holding kantharos and thyrsos, with himation round lower limbs. [Coin Pl. 28.] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 406, head of Dionysos bearded and crowned with ivy in very high relief. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Crete,' &c., p. 4, Dionysos standing with kantharos, thyrsos, and panther on Roman Imperial coins of Crete.

Andros, *ib.* pp. 86-88, types of Dionysos dominant from third century B. C. onwards, bearded and youthful heads on coins.

Keos, *ib.* p. 93, youthful head ivy-crowned, second century B. C.

Mykonos, pp. 108-109, types of Dionysos, bearded and youthful, dominant from third century B. C.

Naxos: pp. 110-112, Dionysos-head, bearded or youthful, the sole type from fourth century onwards, Pl. XXV. 7-14 (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 416, kantharos bound with ivy on coins of sixth century).

Paros: *ib.* p. 114, Pl. XXVI. 10, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned on obv., seated Demeter θεσμοφόρος on rev., second century B. C. Tenedos, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 476; Gardner, *Types*, x. 43, double head on coins, 500-200 B. C., ? Dionysos-Ariadne (differently explained by Aristotle, Steph. Byz. s. v. Tenedos). Tenos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Crete,' p. 130, Pl. XXIX. 10, Dionysos with himation standing by altar and looking back, with upraised right hand and thyrsos in left, below on right a dolphin, second century B. C. (?).



Ikaria, near Samos: on coins of Oinoe, circ. 300 B.C., head of young Dionysos, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 515.

Pontos, Paphlagonia.

Bithynia, Bosphoros: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* pp. 17-18, Pl. III. 7, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (with some resemblance to Mithradates Eupator), on rev. 'cista mystica' with panther's skin and thyrsos; cf. Pl. III. 8-11. Bithynion, *ib.* p. 117, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, first century B.C. Herakleia, pp. 141-142, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, fourth-century types. *ib.* p. 143, Pl. XXX. 7, 8, young Dionysos wreathed and wearing himation over lower limbs, seated, with kantharos in outstretched right and thyrsos in left, on coins of Herakleia, B.C. 302-289 (under influence of Lysimachos). Nikaia, p. 152, first century B.C.; cf. p. 158, coin of Commodus, infant Dionysos in liknon-shaped cradle with uplifted hands. On coins of Prusias II, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, p. 211, Pl. XXXVIII. 4.

Aiolis: Troas—Lesbos.

*Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 7, Pl. III. 2, Abydos, coin-type of Nero, young Dionysos with thyrsos riding on lion. Lamponia in the Troad, *ib.* p. 72, Pl. XIII. 11-13, dominant type from 420-350, bearded head of Dionysos sometimes ivy-crowned, on rev. bull's head sometimes with kantharos or grapes above. Skepsis, *ib.* p. 83, Pl. XV. 12, head of bearded Dionysos wearing kalathos and ivy-wreath, ? fourth century B.C. (Coin Pl. 15). Head of Dionysos with horns, Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, Pl. VIII. 6-9, p. 104. Ophrynion, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 75, Pl. XIV. 8, coin-type on bronze coins, B.C. 350-300, infant Dionysos naked, kneeling, holding out in r. bunch of grapes, beneath, ivy-spray. Temnos in Aiolis, *ib.* p. 142, Pl. XVIII. 9-12, bearded head of Dionysos dominant type on coins of fourth century, beardless on coins of third century.

Lesbos: *ib.* p. 159, Pl. XXXII. 10, head of bearded Dionysos ivy-crowned, ? circ. 400 B.C. Pl. XXXIII. 10, head of Maenad. Pl. XXXIII. 22-24, head of young Dionysos, early fourth century, p. 169. Pl. XXXV. 1, coin-type of the Koinon of Lesbos (M. Aurel.), terminal figure of bearded Dionysos with kalathos placed on a prow. Mitylene: *ib.* pp. 193-194, Pl. XXXVIII. 9-14, terminal figure of bearded Dionysos, draped, on pedestal, tall head-dress, on silver coins of second and first centuries B.C.; p. 202, Pl. XL. 6, Tyche of Mitylene, standing with patera and cornucopia, before her Dionysiac term on prow (Valerian and Gallienus). Methymna, p. 182, Dionysos with kan-

tharos, thyrsos, and panther standing between Apollo (?) and Athena, on coin of Commodus (countermark, Dionysiac term on prow).

Ionia: Ephesos, cistophorus-type of the Bacchic 'cista mystica', struck towards close of third century B. C., vide 'Pergamon' infra. Erythrai, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Ionia'*, p. 130, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned on coins 300-200 B. C. Klazomenai, p. 34, Dionysos standing, holding kantharos and thyrsos, with panther, on coin of Caracalla. Lebedos, pp. 155-156, Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos, ? first century B. C. Magnesia, pp. 166-172, types of Imperial period; Dionysos standing with thyrsos, panther, and grapes (?), before him Bacchante running and looking back, beating cymbals (Caracalla); infant Dionysos seated on 'cista mystica' within temple, to left of it flaming altar before which Corybant dances, Pl. XIX. 11 (Caracalla); infant Dionysos seated in cradle with arms extended, serpent beneath. Phokaia, p. 208, Pl. IV. 24, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, circ. 400 B. C. Smyrna, p. 237, 'cista mystica' with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues, the whole in wreath of ivy, on cistophori, second century B. C.; p. 253, head of young Dionysos, coin-type time of Trajan. Teos, p. 313, Pl. XXX. 11, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, 394-300 B. C.; pp. 316-322, Imperial types: Bacchic mask, 'cista mystica,' bust of young Dionysos as city-god turreted with thyrsos (Coin Pl. 21), Dionysos standing, with himation over lower limbs and left shoulder, resting left hand on thyrsos and holding kantharos in right (frequent type, perhaps derived from cult-statue). Oinoe, in the island Ikaria, p. 347, Pl. XXXIV. 2, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, circ. 300 B. C.

Caria: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Caria'*, p. 6, Alabanda, bust of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (Nero). Antiocheia on Maeander, p. 19, Dionysos standing, holding grapes and thyrsos (M. Aurelius). Aphrodisias, p. 38, bust of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (Imperial); p. 33, Dionysos with himation over legs, standing, resting left arm on column, holding thyrsos in left, grapes in right (Imperial): p. 33, Dionysos standing, naked, with left on thyrsos, in right kantharos. Apollonia Salbaké, p. 56, Dionysos in short chiton, standing, holding grapes and thyrsos. Attuda, p. 64, Dionysos with himation over lower limbs, standing with kantharos and thyrsos (time of Sept. Sev.); cf. p. 63. Euromos, p. 99, head of young Dionysos with band across forehead and ivy-wreath (first century B. C.). Harpasa, p. 114, Dionysos standing, with himation over legs, resting left arm on column, holding grapes in left, kantharos in right, panther at feet (Imperial). Kidramos, p. 82, Dionysos with himation over lower limbs, resting on

column, holding grapes in right, thyrsos in left, panther at feet (Julia Maesa). Knidos, p. 96, large head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, Pl. XVI. 4, 5 (first century B.C.). Myndos, p. 135, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, Pl. XXII. 8, 9 (first century B.C.). Orthosia (on the Maeander opposite Nysa), p. 143, Pl. XXIII. 4, young Dionysos ivy-crowned (first century B.C.); cf. XXIII. 5 (Imperial). Sebastopolis, p. 146, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, on rev. 'cista mystica' with serpent issuing from it (Imperial). Tabai, p. 160, head of young Dionysos with band across forehead and ivy-wreath, Pl. XXV. 1 (first century B.C.?); cf. early Imperial coin Pl. XXV. 11. Trapezopolis, p. 177, young Dionysos standing, naked, holding kantharos and resting on thyrsos, panther at feet (Imperial).

Islands off Caria: Astypalaia, p. 187, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (first century B.C.). Rhodes, pp. 263-270, head of Dionysos ivy-crowned, often radiate, prevalent on early Imperial coins, Pl. XLII. 1, 2.

Lykia: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Lykia,'* p. 91, Trebenna, Dionysos standing, with himation, holding kantharos and thyrsos, at feet panther, Pl. XVIII. 3 (Gordian iii).

Pamphylia: Aspendos, *ib.* p. 105, Dionysos standing, with himation about lower limbs, left arm leaning on pillar, holds kantharos in right, thyrsos in left, panther at feet (Julia Mamaea). Attaleia, *ib.* p. lxxvi. Perga, p. 131, Dionysos standing, with himation over lower limbs, leaning with left on thyrsos, holding kantharos in right, panther at feet (Philip Junior); cf. coin-type of Sillyon, p. 166 (Sept. Severus).

Pisidia: Ariassos, *ib.* p. 206, Dionysos with thyrsos, kantharos, panther (Caracalla). Similar types at Baris, *ib.* p. 208; p. 211 Kodrula (Julia Domna); Konana, p. 214 (Faustina, ii): Isinda, *ib.* xciv. Olbasa, *ib.* p. 229 (Severus Alexander), Dionysos wearing nebris, with kantharos and panther. Palaiopolis, xcvi. Pogla, p. 237 (Trebonianus Gallus), Dionysos with thyrsos, kantharos, and panther. Seleukia (Julia Domna), p. 252, similar. Termessus Major, p. xci, similar. Timbriada, p. 305 (Geta), similar. Verbe, p. 281 (Philip Junior), similar.

Mysia: Adramyteion, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Mysia,'* p. 5 (Julia Domna), Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos. Kyzikos, p. 25, head of bearded Dionysos wearing tainia and ivy-wreath (B.C. 450-400); p. 34, Pl. VIII. 14, young Dionysos on rock, himation over lower limbs, kantharos in outstretched right, thyrsos projecting between knees (B.C. 400-350); p. 48, Dionysos on throne feeding panther (Marcus Aurelius). Miletopolis, p. 92, Dionysos holding thyrsos

in left and kantharos in right (? over altar: Anton. Pius). Pergamon: thyrsos, ivy-leaf, grape-cluster on the Philetairos-coins in latter part of third century B.C., vide Imhoof, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, p. 34, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 461. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Mysia,' p. 148, Dionysos riding on panther (L. Verus); p. 159, Dionysos with kantharos, thyrsos, and panther, facing Demeter (Pl. XXXII. 5) (Maximinus). Kistophoros-type of sacred Bacchic 'cista' with serpent coiled round it, adopted by Attalus I, originating probably at Ephesos: vide Imhoof, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, 32-34; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 461. Perperene, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 169, Dionysos with kantharos, thyrsos, and panther (Sept. Severus and Julia Mamaea).

Lydia: Akrasos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 10, bust of young Dionysos (Sept. Severus). Apollonis, *ib.* p. 20, with kantharos and thyrsos (Rom. Imp.); p. 22, Dionysos holding kantharos and thyrsos, standing within temple (Caracalla). Apollonos Hieron, p. 23, Dionysos standing with himation over lower limbs and left arm, with kantharos and thyrsos. Bagis, p. 33, Dionysos with kantharos, panther, thyrsos (Sept. Sev.); cf. pp. 35, 36. Blaundos, p. 48, Dionysos, similar type (late Imperial); p. 42, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (second or first century B.C.); cf. p. 43; p. 52, Dionysos standing, with himation over lower limbs and round right arm, resting right hand on thyrsos, left on column, with bunch of grapes (Vespasian). Briula, p. 5, Dionysos with himation over lower limbs, holding kantharos in right over panther, in left, which rests on column, a thyrsos (Antoninus Pius); p. 59, Dionysos with kantharos, panther, thyrsos (M. Aurelius). Cilbiani, p. 64, similar type (late). Daldis, p. 71, Dionysos with himation over lower limbs, holding kantharos over panther in right, and resting left with thyrsos on column (Anton. Pius). Germe, p. 83, Dionysos in chariot drawn by panthers, holding kantharos and thyrsos, satyr preceding, male figure supporting 'liknon' on his head following (Sept. Severus). Gordus-Julia, p. 91, Dionysos with kantharos, thyrsos, panther (Commodus). Hypaipa: Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos (Imperial). Hyrkanis, p. 124, similar (Trajan). Maionia, p. 130, head of Dionysos ivy-crowned (Sept. Severus); cf. Pl. XIV. 10, Dionysos in chariot drawn by panthers, with kantharos and thyrsos, in front Maenad holding vine-tree (Trajan Decius). Mastaura, p. 159, Pl. XVII. 5, Dionysos standing to front, head turned to left, himation over lower limbs, holding in right grapes over panther at his feet, and on left arm, which rests on column, his thyrsos (Gordianus Pius).

Nysa: Dionysos-figure of the usual type and Dionysiac emblems fairly frequent on coins from second century B. C. onwards, pp. 171, 172, 176, 180, 183, 184-186. Philadelphoi: head of Dionysos, wearing ivy-wreath and band across forehead, on coins of second and first centuries B. C., p. 189. Saitta, p. 214, Dionysos of usual type on rev., head of Men on obv. (Caracalla-Gallienus). Sala: Dionysos standing cross-legged beside column with usual attributes, pp. 231-234 (Imperial). Sardes: head of Dionysos on coins of second century B. C., youthful type, p. 241, Pl. XXIV. 12, 14; Dionysos standing by the side of Herakles, p. 264 (Caracalla); (?) temple of Dionysos on coin of Faustina Senior, p. 258. Silandos: Dionysos riding on panther, p. 282 (Commodus), Pl. XXVIII. 6. Thyateira: type of kistophoroi in second century B. C. adopted from Ephesos, vide supra 'Pergamon'; bust of young Dionysos with ivy-wreath and band, p. 297 (Sept. Severus). Tralles: Dionysos with Apollo, who plays the lyre, riding in chariot drawn by panther and goat, p. 348 (Anton. Pius); Dionysos with right hand raised over head supported by a naked satyr, p. 349 (Anton. Pius).

Phrygia: Aizanis, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Phrygia,'* p. 23, Dionysos standing, with kantharos and thyrsos (first century B. C.). Akmoneia, p. 7, Dionysos standing, with usual attributes (? Gallienus); p. 16, Dionysos in car drawn by panthers (Sept. Sev.). Alia, p. 46, Dionysos standing (Gordian). Amorion, p. 57, Dionysos with left arm on shoulder of satyr (Geta). Ankyra, *ib.* p. 60, Dionysos standing (Sept. Sev.). Apameia, p. xxxix, bust of Dionysos *Κελευεύς* on Imperial coins; p. 95, head of young Dionysos (Vespasian). Appia, p. 107, Dionysos standing, pouring wine from kantharos (Imperial). Bruzos, p. 111, Dionysos standing (Imperial). Cadi, p. 123, Dionysos standing, pouring wine over panther (Gordian, iii); cf. 127. Cibyra, p. 138, Dionysos standing, with usual attributes (Domitian). Dionysopolis, pp. 182-187, Dionysiac types dominant (?) on coins of autonomous period, coins of Tiberius, not infrequent later; p. 184, 'cista mystica,' with half-opened lid from which serpent issues; behind 'cista' a thyrsos (? time of Septimius Severus). Dorylaion, pp. 196, 199, Dionysos, with usual attributes, on coins of Macrinus and Otacilia Severa. Eukarpeia, p. 204, head of young Dionysos, with band across forehead and ivy-wreath (Marc. Aur.). Eumeneia, p. 211, similar (? second century B. C.). Hierapolis, pp. 229, 231, 233, bust or head of Dionysos on Imperial coins; p. 235, Dionysos standing, with usual attributes. Hyrgaleis, p. 273, head of young Dionysos (late Imperial). Laodikeia, pp. 278-281, Kistophoroi with the 'cista

mystica,' with half-open lid from which serpent issues; the whole in wreath of ivy-leaves and berries; p. 293, bust of young Dionysos (Anton. Pius). Lysias, p. 331, Dionysos standing (time of Marc. Aur.). Metropolis, p. 334, Dionysos standing (late Imperial). Midaion, p. 337, Dionysos standing (Diadumenian Caesar). Peltai, p. 349, head of young Dionysos (late Imperial). Philomelion, p. 355, Dionysos with phiale (time of Caracalla). Sebaste, p. 369, head of young Dionysos crowned with ivy, frequent type (Nero-Gordian). Sibia, p. 380, Dionysos standing with kantharos and thyrsos (time of Caracalla). Sibiddunda, p. 377, Dionysos standing, with panther, &c. (Commodus). Spectorium, p. 383, Dionysos standing (time of Marcus Aurelius). Synaus, p. 388, Dionysos standing (Flavians and Antonines). Synnada, p. 401, Dionysos standing with phiale (Faustina Junior). Temenothyrai, p. 47, Dionysos standing (time of Marc. Aurel.). Themisionion, p. 419, Dionysos standing (Severus—Philip?). Trajanopolis, p. cvi, Dionysos naked.

'Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia.'

Adana, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 17, Dionysos standing, usual attributes (Julia Domna); p. 18, near circular altar (Maximus Caesar); p. 24, Aigeai, bust of young Dionysos (Macrinus). Anazarbos, pp. 38-39, Dionysos reclining on panther (Herennia Etruscilla, Valerian Senior). Anemurium, p. xli, Dionysos on Imperial coins. Augusta, pp. 44, 45, bust of youthful Dionysos (Tiberius—Livia, Domitian, Trajan). Eirenopolis in Cilicia, p. lxiii, Dionysos in car drawn by panthers (Imperial). Epiphaneia, p. cxxvi, head of young Dionysos, Dionysos riding on panther (Imperial), pouring out wine (Julia Mamaea). Hieropolis, p. c, n. 3, bust of young Dionysos with grapes and thyrsos (Imperial), Pl. XIV. 6. Ikonion, p. xxiv, head of youthful Dionysos (first century B. C.). Issos, p. cxxviii, bearded Dionysos (fourth century B. C.). Korykos, p. 69, Dionysos, with usual attributes, standing before prize vase containing winged caduceus, palm-branch, aplustre (Valerian Senior). Laertes, p. 92, Dionysos pouring wine to panther (Cornelius Valerianus).

Mallos, p. 98 (Coin Pl. 17), young 'Dionysos nude to waist, seated left on a vine-trunk, from which issue branches bearing bunches of grapes, his right raised, his left on hip' (385-333 B. C.), (cf. Gardner's *Zyfes*, x. 35).

Nagidos, pp. 119-115, types of Dionysos on rev., with Aphrodite on obv., constant (except for period of Pharnabazos) in fifth and fourth centuries B. C.; p. 109, Pl. XIX. 1, bearded Dionysos standing, with

chlamys round shoulders, B.C. 420-400 (Coin Plate 14); cf. p. 114, Pl. XX. 7 (Gardner, *Types*, iv. 25), Dionysos with himation round lower limbs and over left shoulder, left hand on thyrsos, right holding grapes, fifth century B.C.; *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 110, Pl. XIX. 3, head of bearded Dionysos, circ. 400 B.C. Ninica, p. 116, Pl. XXI. 2, Dionysos with himation over lower limbs, in car drawn by two panthers and a Seilenos (Sept. Sever.). Olba, p. 126, Dionysos standing, usual attributes (Geta). Seleucia ad Calycadnum, p. 133, Pl. XXIII. 11, Dionysos, in car drawn by panthers, pouring wine over panthers' heads, Seilenos kneeling and catching wine-drops in hand (Sept. Sever.); p. 134, Pl. XXIV. 2, infant Dionysos seated on throne, attended by three korybantes beating shield with sword (Macrinus). Soloi-Pompeïopolis, p. lxxii, n. 3, archaic bearded head of Dionysos (cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Hell. Journ.* 1898, p. 165); p. 151, Pl. XXVI. 11, bearded Dionysos with bull's horns, standing to front, in long chiton, in right kantharos, left on thyrsos (? third century B.C.); p. 155, Dionysos bearded, with himation, boots, and usual attributes (Gordian iii). Syedra, p. xxxvi, n. 3, Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos (Imperial). Tarsos, p. 208, Dionysos draped, usual attributes (Maximus); p. 205, Dionysos with Ariadne in biga of centaurs, one of whom carries lyre (Maximinus); cf. pp. 220, 222, 224; p. 200, Pl. XXXVI. 2, Dionysos standing, with right arm over head, on right satyr, on left panther.

Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

Ankyra, p. 11, bearded Dionysos seated, with himation, holding grapes (Caracalla); p. 12, young Dionysos in car drawn by elephants. Apameia, p. 234, Pl. XXVII. 4, 5, heads of young Dionysos crowned with ivy (first century B.C.). Laodikeia, p. 250, head of young Dionysos wreathed with ivy, Pl. XXIX. 11, circ. 47 B.C.; p. 257, Dionysos standing, with usual attributes (Commodus). Pessinous, p. 19, Dionysos standing, with himation (Anton. Pius); cf. coin of Geta, p. 22.

'Seleukid kings of Syria,' p. 107, Pl. XXVIII. 1, bust of young Dionysos, horned, three-quarter face on coin of Seleukos I; p. 109, bust of young Dionysos, three-quarter face, on coin of Seleukos II; p. 32, bust of young Dionysos, Seleukos IV; p. 56, head of young Dionysos on coins of Alexander Bala; pp. 64-65, Dionysiac types on coins of Antiochos VI; pp. 82, 84, on coins of Alexander II; p. 93, of Antiochos IX.

'Alexandria,' in panther-biga, on coins of Trajan and Hadrian, pp. 51, 83.

'Sicily': *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 28, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (late). Amestratos, p. 31, head of young Dionysos (late). Galaria: Gardner, *Types*, Pl. II. 2, Dionysos standing, holding cup and vine-branch, sixth century (Coin Pl. 19); *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 64, young Dionysos standing, early fifth century. Kalakte, p. 32, head of young Dionysos (late). Katana, pp. 52-53, head of young Dionysos, not infrequent on coins of period of decline. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* Fig. 72, p. 114, head of Seilenos on fifth-century coin of Catanæan Aitna. Naxos, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* pp. 118-120, Dionysiac types dominant in archaic and transitional period, on reverse grapes or Seilenos; head of Dionysos (circ. 500 B.C.), with pointed beard, long hair, and ivy-crown (Coin Pl. 24). Head of young Dionysos (circ. 403 B.C.), with wavy hair and ivy-wreath, on rev. seated Seilenos with wine-cup (Coin Pl. 30). Tauromenion, pp. 232, 234, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned (period of decline); Hill, *Sicilian Coinage*, p. 200, Dionysos with bull or panther.

Italy: Capua, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Italy,' p. 84, head of young Dionysos ivy-crowned, on rev. panther or lion with staff or thyrsos in mouth. Laos, p. 237, head of Dionysos ivy-crowned. Metaponton, p. 249, young Dionysiac head ivy-crowned; p. 248, female Dionysiac head, with goat's horn above forehead, and ivy-wreath. Neapolis Apuliae, p. 399, head of young Dionysos, with ivy-crown, thyrsos over shoulder. Paestum, p. 274, head of androgynous Dionysos crowned with vine-leaves and grapes; cf. p. 278.



## CHAPTER VIII

### HESTIA-CULTS

AMONG the minor cults of Hellas that of Hestia specially arrests our attention for the light that it throws on a certain primitive phase of religious thought as well as on a special chapter in the history of primitive culture. Being the least anthropomorphic of Hellenic divinities, she appears to be the product of that period of animistic belief that may everywhere have preceded a more precise anthropomorphism. At least, although Homer is silent about her, we can scarcely doubt her great antiquity. It has long been recognized that we must be cautious in the deductions we draw from Homer's silence. He may have known of her cult, and have found her figure inappropriate to the purposes of a divine drama. He uses the term *ἱστίη* indeed merely as a common noun, designating the 'hearth' or the 'fire of the hearth,' but the word has at times a certain sacred association and value for him; for he regards the hearth as the natural place for the suppliant and as a thing that might serve as the pledge of an oath.

But the first literary record of the personal goddess is found in the Theogony of Hesiod<sup>1</sup>, who speaks of her as the eldest daughter of Rhea and Kronos, and sister of Demeter. He does not, however, describe her nature or functions, and the first witnesses to these are certain passages in the Homeric Hymns<sup>3-5</sup>. One of them speaks of Hestia as the goddess 'who dost haunt the holy house of King Apollo in Pytho divine, and ever from thy locks sleek unguents trickle down<sup>3</sup>': in the hymn to Aphrodite the virginity of Hestia is insisted on and explained: 'God the Father gave her a fair boon instead of marriage, and ever she sitteth in the middle of the house, taking the fat of sacrifice, and she receiveth honours

in all temples of the gods, and among all men she hath been given the first place among divinities<sup>5</sup>; and finally another hymn, of which indeed the authority has been doubted, defines more particularly what were these privileges of hers: 'without thee mortals make no festival, (there is none) where in the first thank-offering one poureth not forth the honey-sweet wine to Hestia first, and also at the close<sup>4</sup>.' A glowing invocation in one of Pindar's Odes throws further light on her nature and on her place in the state-religion<sup>6</sup>. 'Daughter of Rhea, sister of God most high and of Hera the partner of his throne, thou who hast for thy domain the halls of cities, with kindness welcome Aristagoras, with kindness his fellows, to thy chamber near thy auspicious sceptre; for honouring thee they keep the state of Tenedos erect, oftentimes with libations, oftentimes with reek of sacrifice, paying first reverence to thee among divinities.' Aristagoras is not a victor in the games, but a newly-appointed magistrate of Tenedos, who, with his fellow-prytanies, does this special honour to Hestia in the public hall of the city. And, to complete this general literary picture of her, we may add the testimony of the Attic stage and of Plato: a peculiar phrase of Sophocles describes her as 'the first-offerings of the libation<sup>11</sup>'; and Euripides, who in one passage addresses her as 'the Lady of Fire,' identifying her strangely with Persephone and associating her with Hephaistos<sup>8</sup>, speaks in another of 'the shrine of Hestia,' meaning apparently the hearth, 'wherewith every wise man would begin in the utterance of his prayers<sup>12</sup>.' It is in accordance with all this that in the parody of public prayer which we find in the *Birds* of Aristophanes<sup>a</sup>, the litany opens with the formula 'pray first to the Bird-Hestia'; and that Plato maintains as a religious law that 'the first act of sacrifice is due to Hestia<sup>13</sup>.' In fact there is nothing better attested in Greek religious literature than this ritual-priority of Hestia in certain private and public cult-acts of the Hellenic household and state; later scholiasts and mythographers comment on it, giving sometimes fantastic explanations of it<sup>4, 11</sup>: the careful Pausanias declares that in the sacrifices at Olympia

<sup>a</sup> *Av.* 865.

the goddess took precedence even of Olympian Zeus<sup>30</sup>, and Attic inscriptions prove that the Epheboi immediately upon their enrolment made offering to her first of all<sup>30</sup>. If we can trust one of the passages in the Homeric Hymns, we shall have to believe that the custom also prevailed of closing the ceremonies of Greek ritual with a prayer or liturgical act in her honour, and this seems to be implied by certain statements of Cicero and Cornutus<sup>4, 17</sup>.

We might then be led by this evidence to conclude that Hestia was an original and eminent figure of the anthropomorphic pantheon of the early Greek communities, and that she played a prominent part in their social organization. But a closer survey of the facts does not justify this view. The worship was undoubtedly of great antiquity. Some kind of cult of the hearth or of the hearth-goddess was probably an ancestral inheritance of the early Italic and Hellenic tribes; although we need not regard the name Hestia-Vesta as a common inheritance of an imagined Graeco-Italic period, for the name could have migrated very early from Greece and have been attached to independent Latin cult<sup>a</sup>. The record, however, inclines us to think that she counted less for Greek social life and religion than for Roman. Her vantage-ground in the Greek *polis* was the Prytaneion, the common city-hall which every independent state contained, though it might be called by different names. The scholiast on Pindar<sup>21</sup>, commenting on the invocation of the Nemean ode<sup>6</sup>, asserts positively that all Prytaneia belonged to Hestia, because in them was consecrated the common hearth upon which the sacred fire was kept burning. His knowledge is evidently derived, not merely from Pindar, but from other authorities as well; and to a great extent we can corroborate it independently. The Prytaneion at Athens<sup>30</sup>, though it is called 'sacred to Pallas' by a late scholiast of questionable authority, contained, together with the laws of Solon and an image of Eirene, a statue of Hestia; and Pollux may have been thinking of Athens when he affirms that the Hestia in

<sup>a</sup> Vide Gruppe, *Griech. Kult. Myth.* pp. 84-85, who would derive the Roman Vesta-worship wholly from the Greek.

the Prytaneion was the Hestia *par excellence*, or he may have been speaking generally. At Mantinea we hear, not indeed of any Prytaneion so-called, but of a round building called the 'common Hestia of the State'<sup>37</sup>; and it was probably from some such political centre as this that the district called Histiaiotis in Thessaly took its name<sup>a</sup>. At Olympia the Prytaneion stood within the Altis and contained a sacred hearth, from which the ashes were taken to furnish holy material for the ash-altar of Zeus Olympios<sup>39</sup>. In Syros<sup>43</sup>, in Lesbos<sup>47</sup>, and in Sinope<sup>51</sup><sup>a</sup>, we have record of the actual cult of Hestia Πρυτανεία, Hestia 'of the city-hall,' as at Naukratis we hear of Hestia Πρυτανίτις<sup>58</sup>. The account of a festival in the city-hall of the latter state is most instructive. On a certain day in the year a solemn banquet was held in honour of Apollo, the chief divinity of the state, and the occasion was called the 'birthday-feast of Hestia' (Ἔστιάς γενέθλια). As in the proper personal sense Hestia could have had no birthday at all, for the anthropomorphic legend concerning her was not sufficiently detailed, I would interpret this curious phrase in the Naukratite calendar as 'the feast commemorating the foundation of the Prytaneion or of the public hearth'; and we thus realize how complete was the identification of these with the goddess.

The Council or Boulé of the state might hold its meetings in the Prytaneion, or more frequently in a special building that would be called the Bouleuterion; and, as this would be certain to possess a hearth at which the members of the council would offer sacrifice, the cult-appellative—Ἔστια Βουλαία—would frequently and naturally arise. We find it actually attested of Athens<sup>29</sup>, Pergamon<sup>52</sup>, Erythrai<sup>53</sup>, Knidos<sup>55</sup>, Kaunos<sup>56</sup>, and the Cilician Aigai<sup>57</sup>. This evidence alone would suggest the general conclusion that throughout all Hellas a Hestia-cult, whatever form it took, was associated most intimately with the centre of the public life. And it is not all that can be quoted. In the 'Homarion' of Achaia,

<sup>a</sup> Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, p. 51, would derive it from the personal

goddess Hestia; but this seems to me less likely.

the chief shrine of the Achaian league<sup>a</sup>, was an 'altar of Hestia,' near which the Panachaeian decrees were set up<sup>40</sup>; and in Kos, according to an interesting inscription of the third century B.C., she enjoyed the unique title of *Tamias*<sup>48</sup>, 'the stewardess,' probably as guardian of the city's property, a character which was salient in the Roman Vesta<sup>b</sup>, but is not elsewhere attested in Hellenic cult. The divinity who usually exercised the function of guarding the store-room was Zeus<sup>c</sup>, who was not infrequently styled *Tamias* by the poets; and the connexion between Hestia *Tamias* and the supreme god in the ritual of Kos is peculiar and demands attention. Not only did she claim a special offering of an ox in the great sacrifice to Zeus, but when a fitting animal for him had been finally selected out of a number that were voluntarily offered by the citizens, it was then valued and its full price paid, not to the owner, but to 'Hestia Tamias,' the guardian of the city's stock. The text in line 28 of the inscription is uncertain; but the preceding sentence makes it clear that the money for the ox that was to be sacrificed to Zeus was actually paid to Hestia. Neither of the two editors of the inscription offers any explanation of this which is the most interesting fact in the liturgical archive. It is imperative to seek one. Why is Hestia entitled to claim, not only a special beast of sacrifice for herself, but also the money value of the ox which is freely offered by a tribe or an individual to Zeus? May we imagine that the owner of the animal, who might demand its full value from the community, generously forgoes his claim on condition that the money shall be paid into a common state-fund which is guarded by Hestia, just as a state-fund at Athens was guarded by Athena? If this is the real meaning of the transaction, it sets the goddess in the interesting position, which she nowhere else appears to hold, of the divine trustee of state-money. Another explanation may seem more probable; that this transference of the purchase-money to Hestia was intended to support the fiction that she was really the owner of the ox, and that therefore in very truth

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. I, p. 43

<sup>b</sup> Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 148.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Zeus, R. 103<sup>a</sup>.

it was offered to Zeus ἀφ' ἑστίας by the divine embodiment of the city's life. If this hypothesis is correct, it affords a still more striking illustration of the religious tie between the citizens and the hearth-goddess, who by this fiction presents them, as it were, to Zeus.

We may believe that Hestia won this position in the Prytaneion because of the ancient sanctity of the domestic family-hearth, and especially of the king's hearth in the king's palace; and there is good reason for regarding the Prytaneion as occupying the place in the historic Greek 'polis' of the βασιλῆιον or king's palace in the prehistoric<sup>a</sup>. We are informed by Aristotle<sup>23</sup> that the religious officials of the various Greek states who received their authority 'from the common hearth,' a phrase which at Athens at least was equivalent to the Prytaneion<sup>30</sup>, were variously called 'archons,' or 'kings,' or 'prytanies'; and we can illustrate this by the ritual inscription of Kos<sup>48</sup>, which speaks of the γεραφόρος βασιλέων, one of the 'kings' who enjoyed special sacred privileges and who was charged with the sacrifice to Hestia<sup>b</sup>; and again by a striking passage in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus where the king is called the 'irresponsible leader'—πρύτανις—who 'maintaineth the public hearth-altar of the land'<sup>22</sup>. We have no reason indeed to assert that the ordinary Greek Prytaneia were actually erected, after the general abolition of monarchy, on the site of the old royal-palaces; these latter were usually on the summit of the Akropolis, a position naturally inconvenient for the practical business that had to be performed in the town-hall. Only, as regards Athens, a vague reminiscence seems to have been preserved by Pollux that the oldest Prytaneion was on the Akropolis<sup>c</sup>; and even

<sup>a</sup> This is the view of Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 51; Frazer, *Journ. Philol.* xiv, 'the Prytaneum, Temple of Vesta,' &c., p. 147; Preuner *s. v.* 'Hestia' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 2630.

<sup>b</sup> We may compare the close association between the Vestals and the 'rex sacrificulus' at Rome, vide Frazer,

op. cit. pp. 155, 158.

<sup>c</sup> Vide R. 30: if he is referring to Athens in this passage, which the context almost compels us to suppose, he must be speaking of prehistoric days, for he is aware that the Athenian prytaneion of the historic period was in the lower city.

in late times the special cult of a 'Hestia on the Akropolis,' whose hearth may possibly have been the altar of Zeus Herkeios in the Pandroseion, was still maintained<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, the memory of the inherited association between the town-hall and the old royal palace appears to have survived in the historic period of Athens; for the archon-Basileus, the heir of the religious privileges of the primitive monarchy, held his court in or near the Prytaneion<sup>a</sup>, and this was either close by or was actually identical with the so-called 'Basileion,' the building in which the 'tribal kings' held their meeting<sup>b</sup>.

We may then consider that the sanctity of the fire maintained on the hearth of the prehistoric king, the head and leader of a number of contiguous families or clans, is the source from which the public Hestia-cult of the historic period immediately descends.

Before we endeavour to determine from what feeling or belief or under what circumstances this peculiar sanctity of the king's hearth arose, we would wish to know whether the perpetual maintenance of a public or 'state'-fire was universal in Greece. Some writers tacitly assume that it was, but the evidence is defective. The scholiasts and lexicographers speak indeed as if every Prytaneion maintained the ritual as a matter of course, and as if every colony that was sent away took with it the holy fire from the town-hall of the metropolis<sup>21</sup>. But it is likely that they are only generalizing from trustworthy records concerning Athens. Here at least we are certain that the custom was maintained and that the Prytaneion was regarded in some sense as the source of the Ionic colonies because they thence derived the sacred fire<sup>30</sup>; and if the old Euboeic city Histiaia was really an Ionic colony from Attica, it may have derived its name from this source. We hear also of a perpetual fire in the Prytaneion at Elis<sup>30</sup>, and again at Delphi, though here it was not maintained—as far as we can gather—in the Prytaneion, nor definitely associated with a cult of Hestia, but with Apollo and the Apolline temple<sup>c</sup>, just as Apollo Lykeios

<sup>a</sup> Suidas, *s.v.* ἀρχων.

suspect that there were two names for the same building.

<sup>b</sup> Combining the vague passage in Suidas with Pollux, 8. 111, we may

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 4, Apollo R. 128 P.

of Argos was the cherisher of the sacred fire of the Argive state. At Lykosoura in Arcadia a perpetual fire was maintained in the temple of Pan<sup>a</sup>. And here and there the custom may have prevailed in shrines of lesser prestige, the ritual having no direct political significance, as on the altar of the heroine Iodamas at Koroneia<sup>b</sup>, where the fire was connected with the cult of the departed spirit. The evidence then is somewhat scanty, and the passage quoted from Plutarch<sup>28</sup> reads as if the maintenance of this rite in temple or Prytaneion were by no means universal in his time. It may well have fallen into desuetude with the decay of the Hellenic communities. And the general evidence of its prevalence, as a public or family custom, among early Aryan stocks<sup>c</sup>, strongly moves us to believe that it was once at least a universal religious institution of the Greek as of the Italic races.

As regards its explanation, a generally accepted view is that which was put forward many years ago by Dr. Frazer in an article cited above. He traces the origin of this Graeco-Italic and probably Indo-European rite to the measureless importance of fire for the primitive community and the great difficulty of procuring it on any special emergency: therefore expediency dictated the custom of insisting that there should always be one fire at least in the village or town that should never be extinguished: as the chief or king was most concerned with the wants of the community, it was his hearth that was chosen for the purpose: and the whole Vestal establishment at Rome reflects in an interesting way the household of the primitive king whose daughters perform the time-honoured women's duty of looking after the fire which in his house must be kept up night and day. He admits that this idyllic picture of a simple and remote past is more faintly reflected in Hellenic hearth-ritual; for Hellas knew nothing of Vestals; the sacred fire might sometimes be maintained by an elderly married woman who no longer cohabited with her husband, such as the Pythia at Delphi; sometimes, as at Naukratis, women were excluded from the

<sup>a</sup> Vide *infra*, p. 433.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. 9. 34, 2.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Frazer's list of instances, *op. cit.* pp. 163, 169-171.



Prytaneion altogether, a strange fact and not easily reconcilable with Dr. Frazer's theory. Again, while at Rome it was the custom to rekindle the sacred flame, if extinguished, by the rubbing of sticks<sup>a</sup>, a process that belongs to the very beginnings of our culture: in Greece, according to Plutarch, the method adopted was ignition by a burning-glass<sup>28</sup>. Now, as ritual is so strongly conservative, this may belong to the original institution of the rite. But a people who had arrived at the use of a burning-glass were under no strenuous need of maintaining a perpetual fire merely for utilitarian purposes. We may suspect rather the direct influence of some religious feeling.

Nevertheless, Dr. Frazer's explanation rests on a *vera causa* found working in primitive human society; and he is able to quote one example, namely, from the Andaman Islanders, of the practice being maintained for purely practical reasons without any admixture of discoverable religion. But in all the other instances which he quotes the religious element seems certainly present; only he regards it as secondary, a later accretion upon an originally secular institution. On the other hand, it will appear to many inquirers to be paramount in the Graeco-Italic practice, while the utilitarian intention is doubtful and obscured. In Rome the extinction of the sacred fire was regarded as the greatest calamity, the gloomiest omen, boding disaster for the state; and we may suppose that the Greek feeling was similar, though it has been less clearly attested<sup>b</sup>. Now it is true that a religious superstition, so strong as this of the Romans, may come to attach to a simple act that was at first one of mere secular utility: what is of practical importance for our daily life is often protected in our early social history by the violent exaggeration of religion, and this is sometimes a law of progress. But it seems possible also that the Graeco-Italic ritual may have been entirely religious in its origin: the fire on the chief's hearth may have been regarded as the external thing in which the soul of the chief resided, and as therefore bound up with his luck and his life, and as the community's life was involved in his, it would

<sup>a</sup> Vide Festus, *s. v.* ignis.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. *Vit. Num.* c. 9.

be highly desirable to maintain his fire. Then when the kingship passed away, the same idea may have attached to the fire on the hearth of the city-hall; it may have been regarded as the soul and hence the luck of the state: naturally, therefore, the departing colonists would wish to take a portion of it away with them, not because they had any thought or remembrance of the difficulty of making fire for themselves, but because they desired to bind their future civic life with the old, to take with them the soul and the luck of Athens or Argos<sup>a</sup>. That these sacred fires were thus associated with the ancestral life of the state, in the earliest period with the life of the king who becomes an ancestor, is a proposition, like many others in comparative religion, difficult to prove in any particular case. But the legend of the firebrand that holds the life of Meleager, the perpetual fire that was maintained at Argos in honour of the ancestor Phoroneus<sup>b</sup>, the ritual of Iodamas mentioned above, are facts suggesting that the explanation here ventured was true of ancient Greece at least, and Dr. Frazer himself has collected other data that may incline us to apply this explanation to the similar ritual of other societies<sup>c</sup>.

At all events, we may dismiss from the present inquiry his ingenious theory of the secular origin of the perpetual fire-ritual; for, if it is true, it is not relevant to us now. The cult of Hestia did not arise from the maintenance of a public hearth to supply each visitor with the necessary spark on an emergency: for Hestia in her earliest guise belongs no more to the Prytaneion or the king's palace than to the homestead of the humblest householder whose fire is put out every night.

<sup>a</sup> This point is illustrated by observations on practices of the Bahau of Borneo made by Prof. Nieuwenhuis, *Verhandl. II. Internat. Congr. f. Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte in Basel*, p. 115: the hearth of the chieftain's house is hallowed to the spirits, and each householder for his new house brings earth from the same pit that provided earth for the king's hearth,

and lights his first fire from the king's fire, but no perpetual fire is mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. 2, 19, 5.

<sup>c</sup> Op. cit.: note especially the association between the perpetual sacred fire and ancestor-cult in New Zealand; and cf. *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 1907, pp. 24-26 for connexion between the souls of departed members of the family and the cook-god of the hearth in China.

Leaving, then, the question as to the original meaning of these perpetual fires, we might at least expect that Hestia, the personal goddess, who presided over the king's hearth and later over the hearth of the city-hall, each being in its turn the central point of the life of the community, would naturally acquire the position of one of the leading divinities of the Greek political world; and again that, as she had her place at the joint-hearth of the 'gens'<sup>31</sup> and at the hearth of each separate family, she would figure as a prominent tutelary divinity of the ritual specially connected with the life and the law of the family and the clan. It is surprising at first sight to find that this was not the case. When we look closely at the facts, we discern that she plays no clear directing part in the life of the state or the family. A shadowy potency present in the city-hall or council-chamber, she does not inspire counsel or guide the body politic. The prayers of the councillors are proffered to Zeus Boulaios or Athena Boulaia: the Hestia βουλαία of Athens was merely the *ἑστία* of the council-chamber, the hearth which was called her altar, and it is clear from the various records of it that there was no statue to mark the presence of her as a personal divinity: even if she had an altar there, other than the hearth, it was claimed by Zeus<sup>29</sup>. She was remembered very vaguely at the first libation in the usual sacrifice, but the prime object of the libation is commonly some higher deity. Even the perpetual fires that are recorded do not, as we have seen, belong always to her. It is Apollo, not Hestia, who is the builder of cities and, with Zeus and Athena, their chief protector; and if a late author chooses to state that the Cretan Knossos was built by Hestia, he is probably confusing her with Rhea<sup>51</sup>. Nor can we say that Diodoros was expressing a genuine mythologic dogma of the popular religion when he speaks of Hestia as the discoverer of house-building<sup>10 a</sup>; he is probably led to this statement merely by his impression that the hearth is the essential kernel of the household. If we look at the ritual of the phratría, the gens, or the household, we find in our records no prominence of Hestia at all. The marriage-ceremonies appear to have almost ignored

her<sup>a</sup>: it is only a late rhetorician, like Menander, who recommends that the happy bridegroom should pray to Hestia as well as to Eros and the deities of birth<sup>10 b</sup>. It is more remarkable that she is not mentioned at all in the various accounts of the Amphidromia, the ritual performed five days after a birth, when those who had assisted at it and were therefore unclean, stripped themselves and ran naked around the household hearth, bearing the child in their hands: this was in the main a purification ceremony, corresponding to our 'churching,' but it was also a christening-service, for the name was given to the child in this celebration, and relatives sent it presents of good omen<sup>19</sup>. Yet there is no hint of the recognition of the personal Hestia in this matter, although the ritual seems essentially to belong to her, and, if any personal deity were needed for it, we should have expected to hear of her rather than of that fictitious hero, Amphidromos, who was invented to stand for its patron<sup>19</sup>. Again, as regards the process of the adoption of children, in which both the household and the members of the phratry were deeply interested, the whole ceremony possessed a marked religious character, but the personal deities that take cognizance of it are Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría, and there is no mention of Hestia. Our record for Attica, though usually fuller than what we have for any other state, may be here defective; but it is confirmed by the negative evidence of non-Attic archives, such as the ritual-inscription of Kos, prescribing the ceremonies on the occasion of a birth<sup>b</sup>, and the long and valuable Delphic code of the Labyadai-phratry which deals specially with adoption<sup>c</sup>; in neither the one nor the other is the personal Hestia mentioned at all. In the Attic household the only actual service performed in her honour, apart from the usual first libation, appears to have been a family meal which may have been sacramentally taken round the hearth and regarded as a sacrifice to her; but all that we are definitely told about it is that 'when the ancients were sacrificing to Hestia, they gave no one a share in the

<sup>a</sup> We have indeed one inscription<sup>50</sup> which associates her with Zeus Teleios, a marriage-divinity.

<sup>b</sup> Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.* 36.

<sup>c</sup> Collitz, *Dialect-Inschr.* 2561.

offerings'<sup>16</sup>: this may mean that the offering, which may have been an animal, was wholly consumed in the fire, or, more probably, that the household ate it in secret and allowed no outside person to partake: hence 'he is sacrificing to Hestia' became a proverb for a secret business, or an equivalent to our 'charity begins at home.'

To explain this comparative insignificance of Hestia in ritual-ceremonies where she might be supposed to be chiefly concerned, as well as in the general religion, and to reconcile it with the vague pre-eminence in ritual and in the Prytaneia that is assigned to her on good authority, is the chief problem presented by the Hestia-cult. To solve it we must deal briefly with the question of her origin. In the opinion of Preuner<sup>a</sup>, who has devoted a laborious investigation to this cult, Hestia was originally a goddess of fire<sup>b</sup>, her name itself being derived from an Indo-Germanic root 'vas' = shine; the element of fire, which was regarded as pure and divine in its own right, added sanctity to the hearth, and the ideas that attached to the hearth came to be the leading factors in the development of the cult-figure, so that Hestia at an early period ceased to be the goddess of fire in general, and became specialized as the goddess of the ritual-fire on hearth and altar: finally, the city-halls, the *κοινὰ ἑστία* of the states, arose after the identification of Hestia with the family-hearth, and when the idea was prevalent of the city as a joint family. But his theory does not deal with the difficulty set forth above, and his view concerning her original significance does not wholly accord with the facts that must serve as our data for Hestia's character and cult. There is no trait in her that reveals a glimpse of a prehistoric nature-goddess or elemental daimon<sup>c</sup>. We have no right to suppose that she

<sup>a</sup> Vide his treatise *Hestia-Vesta* (1864), and his more recent essay in Roscher, *Lexikon*, vol. i, s.v. 'Hestia.'

<sup>b</sup> *Hestia-Vesta*, p. 78.

<sup>c</sup> The philosophic but frivolous identification of Hestia with the earth seems to have been connected with the ideas

that as the hearth was the centre of the house so the earth was the centre of the world of God<sup>8</sup>, and that the round temple of Hestia was a symbol of the earth (*Festus*, p. 263, Müller): Wieseler's opinion that the omphalos of Delphi and elsewhere was an agalma of Hestia,

was ever a divinity of the element of fire, for neither in her myth, cults, nor cult-epithets is any trace of such a conception discernible. Hephaistos is obviously the fire-god, and his legends and worship do not touch Hestia's at a single point. We have, indeed, the two parallel phrases, "Ἡφαιστος γελᾷ" and 'Ἑστία γελᾷ, indifferently used when a crackling on the hearth suggested that the spirit in the fire was laughing<sup>a</sup>; but obviously it was equally natural for the superstitious to exclaim, 'the fire is laughing' ("Ἡφαιστος γελᾷ) as 'the hearth is laughing' ('Ἑστία γελᾷ). Only once are the two divinities associated in an invocation, and this is a doubtful passage of a Euripidean fragment<sup>8</sup>.

If Hestia, then, is not the goddess of fire in general, may we explain her as arising from the sacrificial fire in particular, which burned on altar or hearth? In the Indo-Iranian religion this appears to have been the origin of Agni<sup>b</sup>, who develops into a great divine power, the central point of Vedic religion, and a corner-stone of Brahman theosophy, but whose personification was never sufficiently anthropomorphic to disguise his ritualistic origin. But when we look closely at the Greek phenomena we are not contented with this explanation of Hestia. The sacrificial fire in itself does not appear to have been regarded as her equivalent; while in one well-known passage Sophocles identifies it with Hephaistos<sup>c</sup>. And when the sacred fire is carried away from hearth or altar for purifying or protective purposes, as the fire from the Delphic temple was brought to purify the Greek temples after the Persian pollution, or as the fire was taken from the altar of Zeus the leader to precede the Spartan king on the march against the enemy, Hestia does not appear to have had any concern with it at all. The πῦρ ἀθάνατον, the 'deathless' fire which was worshipped at Delphi in its own right, was distinguished from Hestia, though co-ordinated with her in the formula of the Amphictyonic oath<sup>28</sup>. But where the fire was burning on domestic or public

*Ann. d. Inst.* 1857, p. 150, is wholly unwarranted. For Pythagorean speculation about Hestia, vide Plut. *Vit. Num.* c. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hephaistos, R. 3, 4.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 88-100.

<sup>c</sup> *Antig.* 1006.

hearth or altar, which under the name of ἑσχάρα<sup>15</sup> or βωμός<sup>22</sup> was regarded as itself a hearth, Hestia was there, not indeed always or perhaps usually as a personal goddess, but as a divinely immanent power. The primary and aboriginal fact with which our theory should start, but which is ignored or misstated in Preuner's elaborate treatise, is that the hearth and the hearth-spirit or hearth-goddess are called by the same name. We are driven then to assume that Hestia in her origin is nothing more than the holy hearth with its fire, and the records that have come down to us suggest that she was usually little more than this in the historic periods of Hellas. That the hearth was holy in its own right from almost immemorial antiquity in lands of Aryan habitation is a belief suggested by evidence that Dr. Frazer and others have collected; and in regard to Hellas and Italy the evidence is special and convincing<sup>a</sup>. The round hut-like shrine of the Italic cult, a type occasionally used and once perhaps prevalent generally for the Hestia-cult in Greece, has been traced back to a form of human habitation indigenous at a very early period in Central Europe and Mediterranean lands; and the great antiquity of hearth-worship in Italy at least is proved by the discovery of round huts in Italic villages, belonging to the neolithic period, with a hearth and an adjacent pit filled with the débris of sacrifice<sup>b</sup>. We may believe then that the hearth was the holy centre of the house in the primitive period, and that the word ἑστία is, like ἄστυ, a derivative from the primitive root 'vas' = inhabit<sup>c</sup>. What gave it its sanctity among the Aryan people is an interesting question for comparative religion to solve. We might imagine that ancestor-worship may have been one of the prior causes, as the spirit might be supposed to haunt the hearth which the living ancestor loved; and we may find evidence in favour

<sup>a</sup> We have some evidence of its sacredness in the Mediterranean in the 'Early Minoan' period: in the elliptically shaped house found recently in Crete a low altar was discovered near the ashes of the hearth, vide *Eph. Arch.*

1906, p. 135.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Pfuhl, *Zur Geschichte des Kurvenbaues in Athen. Mittheil.* 1905, pp. 331-374; cf. also *Eph. Arch.* *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> Vide *Wörterbuch der Alt-indischen Sprache*, by Uhlebeck.

of this assumption among non-Aryan<sup>a</sup> and here and there among Aryan tribes. In Latin legend the male divinity of the hearth may occasionally have been regarded as an ancestor, but this belief may have arisen spontaneously from the feeling that the life of the community or specially of the king was bound up with the sacred fire. It is quite possible that a growing ancestor-cult may here and there in the communities which we are immediately considering have enhanced the sanctity of the hearth; but the traces of the association between the two are too slight to enable us to affirm that the one engendered the other. It may well be that in Hellas at least the hearth-cult is the prior fact; and we may with more reason maintain that the family hearth became sacred for two reasons: first, because of the pre-animistic feeling of religious awe that immemorially attached to fire, the proofs of which come to us from a very wide area of observation; secondly, because in the Mediterranean lands the hearth or hearth-altar was built of sacred stones, and its sanctity may have been a derivation of a very old pillar-cult which has left its imprint on the domestic architecture of the Mycenaean-Minoan period.

Hestia, then, is originally not the goddess who made the hearth holy, but is in very essence 'holy hearth,' the hearth being a sacred structure with sacred fire upon it; and this religious perception belongs to the animistic, possibly the pre-animistic, period; then, the later anthropomorphism, the dominant passion of the Hellenic people, tries to make a personal goddess of her, and the attempt is comparatively a failure. The direct proofs of the real anthropomorphic cult in Greece are very few. Sacrifice is no certain test of the more advanced conception, for it is consistent with the pre-anthropomorphic view of religion, while no doubt it assisted the development of the belief in divine persons. A unique example of the higher and lower applications of

<sup>a</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 169, n. 5 quotes some evidence from Slavonic worship: the clearest and most interesting is from New Zealand, the likeness of a

human being which is supposed to represent the ancestor being carved on the pillar behind the fire-place (*ibid.* p. 168).



sacrifice is given by two interesting inscriptions of Kos<sup>48</sup>: in one a sacrifice, mainly of cakes and cereals, is prescribed to Hestia Ταμίας, the personal goddess; in the other, what appears to be the same sacrifice is to be offered merely ἐφ' ἑστίαν, no person being mentioned. We seem here to have the ritual presented to us at once in its animistic and its anthropomorphic aspect. Again, it might seem that an early Delphic ritual, to which the lines already quoted from an Homeric hymn appear to point<sup>3</sup>, recognized her clearly as a personal goddess, 'from whose locks ever liquid unguent trickles down': surely, it may be said, this must refer to some statue of Hestia, which was constantly anointed with oil, as had been and long continued to be the custom with the sacred stones, the precursors in religion of the idol. But there is no hint of a statue of Hestia at Delphi in the later period, and it is most unlikely that at the early date to which the hymn belongs, when the anthropomorphic ritual was even less developed, an image of the goddess should have already emerged. Probably the phrase alludes to some Delphic rite of feeding the public hearth with oil: the poet's imagination works in personifying forms, but the logic of the ritual does not demand a personal idea. Statues of Hestia were evidently very rare in the public cults of Greece: we are told of one in the Athenian Prytaneion<sup>30</sup>; and Pindar's Nemean ode suggests that there was one also in the city-hall of Tenedos, though the poet may imagine her there as a sceptred goddess, but in unseen presence<sup>6</sup>: the only other example is the Parian image carried off by Tiberius, probably a famous work of Skopas<sup>45</sup>. Pausanias comments on the absence of the idol from the cult of Hermione<sup>35</sup>; and, as far as I can find, her figure does not appear on the coins of Greek communities. It is clear that her cult was served merely by a βωμός, a hearth-altar, and Hestia Βουλαία or Πρυτανεία was rarely more than this<sup>a</sup>. When men swore by Hestia, they swore by the holy

<sup>a</sup> This was clearly the case at Kaunos<sup>56</sup>, Athens<sup>29</sup>, and was probably so at Naukratis<sup>58</sup>. We notice that when Theramenes in the council-chamber

desires to save himself from his murderers he springs to the holy hearth; there is evidently no statue of Hestia<sup>29</sup>.

hearth, not necessarily by any personality, just as the Norseman might swear by an iron ring or by his sword; and it has long been recognized that the religious oath is consistent with the pre-anthropomorphic belief. We may observe that it well accords with these facts that no single temple of Hestia is recorded in Greece, with one exception, namely in Elis<sup>39</sup>. In his account of Olympia we are informed by the conscientious Pausanias of the Hestia of the Prytaneion, whence the ashes of the holy hearth went to supply the ash-altar of Zeus; and he adds that the Eleans always sacrificed to Hestia first, and after her to Zeus Olympios. But Xenophon speaks of the temple of Hestia near the Bouleuterion, and this 'temple' could not have been the same as the Prytaneion, as the excavations show that the Bouleuterion was in the south of the Altis, the city-hall north-east. Here, then, and, as far as we know, here only, the perception of her as a personal goddess was vivid enough to prompt the erection of a separate temple in her honour. Finally, the curious practice, of which we have evidence only from the Roman period, of bestowing the title of 'the Hestia of the city' or 'the Hestia of the commonwealth' upon certain honourable women and priestesses at Sparta<sup>36</sup> and in Arcadia<sup>38</sup>, reveals the anthropomorphic idea, but no strong perception of personal godhead: for the Greek states, though they might address the mistress or wife of the tyrant or dynast as Aphrodite, did not even in the latest period attach the names of their high divinities to their ordinary private citizens and officials.

In fact, the aboriginal perception of the holy hearth as a potent presence, not as a personal individual, explains nearly all her ritual and the difficulty set forth above. She has the honour of the first libation or sacrifice, because this is thrown into the fire whether on the hearth of the hall or the hearth-altar of the court-yard or the state-chamber<sup>a</sup>. Yet such vague precedence of the hearth-spirit need have offended no robust anthropomorphic divinity to whom the ritual was really directed. It is usually one of these higher

<sup>a</sup> Note that in Homer, *Il.* 9. 220 Achilles throws the *θυγαί* into the fire before a meal; this is as much an offering to Hestia as need be, for we must suppose the fire was on some kind of hearth.

beings that overshadows Hestia and cherishes even her perpetual fire. And as she did not really belong, or was only faintly attached, to the anthropomorphic system, so most of the hearth-ritual was pre-anthropomorphic merely, and belonged rather to embryonic than to higher religion. The child is borne round the hearth at the Amphidromia at Athens<sup>19</sup>; in the ceremony at Chaironeia, 'ox-hunger', personated by a slave, is driven from the public hearth with blows, and wealth and health are bidden to enter<sup>24</sup>; or at Athens the pig was carried around the hearth to absorb the hearth's purifying virtue before he was used to purify the Athenian assembly<sup>18</sup>, and all this without any call upon a personal Hestia or any other divinity to assist. And so far as she succeeded in being personal, her personality clings to the hearth and often fades back into it. She is feminine because *ἑστία* is a word of feminine formation: she is the daughter of Zeus and lives under his shadow because her household life resided mainly in the burning altar of Zeus *Ἐρκείος*, and because he is chiefly the god of the state, and she the hearth-altar of the state: she is pure and virginal, not because fire in general was necessarily so regarded<sup>a</sup>—the career of Hephaistos the fire-god shows that it was not—but because the hearth, like all altars, must not be polluted, and with its sacred fire was the source of purity<sup>b</sup>: she attracts no mythology and can play no part in the stirring mythic drama, because she has scarcely any life at all independent of the hearth and the hearth-altar. As the Greek mind had risen far above its earlier animistic religion, Hestia could not be for them what Vesta was for Rome; and as it was far less the victim of sacerdotalism than the Vedic, Hestia could not attain the prestige of Agni, a divinity that in many respects resembles her in the Vedic religion. Her failure to achieve a high place in the anthropomorphic religion may be explained as the similar but less conspicuous failure of Gaia has been. The career of a Hellenic divinity depended partly on the name; and the goddess Hestia

<sup>a</sup> This was the view of Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 12, and of Ovid, *Fast.* 6. guard the purity of the Prytaneion at Naukratis<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Hence the rigid rules to safe-

has the name of a common and immobile thing. As the name 'hearth' clung to her, she could not emerge and develop into a free personality with an individual and complex character or history, like Artemis or Athena.

Originally, indeed, the sanctity of the hearth may well have been a potent factor in early social evolution, a basis for part of the structure of social and domestic morality; but in the later period Hestia scarcely appears as the guardian of the moral law. It is rather Zeus who protects the privilege of the hearth-suppliant or guest and the ties of kindred, just as Hera maintained the religious bond of marriage. Nevertheless, the saying in one of the fictitious proems of the laws of Charondas, that the magistrates should be regarded as fathers who maintain the hearth of the state, and that disobedience to them will incur the punishment of the 'hearth-abiding daemones,' may reflect something of primitive thought<sup>22</sup>.

The chief value of the cult that has been examined in this chapter lies in the glimpse that it affords us of a world of religious feeling difficult for us to understand or clearly to describe, a world of *numina* rather than Θεοί, of divine potencies that have not yet become persons, a world that lies far in the background of what may be called modern religion.

It may be that for the popular imagination and belief she was a more real personage than we find her to have been in the state-cult and ritual. In Rhodes a private person set up a dedication to Hestia and Zeus Τέλειος, probably to secure a happy marriage<sup>50</sup>; from Herakleia we have a petition of Dorkas praying to Hestia in behalf of 'her very own self and for Aphroditias<sup>61</sup>'; but the anthropomorphic conception is no more inevitable here than in the prayers of Herakles or Alkestis to the household hearth<sup>7</sup>. Only when a number of persons at Rhodes form themselves into a guild under the name of 'Hestias<sup>60</sup>', it is natural to suppose that Hestia was a real personal divinity for them.

But neither the literature nor the art enables us to affirm that Hestia had a strong personal hold upon the minds of the people. Her figure appears indeed in early vase-paintings, for instance on the François vase in company with Demeter

and Chariklo, but without distinctive character or attribute. On a vase of the late archaic period, painted by Oltos, she sits by the throne of Zeus, clad in long drapery and holding branches of flowers and fruits<sup>38</sup>; these attributes are picturesque only, but some religious reminiscence may have guided the artist in placing her by Zeus; just as the associations of ritual may have suggested to Pheidias that she should not be wanting from the company of subordinate divinities whose figures adorned the throne of Zeus at Olympia<sup>39</sup>. But in the matter of grouping, the art that dealt with Hestia was capricious and without a plan. On the vase of Sosias she is seated by the side of Amphitrite, as also in the Olympian dedications of Mikythos<sup>39</sup> she was grouped with the sea-divinities. On the monuments that have come down to us she can only be recognized, and this is rare, where an inscription helps us; for no speaking and decisive art-symbol appears to have been appropriated to her. As regards any ideal type that may have been fixed for her, we know little; but it may be true that she was usually represented as a woman of mature years and full forms<sup>26</sup>, the type of the 'materfamilias.' We might be able to say more if we had any exact evidence concerning the only famous representation of her that existed in antiquity, the Parian Hestia of Scopas<sup>45</sup>. We know that the great sculptor represented her as seated, inspired perhaps by a phrase in the Homeric hymn<sup>5</sup>, or in accordance merely with the natural way of imagining the hearth-goddess; and we have every reason to believe that he set up two torch-holders by her, symbol of her perpetual fire. We would gladly know how this master of emotional expression treated her countenance. But all attempts to discover a trace of his work have failed.

Generally speaking, in spite of the suspected statement of a very late authority<sup>27</sup> that she was painted in private houses near the hearth, we may believe that Greek art dealt very little with the figure of Hestia. It may well have preferred the more concrete full-blooded forms of the anthropomorphic pantheon.

<sup>a</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* 10. 23-24.

## REFERENCES FOR HESTIA-CULT

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Theog.* 453 :

'Ρεία δ' ὑποδμηθεῖσα Κρόνῳ τέκε φαίδιμα τέκνα,  
'Ιστίην, Δήμητρα . . .

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Ἔργ.* κ. Ἑμ. 733 :

Μηδ' αἰδοῖα γοῆν πεπαλαγμένους ἔνδοθι οἴκου  
ἔστίη ἔμπελαδὸν παραφαινόμεν, ἀλλ' ἀλέασθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Hom. *Hymn.* 24 :

'Εστίη, ἣ τε ἄνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο  
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύεις,  
αἰεὶ σῶν πλοκάμων ἀπολείβεται ὕγρον ἔλαιον.

<sup>4</sup> 29 :

'Εστίη, ἣ πάντων ἐν δώμασις ὑψηλοῖσις  
ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων  
ἔδρην αἰδίου ἔλαχες, πρεσβηῖδα τιμῆν,  
καλὸν ἔχουσα γέρας καὶ τιμῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ σοῦ  
εἰλαπῖναι θνητοῖσις, ἴν' οὐ πρότῃ πυμάτῃ τε  
'Εστίη ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιθδέα οἶνον'  
καὶ σύ μοι Ἀργειφόντα . . .

Ἰλαος ὦν ἐπάρηγε σὺν αἰδοίῃ τε φίλῃ τε  
'Εστίη.

Cf. Cornut. c. 28 (p. 160, Osann) : Μυθεύεται δὲ ('Εστία) πρώτη καὶ ἐσχάτη γενέσθαι τῶ ἐς ταύτην ἀναλύεσθαι τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς γενόμενα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς συνίστασθαι. καθὸ κὰν ταῖς θυσίαις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ πρώτης τε αὐτῆς ἤρχοντο καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην αὐτὴν κατέπανον.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Hymn Aphr.* 29 :

τῇ δὲ [Ἰστίη] πατὴρ Ζεὺς δῶκε καλὸν γέρας ἀντὶ γάμοιο,  
καὶ τε μέσῳ οἴκῳ κατ' ἄρ' ἔζητο πῖαρ ἐλοῦσα,  
πᾶσις δ' ἐν νηοῖσις θεῶν τιμάοχος ἔστι,  
καὶ παρὰ πᾶσις βροτοῖσις θεῶν πρέσβειρα τέτυκται.

<sup>6</sup> Pind. *Nem.* II. I :

Παῖ 'Ρέας, ἃ τε πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας, 'Εστία,  
Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνον Ἥρας,  
εὐ μὲν Ἀρισταγόραν δέξει τεινὸν ἐς θάλαμον,  
εὐ δ' ἐταίρους ἀγλαῶ σκάπτῳ πέλας,  
οἷ σε γεραιρόντες ὀρθὰν φυλάσσοισιν Τένεδον,  
πολλὰ μὲν λοιβαῖσις ἀγαζόμενοι πρόταν θεῶν,  
πολλὰ δὲ κνίσσα.

<sup>7</sup> Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 599 :

καλῶς προσελθὼν νῦν πρόσειπέ θ' ἑστίαν.

*Id. Alc.* 162 :

καὶ στᾶσα πρόσθεν ἑστίας κατηύξατο,  
δέσποινα, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔρχομαι κατὰ χθονός,  
πανύστατόν σε προσπίτνουσ' αἰτήσομαι,  
τέκν' ὄρφανεῦσαι τὰμά.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. Phaeth.* Fr. 781, l. 55 :

σὺ δ' ὦ πυρὸς δέσποινα, Δήμητρος Κόρη,  
Ἕφαιστέ τ', εἶτε πρηνεμενεῖς δόμοις ἐμοῖς.

Macrob. i. 23, 8 : quod autem addit (Timaeus) μένει δὲ Ἑστία ἐν θεῶν οἴκῳ μόνῃ significat, quia haec sola, quam terram esse accipimus, manet immobilis intra domum deorum, id est, intra mundum, ut ait Euripides—

Καὶ Γαῖα μήτηρ, Ἑστίαν δέ σ' οἱ σοφοὶ  
βροτῶν καλοῦσιν ἡμένην ἐν αἰθέρι.

<sup>9</sup> Stob. *Floril.* 3. 80 (Meineke, vol. i, p. 90) Σωσιάδου τῶν ἐπτά σοφῶν ὑποθήκαι . . . Ἑστίαν τίμα.

<sup>10</sup> <sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. 5, 68 λέγεται τὴν μὲν Ἑστίαν τὴν τῶν οἰκῶν κατασκευὴν εὐρεῖν καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐν πάσαις οἰκίαις καθιδρυθῆναι τιμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν τυγχάνουσαν.

<sup>b</sup> Menand. *περὶ ἐπιδεικτ.* Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* 9. 275 χρὴ δὲ παραγγέλλειν τῷ νυμφίῳ μέλλοντι ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῷ Ἐρωτῇ, τῇ Ἑστία, τοῖς γενεθλίοις.

Ritual of the hearth, vide R. 3-6.

<sup>11</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 842 ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχονται . . . καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν *Χρύση* ὦ πρῶρα λοιβῆς Ἑστία, κλύεις τάδε :

<sup>12</sup> Eurip. *Phaeth.* Frag. 781, l. 35 Ἑστίας ἕδος, ἀφ' ἧς γε σῶφρων πᾶς ἀν ἄρχεται . . . εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι]. Cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 865.

<sup>13</sup> Plat. *Cratyl.* 401 D τὸ γὰρ πρὸ πάντων θεῶν τῇ Ἑστία πρώτῃ προθύειν.

<sup>14</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* 7. 4. 6 (p. 703 D) ὅθεν ὀρθῶς μὲν Ἡσίοδος 'οὐδ' ἀπὸ χυτροπόδων ἀνεπιρρέκτων' ἐᾷ παρατίθεσθαι σίτον ἢ ὄψον, ἀλλ' ἀπαρχὰς τῷ πυρὶ καὶ γέρα τῆς διακονίας ἀποδιδόντας.

<sup>15</sup> Eustath. *Odys.* ξ. 159 ἰστία κυρίως μὲν ἐσχάρα οἴκου καθ' ἣν ἔθου ὀσημέραι Διὶ τε ἐστιούχῳ καὶ θεῇ τινὶ ἣν ἐκάλουν Ἑστίαν.

Special services : ? family meal round hearth.

<sup>16</sup> Zenob. 4. 44 (Paroemiogr. Graec. Gaisford, p. 319) Ἰστίαί θύει . . . δι' ἔθου γὰρ ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁπότε ἔθουον Ἰστία, μηδεὶν μεταδιδόναι τῆς θυσίας.

Μέμνηται ταύτης Θεόπομπος ἐν Καπηλίειν. Cf. Diogenian 2. 40 (Pareom. Gr. p. 168 Gaisford) ἐπὶ τῶν κρύφα πραττόντων· οἱ γὰρ Ἑστία θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐξέφερον τῆς θυσίας.

<sup>17</sup> Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 67 Nam Vestae nomen a Graecis est—ea est enim, quae ab illis Ἑστία dicitur—vis autem eius ad aras et focos pertinet: itaque in ea dea quod est rerum custos intumarum, omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est.

<sup>18</sup> Purification ceremonies, cf. R. 2. Suidas *s.v.* περιστῆραχος· ὁ περικαθαίρων τὴν Ἑστίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἰστρος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς περίστια, φησί, προσαγορεύεται τὰ καθάρσια καὶ οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ καθαίροντες περιστῆραχοι. Cf. Pollux, 8. 104 περὶ περιστῆραχων· ἐκάθαιρον χοιριδίους μικροῖς οὗτοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Amphidromia, ? associated with Hestia.

<sup>19</sup> Schol. Theaet. 160 E Ἐμφιδρόμια· ἡμέρα πέμπτη τοῖς βρέφεσιν ἐκ γενέσεως οὕτω κληθεῖσα, παρ' ὅσον ἐν ταύτῃ καθαίρουσι τὰς χεῖρας αἱ συνεφαψάμεναι τῆς μαιώσεως καὶ τὸ βρέφος περὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν φέρουσι τρέχουσαι κύκλω, καὶ τοῦνομα τίθενται τούτῳ, δῶρά τε πέμπουσι τῷ παιδίῳ, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον πολυπόδας καὶ σηπίας, οἳ τε φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ προσήκοντες.

<sup>20</sup> Bekk. *Anecd.* 207. 13 Ἐμφιδρόμια· ἑστίασις ἀγομένη ἐπὶ τοῖς βρέφεσιν, μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοῦ τεχθῆναι· ἐκλήθη δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφιδρομεῖν καὶ περιτρέχειν πανταχοῦ μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου ἐπιθύοντας τοῖς θεοῖς. Hesych. *s.v.* Δρομιάμφιον ἡμαρ· ἀμφιδρόμια· ἔστι δὲ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως, ἐν ἧ τὸ βρέφος βαστάζοντες περὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν γυμνοὶ τρέχουσι.

<sup>21</sup> Ritual in the Prytaneion. Cf. R. 58, Apollo, *Geogr. Reg.* Naukratis. Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 11. 1 πρυτανεία φησι λαχεῖν τὴν Ἑστίαν παρόσον αἱ τῶν πόλεων ἑστία ἐν τοῖς πρυτανείοις ἀφίδρυνται καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν λεγόμενον πῦρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπίκειται. *El. Mag. s.v.* πρυτανεία (p. 694. 28)· ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπόκειται· καὶ τοὺς ὅποι ποτὲ ἀποικίαν στέλλοντας αὐτόθεν αὔεσθαι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας πῦρ.

<sup>22</sup> Aesch. *Suppl.* 370 σύ τοι πόλις σὺ δὲ τὸ δάμιον, πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὦν, κρατύνεις βωμὸν ἑστίαν χθονός. Cf. Stobae. *ΜΔ'* c. 40 (Meineke, vol. 2, p. 182) χρῆ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας εὖνοιαν διαφυλάττει καθάπερ πατράσιν εὐπειθοῦντας καὶ σεβομένους· ὡς ὁ μὴ διανοούμενος οὕτω τίσει δίκην κακῆς βουλῆς δαίμοσιν ἑστιούχοις. ἄρχοντες γὰρ ἑστιουχοῦσι πόλεως καὶ πολιτῶν σωτηρίας (from the 'προοίμια νόμων' of 'Charondas').

<sup>23</sup> Aristot. 1322 b 26 ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης [ἐπιμέλεια] ἢ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν· καλοῦσι δ'· οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις.



<sup>24</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* 6. 8, 1 (p. 694 A), at Chaironeia θυσία τίς ἐστί πάτριος, ἣν ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας δρᾶ, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἐπ' οἴκου καλεῖται δὲ βουλίου ἐξέλασις· καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἕνα τύπτουτες ἀγνίαις ῥάβδοις διὰ θυρῶν ἐξελαύνουσιν, ἐπιλέγοντες, "Ἐξω βούλιμον, ἔσω δὲ πλοῦτον καὶ ὑγίαιαν.

<sup>25</sup> Animal sacrifice: cf. R. 48. Callim. *in Cerer.* 108 καὶ τὰν βοῦν ἔφαγεν τὰν Ἑστίαν ἔτρεφε μάτηρ. ? Swine: Aristoph. *Vesp.* 844 χοιροκομείου Ἑστίας. Schol. *ib.* Ἑστίας δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τρέφουσι χοίρους. Eupolis, *Frag.* Meineke, 2, p. 541 (Athenae. p. 657 A) οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἔθνον δέλφακ' (ῶδον?) θῆστία.

<sup>26</sup> Type of Hestia. Euseb. *Praep.* 3. 11, 7 (from Porphyry) (Ἑστία) ἥς ἀγάλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' ἐστίας πυρὸς ἰδρυμένον . . . σημαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναικὸς εἶδει προμάστου. Cf. Artemid. *Oneirokr.* 2. 44 Ἑστία πρεσβῦτις.

<sup>27</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 395 Ἡ Ἑστία . . . καταρχὰς τὴν οἰκίαν εὐροῦσα ἦν ἐντὸς τῶν οἴκων ἔγραφον ἵνα τούτους συνέχη . . . οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐφίστιον Δία καλοῦσιν ὃν εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν οἴκων γράφουσιν.

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<sup>28</sup> Phokis.

Delphoi: cf. R. 3, Apollo R. 128 p. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 107, Amphictyonic oath, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ Θέμις καὶ Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἑστία καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον καὶ θεοὶ πάντες . . . τὴν σωτηρίαν μοι [ἀφέλωσι]ν (? circ. 100 B. C.).

<sup>29</sup> Attica. R. 11, 18.

Athens: in the Bouleuterion Ἑστία βουλαία. Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* § 45 καὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαίαν. Schol. *ib.* Διὸς ἦν βωμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ· τὴν Ἑστίαν οὖν λέγε τὴν βουλαίαν τὸν βωμὸν αὐτοῦ . . . [ἢ τὴν τράπεζαν]. Harpokr. *s.v.* βουλαία. Δείναρχος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καλλισθένους ἐνδείξει 'μαρτύρομαι τὴν Ἑστίαν τὴν βουλαίαν' οἷον τὴν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἰδρυμένην. Diod. Sic. 14. 4 ὁ δὲ [Θηραμένης] φθάσας ἀνεπήδησε μὲν πρὸς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν, ἔφησε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καταφεύγειν . . . καὶ Θηραμένην μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν ἀποστίασαντες. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3, §§ 52, 55.

<sup>30</sup> In the Prytaneion: Paus. 1. 18. 3 πλησίον δὲ Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας. Pollux, 1. 7 οὕτω δ' ἂν Ἑστίαν κυριώτατα καλοῖς τὴν ἐν Πρυτανεῖῳ, ἐφ' ἧς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον ἀνάπτεται. 9. 40 τάχα δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ βασιλείον ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ τυραννεῖον· εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως.

Schol. Aristid. p. 48 (Dind.) τὸ δὲ πρυτανεῖον τόπον εἶναι λέγουσι τῆς Παλλάδος ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐφυλάττετο τὸ πῦρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ οἱ ἄποικοι Ἀθηναίων μετελάμβανον. Cf. Herod. 1. 146 οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν [Ἰωνες] ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανεῖου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες. Cf. Athena, R. 35<sup>b</sup>. C. I. A. 2. 478 A (Ephēboi-inscr. circ. 100 B.C.) ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἣν ἔθυσεν μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων . . . τὰ εἰσιτηρία (sic) τῇ τε Ἑστία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων. Cf. C. I. A. 2. 468, 5 οἱ ἔφηβοι θύσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐγγραφαῖς ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας τοῦ δήμου. Cf. *ib.* 605.

<sup>31</sup> C. I. A. 3. 68 (circ. 60–70 A.D.?) Ἑστία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου . . . Φιλόξενος ἀνέθηκεν. 3. 316 (on seat in theatre, Augustan period) ἰέρεια Ἑστίας καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλίας (given in more complete form *Ath. Mitth.* 1889, p. 321 ἰέριας Ἑστίας ἐπ' ἀκροπόλει καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλίας). Cf. 322 ἰέρεια Ἑστίας Ῥωμαίων.

<sup>32</sup> C. I. A. 2. 596 fourth century mutilated inscr. concerning the Krokonidai, suggesting that each of the 'gentes' had its 'Ἑστία.' Cf. *Hermes*, R. 31.

<sup>33</sup> In the Peiraieus: C. I. A. 2. 589 (decree of the demos of Peiraieus) ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα . . . καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑστίας (circ. 300 B.C.).

<sup>34</sup> At Oropos: Paus. 1. 34, 3 Ὀρωπίους ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη . . . τρίτον δὲ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου.

<sup>35</sup> Hermione: Paus. 2. 35, 1 παρελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας [ἱερόν] ἄγαλμα μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, βωμὸς δὲ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θύουσιν Ἑστία.

<sup>36</sup> Laconia: title of Ἑστία τῆς πόλεως applied to distinguished women in inscriptions of Roman period, e.g. C. I. G. 1239 Ἑστίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ θουαρμοστρίαν. 1442 Ἑστίαν πόλεως καὶ θυγάτερα. Cf. 1235, 1253.

<sup>37</sup> Arcadia, Mantinea: Paus. 8. 9, 5 τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω μνήματα προήκοντά ἐστιν ἐς δόξαν, τὸ μὲν Ἑστία καλουμένη κοινὴ περιφερὲς σχῆμα ἔχουσα (cf. Cornutus, *Epigr.* 28 στορογγύλη πλάττεται [Ἑστία] καὶ κατὰ μέσους ἰδρύεται τοὺς οἴκους διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοιαύτην εἶναι).

<sup>38</sup> Tegea: Collitz, *Dialect-Inscr.* 1. 1223 Φιστία χαριστήριον. Paus. 8. 53, 9 Καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ ἐστίαν Ἀρκάδων κοινήν. *Arch. Zeit.* 37. 138 (inscr. found at Olympia) Κλαυδία Τύχη Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου . . . Κλειτορία καὶ Ἥλεια Ἰέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ ἀρχιέρεια διὰ βίου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ κοινῶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἑστία διὰ βίου τοῦ κοινῶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων 209–213 A.D.

<sup>39</sup> Elis, Olympia: Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4, 31 τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ. Paus. 5. 14, 4 θύουσι δ' Ἑστία μὲν πρώτη, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ. 15. 8 τὸ πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἥλείοις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἄλτeww ἐντός, . . . ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἑστία τέφρας καὶ αὕτη πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὠσαύτως καίεται. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς Ἑστίας τὴν τέφραν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἦδη μοι κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμόν. 5. 26, 2 τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα Μικύθου . . . Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἑστία Γλαῦκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖος. 5. 11, 8 (on throne of Zeus Olympios) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βᾶθρου τοῦ τὸν θρόνον τε ἀνέχοντος . . . χρυσᾶ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπὶ ἄρμα Ἥλιος, καὶ Ζεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἥρα . . . παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Χάρις ταύτης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἔχεται, τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἑστία.

<sup>40</sup> Achaia, near Aigion: Polyb. 5. 93 γράψαντες εἰς στήλην παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀνέθεσαν βωμόν ἐν Ὀμαρίῳ.

Cyclades.

<sup>41</sup> Delos: inscr. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903, p. 61 Τιμόθεμις μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Δέξιδος Ἑστία ἄρξας (fourth century B.C.). Cf. *ib.* 1902, p. 509 [inscr. third cent. B.C.):

Ἑστίῃ ἱλαός τε καὶ εὐχαρις εἰς Πολύβοιο  
οἴκου καὶ γενεῆν ἴστασο . . . ἐν ἔτος  
σὸς γὰρ καὶ Φοῖβου στεφανηφόρος ἡνίκ' ἐτάχθη  
ἦρξεν ὅπως ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι.

Cf. 1905, p. 225.

<sup>42</sup> Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 423 inscr. Ἑστίας on altar, first century B.C.

<sup>43</sup> Syros: *C. I. G. add.* 2347 K ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου καὶ Δουκίου Αὐρηλίου . . . νείκης . . . ὁ δῆμος ὁ Συρίων. Ἐλεύθερος . . . σὺν γυναικὶ Ὀνησιφόρῳ . . . ἀπάσας τὰς νομιζομένας θυσίας ἐκαλλιέρησεν δι' ὄλου ἐναυτοῦ Ἑστία Πρυτανεῖα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς.

<sup>44</sup> Andros: *C. I. G. add.* 2349<sup>b</sup> κληθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ ξενισμὸν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν (first century B.C.).

<sup>45</sup> Paros: Dio Cass. 55. 9 τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἀγαλμα πωλῆσαί οἱ ἠνάγκασεν Τιβέριος. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 36. 25 (Scopas fecit) Vestam sedentem laudatam in Servilianis hortis duosque lampteras (MS. campteras) circa eam.

<sup>46</sup> Naxos: Plut. *de virt. mul.* c. 17, p. 254 [Νέαιραν] ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς Νάξον ἰκέτιν τῆς Ἑστίας ἐκάθισεν.

Tenedos, vide R. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Lesbos, Mitylene: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 424, inscr. first century B.C. Ἑστίας Πρυτανείας.

<sup>48</sup> Kos: Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.* No. 37, l. 20 (ritual-calendar,

third century B. C.) θύεται δὲ [ὁ βοῦς] αἰ μέγ κα ὑποκ'ύψ]ει τῆ Ἰστιά. θύει δὲ γερεαφόρος βασιλέων. . . l. 22 τὸν δὲ κριθέντα τῷ Ζηνὶ κάρυκες ἄγοντι ἐς ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔωντι ἀγορεύει οὐ κα ἦ ὁ βοῦς ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ κήνου ἐνδέξιος· Κωίους παρέχω τὸν βοῦν, Κῶιοι δὲ τιμὰν ἀποδόντω (τὸ) τῇ Ἰστιά· τιμώντω δὲ προστάται ὁμόσαντες παραχρήμα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κα τιμώντι, ἀναγορευέτω ὁ κᾶρυξ ὅπουσος κα τιμηθῆ· τούτω δὲ [ἐλ]άντω (Hicks, *Hell. Jour.* 9, p. 335 suggests τοῦτο δ' ἐνεικάντω) παρὰ τὰν Ἰστιαν τὰν Ταμίαν. l. 47 Ἰκάδι· βοῦς ὁ κριθεὶς θύεται Ζηνὶ [Πολιῆ]· καὶ ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται· ἐφ' ἐστίαν θύεται ἀλφίτων ἡμῖεκτον ἄρτοι δὲ δύο ἐξ ἡμῖεκτου—ὁ ἕτερος τυρώδης—καὶ τὰ ἔνδορα. *Ib.* No. 401 (fragment of ritual-calendar) Ἰστιά Ταμία πλ[ακούντα? ἀλφί]των ἡμῖεκτον καὶ . . . [ταῦτα θύε]ται ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰστίας.

<sup>49</sup> Rhodes. Kameiros : *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* I. 704, dedication, ? third century B. C. Ἐστιά καὶ Διὶ Τελείφ.

<sup>50</sup> *Ib.* No. 162, inscr. at Rhodes, second century B. C., list of religious brotherhoods mentioning Ἐστιασταί.

<sup>51</sup> Crete : vide Zeus, R. 102<sup>b</sup> (formula of oath of Hieropytna). *Lact. Div. Inst.* I. 11 sepulcrum eius (Iovis) est in Creta et in oppido Cnosso et dicitur Vesta hanc urbem creavisse (? Hestia here confused with Rhea. Cf. Orphic Hymn, 27 to the Μήτηρ θεῶν Ἰστίη αὐδαχθείσα, l. 9).

Asia Minor.

<sup>a</sup> Sinope, inscription of Macedonian period containing list of prytanies and dedication τῇ Ἐστιά Πρυτανείᾳ *Rev. des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 354 (*Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1905, p. 313).

<sup>52</sup> Pergamon : Dittenberg. *Or. Graec. Ins. Sel.* 332 (decree in honour of Attalos Philometor), l. 49 θύσαι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλας θυσίας . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς βουλαίας Ἐστίας καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βουλαίου.

<sup>53</sup> Erythrai : Dittenberg. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>. 600 (inscr. concerning sale of priest-hoods, circ. 278 B. C.), l. 59 Ἐστίης Τεμενίης. l. 66 Ἐστίης Βουλαίης.

<sup>54</sup> Ephesos : Le Bas, *Asie Mineure*, 171<sup>a</sup> Ἐστία βουλαία καὶ Ἄρτεμι Ἐφεσία σώζετε Πλούταρχον τὸν πρύτανιν καὶ γυμνασιάρχον.

<sup>55</sup> Knidos : Löwe, *Inscr. Griech. Bild.* n. 161 Ἁγίας Ἐστιείου γραμματεύων βουλᾷ Ἀθάνα Νικαφόρω καὶ Ἐστιά βουλαία, second century B. C.

<sup>56</sup> Kaunos : App. *Mithrad.* 23 Κάνυοι . . . τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἐστιαν καταφυγόντας ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας . . . ἔκτεινον.

<sup>57</sup> Aigai : Bohn u. Schuchart, *Allerthümer von Aegae*, p. 34 (inscr. second century B. C.) Διὶ Βολλαίω καὶ Ἰστιά Βολλαία καὶ τῷ δάμω.

<sup>58</sup> Egypt. Naukratis : Athenae. 149 D παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις, ὡς φησιν Ἑρμείας, . . . ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσιν γενεθλίοις Ἐστίας Πρυτανίτιδος

. . . γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστιν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἢ μόνῃ τῇ ἀλλητριδί. οὐκ εἰσφέρεται δὲ οὐδὲ ἅμῃς εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον.

<sup>59</sup> Sicily. Syracuse: *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 646, formula of public oath  
ὁμνῶ τὰν Ἰστίαν τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τὸν Ζῆνα τὸν Ὀλύμπιον.

<sup>60</sup> Tauromenion: *ib.* 433 (=Kaibel, *Epigramm.* praef. 824<sup>a</sup>) Ἀμφὶ παραστάσι ταῖσδε Σαράπιδος Ἔστια ἀγνὸν βωμὸν Βαρκαῖος Καρνεάδης ἔθετο . . . ἀνθ' ὧν, ὧ κραίνουσα Διὸς μεγαλαυχίας οἴκους, | θυμαρῇ βιοτᾶς ὄλβον ἔχιοιεν ἀεὶ (first century B. C.).

<sup>61</sup> Italy. Herakleia: *C. I. G. Sic. It.* 646 Ἰστίαι πρὸ αὐταντᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδιτίας Δορκὰς ἀνέθηκε (circ. 200 B. C.).

## CHAPTER IX

### THE CULTS OF HEPHAISTOS

THE classical literature and art of Greece appear to claim for this god a place in the pantheon of the leading divinities; and yet the meagreness of the cult-records, unless they are accidentally defective and strangely misleading, establishes the conclusion that he played but a small part in the social and political life, and counted but little for the higher religious consciousness of the race. His figure is more transparent than that of any other male Olympian; and the study of his cult is comparatively easy, and most of the problems that present themselves concern comparative philology, mythology, ethnology, rather than religion. He is one of the very few Hellenic gods whose elemental origin is obvious and never disguised, for he belongs unmistakeably to the fire; and the pre-anthropomorphic perception of fire as a divine thing seems to survive in various popular or poetic expressions which use the name of the god as a synonym for it. We are familiar with the Homeric phrase describing the cooking of meat, 'they held it over Hephaistos'; and the prophet in Sophocles' *Antigone* says of the offerings that refused to catch fire on the altar, 'from the sacrifice Hephaistos did not gleam,' and again the fire with which the enemy threatened the walls of Thebes is called in the same play 'the Hephaistos of the pine-torch.' But can we safely regard these phrases as real relics of a primitive period of religion, when a natural object in itself might be regarded as mysteriously divine, perhaps as sentient and animate, and when a personal divinity had not yet emerged from it? Of such a stage we have a few clear survivals in the anthropomorphic period of Greek religion

as in the cult of Zeus Keraunos, Zeus Kappotas<sup>a</sup>, and manifestly in the worship of 'holy hearth,' or Hestia just examined. Or are the phrases quoted above merely late and intentional metaphor, the deliberate transference of a personal proper name of a god to a thing which belonged to the god, just as battle might be called 'Ares,' wine 'Dionysos,' the charm of love 'Aphrodite'? Philology, which alone could answer here, gives us no means of resolving this doubt. If Ἥφαιστος in any Hellenic or pre-Hellenic speech was ever a common popular word for fire, the first of the solutions proposed above would have to be accepted, and Hephaistos=fire would be an exactly parallel religious phenomenon to Hestia=hearth. But philology has hitherto entirely failed to explain the word Hephaistos; we are ignorant of its original root-meaning, and it has no recognizable linguistic equivalents in other Aryan languages. We can only deal with it then as a personal concrete name, such as Apollo or Hermes, of an anthropomorphic god.

But, apart from the doubtful phrases quoted above, here and there a glimpse is revealed to us of a rudimentary stage in the anthropomorphic development of this divinity. When the fire mysteriously crackled on the hearth, people were wont to say, 'Hephaistos is laughing<sup>3</sup>': the personal idea is emerging here, but is not necessarily more pronounced than it is in the mind of the Russian peasant who addresses his fire endearingly as 'the grandfather<sup>b</sup>.' Again, the lameness attributed to Hephaistos betrays the impression of a pre-anthropomorphic perception; for we can scarcely doubt but that this human trait has been suggested by the weak and wavering movement of fire. For the Vedic Agni is footless, and Wieland the smith, in many respects a striking Teutonic parallel to Hephaistos and Daedalus, is also lame.

But in other respects the god has entirely emerged from his element, and is a fully-formed robust personality. All terrestrial fire belongs to him, the fire of the stithy<sup>1,6</sup> especially, but the cooking-fire also and even the volcanic<sup>17, 18, 19</sup>. Therefore we are all the more surprised to find that he has no

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. I, pp. 45-46.

*People*, p. 120, quoted by Frazer, *Journ.*

<sup>b</sup> Vide Ralston, *Songs of the Russian Philol.* 14, p. 166.

apparent concern with the celestial fire, the lightning. It is true that the older school of mythologists interpreted in all security the myth of the hurling down Hephaistos from heaven, and his fall on Lemnos, as a personal symbolic description of the descent of the lightning. But the long duration, especially emphasized by Homer<sup>a</sup>, of this fall of the fire-god, hardly suggests the fall of the levin-bolt; and in itself the hypothesis is gratuitous: for the story could easily have arisen as an aetiological myth, to explain why it was that Hephaistos was lame, and why it was that, though officially he had won his way into the Olympian circle<sup>b</sup>, his natural haunt was the earth, especially Lemnos, rather than heaven: the answer that would suggest itself at once to the primitive mind would be that he once was in heaven, but Zeus threw him down and lamed him. The same meteorological symbolism, so much affected by the last generation of students of Greek mythology, has been applied to the other legends about Hephaistos, such as his part in the drama of Athena's birth and his visit to Thetis; but the attempt has only led to dubious and far-fetched interpretations<sup>c</sup>, and does not demand consideration here. For the cult of Hephaistos, as recorded, has no concern with the lightning at all; we have no reason for supposing that the fall of thunderstones or the striking of places by lightning was the occasion of any ritual consecrated to him, or that the popular imagination in historic Greece ever associated him with thunderstorms<sup>d</sup>. As regards his connexion with volcanoes, we need not assume that this belongs to the original conception of the god, but it may have been a relatively early accretion of his character. For Lemnos was one of his earliest

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* i. 590.

<sup>b</sup> His position there was forced and precarious; Zeus refuses to own him; and he is mysteriously affiliated to Hera, an unnatural mother; he is uneasy in heaven.

<sup>c</sup> Rapp's article on Hephaistos in Roscher's *Lexikon* contains several specimens of these.

<sup>d</sup> The story that a lightning-struck tree was the source from which the celebrated 'Lemnian fire' originated<sup>8f</sup> does not mean that Hephaistos was a god of lightning. The Latin Volcanus appears to have been connected with the lightning, but Volcanus is not the Greek Hephaistos; vide Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 209-210.



seats, and the volcanic character of this island is attested by the ancient phenomenon of the lurid smoke that was emitted from Mount Mosychlos<sup>8 e</sup>. But it was only when the Greeks became well acquainted with the volcanic regions of the Western Mediterranean that this aspect of him became prominent in myth, while it never greatly affected cult<sup>a</sup>. Owing to his volcanic associations he may have acquired here and there in the Greek communities the functions and character of a divinity of the nether-world; but the only evidence that suggests this view of him is given by certain inscriptions of the Roman period found near the Lycian Olympia, a volcanic district, which seem to reveal Hephaistos as a protector of tombs<sup>17</sup>. Yet Greek cult as a whole betrays no recognition of any affinity between him and the great chthonian powers.

In the earliest literature he is pre-eminently the smith-god, a divinity of metal-work and of the arts that used fire as an implement. The poet of the Homeric hymn declares that it was chiefly through his civilizing gifts that man was raised above the life of the cave-dweller<sup>1</sup>. Hence his association in Attica<sup>6</sup> with Athena, which may have been devised originally to connect some prominent tribe that worshipped him with the national religious polity, was regarded as the natural fellowship of the divinities of art: so that Solon could speak of the handicraftsman as one who got his living from the cunning that he had learned from Athena and Hephaistos<sup>b</sup>, and Plato of the whole race of craftsmen as 'sacred to Athena and Hephaistos<sup>c</sup>'; while another passage of the same author fancifully describes the Attica of the prehistoric 'Atlantid' period as chosen by these two divinities, 'in their love of philosophy and art,' as a land 'specially suitable for the development of excellence and intelligence<sup>6 r</sup>.'

And the Attic cult, which is the only one of which we have some explicit information, fully corroborates the evidence from the literature. The smith-god is intimately associated in the state-religion with the goddess of the arts, who takes from him

<sup>a</sup> We hear of a temple on Etna<sup>18</sup>: there is recorded<sup>19</sup>.  
the Liparaean islands were considered  
sacred to Hephaistos, but no temple

<sup>b</sup> Athena, R. 98<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. R. 98<sup>b</sup>.

the name Hephaistia <sup>a</sup>; and at one time the festival of the workers in metal, the Χαλκεία, which fell at the end of Pyanopsion, appears to have been held by both in common <sup>b</sup>, though in the fourth century it was regarded by Phanodemos as consecrated to Hephaistos alone. His temple, which contained a statue of Athena, stood 'above the potters' quarter <sup>c</sup>, near the Agora <sup>e</sup>, and is probably to be identified with the surviving structure which is usually called the Theseum <sup>d</sup>; and the neighbouring Akademeia added the figure of Prometheus, the 'giver of fire,' to this group of divinities of the arts and crafts <sup>f</sup>. A fragmentary inscription of the fifth century <sup>g</sup>, dealing with regulations of the festivals, connects the Promethia with the Hephaistia, which was a festival on a larger scale and of more public significance than the Χαλκεία <sup>e</sup>. The 'lampadephoría' was included in the ritual of which the inscription lays down the legislation, and this race of the torch-bearers was, as we know, consecrated especially to the three divinities, Hephaistos, Prometheus, who was worshipped in the Akademeia in company with the former, and to Athena <sup>h</sup>. The agonistic side of this contest has been much discussed; the details of its athletic arrangements do not concern us here, but we may assume that the 'lampadephoría' in the fifth century was a race between chains of runners who were stationed at fixed points in column-formation, the object being to pass on a lighted torch from hand to hand in the quickest time from the starting-place to the goal. It is the religious significance of this interesting ritual that claims our attention, all the more because the religious question is the more important and the usual explanations are unsatisfactory. The account of the lampadephoría as a fire-ritual devoted to the three divinities of the arts and crafts, and symbolizing the significance of fire for human culture, is an obvious description

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. I, p. 314.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Athena R. 100<sup>h</sup>: Suidas states that the feast was sometimes called 'Αθήναια and having had originally a wider vogue came only at a later period into the hands of the handicraftsmen.

<sup>c</sup> Athena R. 98<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (1905), p. 325, n. 4; this is also Sauer's view, *das sogenannte Theseion*.

<sup>e</sup> This is proved by the elaborate state-organization of the Hephaistia attested by the inscription.

that seems appropriate. But it by no means explains everything. Why was it so important that the torch should be carried at full speed from one point to another? and why were Pan, Bendis, and Artemis—divinities who have no connexion with the arts—honoured with a ‘lampadephoria’ respectively at Athens, Peiræus, and Amphipolis<sup>a</sup>? Besides these, there is no other cult recorded of the ancient period to which a torch-race was consecrated, although in later times its athletic attractiveness won it a place in many festivals<sup>b</sup>. We may therefore regard it as originally something unusual and peculiar. Yet, though the earlier examples are few, the deities are sufficiently different to prevent us saying at once that the ritual was suggested by any similarity in their divine attributes or functions. There may be many different reasons why torches should be carried in solemn procession in certain rituals, vegetation-magic being one of the commonest<sup>c</sup>. But the religious purpose of a torch-procession would not necessarily furnish the explanation of a torch-race, especially one of so peculiar a kind as the Attic. We may confine our attention to the latter in our inquiry into the religious causation, for whatever lampadephoria there may have been in other parts of Greece we know nothing about them, and we may suspect that in later times they lost their earlier significance and became little more than athletic events. The three great occasions of the Attic lampadephoria were the Hephaestia, Promethia, and Panathenaia, and from various passages in which they are mentioned we must infer that they were distinct<sup>d</sup>, though we may gather from the inscription mentioned above and from a confused

<sup>a</sup> Lampadephoria of Artemis at Amphipolis, vide *Cults*, vol. 2, p. 475, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 190: the lampadephoria at Ainos indicated by the coin-types of this city may have belonged to Artemis also, vide Head, *op. cit.* p. 214, fig. 157: for Pan-cult, vide R 6<sup>p</sup> and Herod. 6. 105; for torch-race in honour of Bendis, vide Artemis, R. 129.

<sup>b</sup> It became part of the ritual of the Attic cult of Hermes, the god of the palaestra: vide Hermes, R. 89<sup>b</sup>; ? of

ritual of Asclepios and Hygieia, *C. I. G.* 2396; ? of Athena in Keos, *C. I. G.* 2360; of Zeus Soter and Apollo at Eumeneia in Phrygia, *C. I. G.* add. 3886; at Thyateira 3498 [λαμπαδαρχήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν Ἀθγουστείων]; introduced by the Athenians into the worship of Parthenope at Naples, Tzetz. *Lykophr.* 732.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 534, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Vide R. 6<sup>1</sup>, Athena, R. 36<sup>m</sup>.

statement of the Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes<sup>6p</sup> that the first two were closely connected in point of time. And the celebration of the Hephaistia and Promethia in all probability fell in the autumn-month of Pyanopsion, at the end of which the Chalkeia, perhaps itself a supplement to the greater festival of the Hephaistia, was held. There is fairly good reason in fact for the view of Mommsen<sup>a</sup>, who associates the Hephaistia with the phratry-festival of the Apatouria which is known to have fallen in this month; for two distinct records, which are of prime importance for the right understanding of the ceremony that is being investigated, definitely connect Hephaistos and some kind of fire-ritual with the Apatouria. The first is a citation from Istros<sup>6n</sup>, who states that 'in the festival of the Apatouria certain of the Athenians arrayed in magnificent garments take burning torches from the hearth, and while sacrificing<sup>b</sup> sing hymns to Hephaistos, in memorial of him who taught the use of fire.' The second authority is the unknown Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes who, in a passage that is partly erroneous, but nevertheless of considerable value, explains the so-called *γαμηλία*, which was one of the ceremonies performed in the Apatouria, as follows: 'some say that the *γαμηλία* was a sacrifice performed on behalf of those who were going to marry . . . and these organized the feast known as a torch-race in honour of Prometheus, Hephaistos, and Pan, in this fashion: the young men, having been trained by the gymnasiarch, were wont to run in turn and kindle the altar, and he who first kindled it was victorious as well as the tribe to which he belonged.' The passage is partly corrupt, and there are strong reasons against believing that the lampadephoría was organized by the intending bridegroom; but one fact of great interest emerges here, which is not elsewhere recorded: that the goal of the race was an altar which must be lit by the lamp of the victorious runner. And this view is confirmed by an Attic vase, which represents an athlete arriving with a torch at an altar upon which are faggots which he is about

<sup>a</sup> *Feste d. Stadt Athen*, p. 339, &c.

<sup>b</sup> There is not the slightest *vraisemblance* in the emendation *θέοντες* for

*θύοντες*: magnificent apparel and the singing of hymns are not consistent with running.

to kindle, while Nike stands by pointing to the faggots, and by him is another athlete also with torch and crown, a member of his team <sup>a</sup>. On the other hand, it is fairly clear from the record that in the Hephaistia, Promethia, and Panathenaia, the starting-place was the altar of Prometheus <sup>b</sup> in the Akademeia, where Hephaistos was worshipped conjointly with him, and that at this altar the torches were lit just before the beginning of the race. We can now discern that the object of the race was to convey sacred fire from one altar outside the city to another within the city with all possible speed. Unfortunately, the records are either silent or vague concerning the altar which was their goal. Pausanias <sup>c</sup> tells us that 'they ran from the altar of Prometheus to the city,' and we know that the word *πόλις* sometimes designated the Akropolis. At least we may assume with some confidence that on the occasion of the Panathenaia the altar to which they bore the holy flame was none other than that of Athena Polias on the Acropolis; for this formed the *point d'appui* of the whole of that great religious drama, and it is this to which we may believe the scholiast on Plato to refer in his phrase 'the pyre of the offerings of the goddess,' which he declares was kindled by the torch of the athlete who conquered in the lampadephoria of the Panathenaia <sup>6a</sup>. As regards the Hephaistia, one may hazard the conjecture that the goal of the torch-runners was the holy hearth or altar of Hestia, at which the gathered representatives of the phratries kindled their torches and, arrayed in their fairest raiment, sacrificed and sang hymns to the fire-god <sup>6a</sup>, and, as the Apatouria was a public festival administered by the state, it is likely that this hearth was

<sup>a</sup> Published by Körte, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.*, 1892, p. 149.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Athena, R. 98<sup>a</sup>. Plutarch's statement that Peisistratos erected an image of Eros in the Akademeia 'where those who run in the sacred torch-race kindle the torch' <sup>6m</sup>, is inaccurate in the first part (contradicted by Paus. I. 30, 2, and by Athenaeus, p. 609 D, who is probably drawing from Kleidemos) and is vague in the last: it may have

misled the scholiast on Plato to declare that the runners lit their torches from the altar of Eros <sup>6a</sup>. Mommsen, *op. cit.* pp. 341, 347, does not seem to have considered the value of these authorities, and clings to the belief that Eros had a part in the lampadephoria and the phratric ceremonies. But there is no real evidence that Eros had any public cult at all at Athens.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Athena, R. 98<sup>a</sup>.

that of the Prytaneion or the Tholos, the focus of the city's life and the gathering-place of the kindreds. Whether this was so or not, it is difficult not to connect the Hephaistian lampadephoria with the torch-ritual described by Istros; we know that the Hephaistia was in some way associated with the Apatouria, and we are tempted to conclude that the representatives of the phratriai lit their torches at the holy hearth which had been supplied with fire by the victorious torch-runner.

As regards the *λαμπάς* in the Pan-ritual, we may suppose that the runners started from the same altar of Prometheus in the Akademeia, and that their goal was the grotto of Pan on the northern rock of the Akropolis. Concerning the Bendideia in the Peiraieus, we can only conjecture that the mounted teams of runners started from some ancient altar of a local divinity and finished at the newly erected altar of the Thracian goddess<sup>a</sup>.

The question why this ritual in these various cults should take the form of a race is fairly easy to answer. If, for certain reasons, there was urgent need why the sacred fire should be transferred from one altar to another, speed of transference was obviously desirable, although the Greeks may have come to invent methods of preserving fire alight in braziers for a considerable time. Therefore the swiftest runner would be called upon to carry it; and that this should develop into a race between the swiftest runners was in full accord with the Greek taste, which loved to associate religious functions with healthy athletic enjoyment. And the establishment of a torch-race in honour of Pan may have been stimulated partly by the recollection of the famous race of Pheidippides in the course of which he met Pan on the mountains.

But the most important and difficult question still remains: what was the religious idea that suggested this rapid transference of sacred fire from one altar to another? The fact that three of the divinities were those who had originated the use of fire or who had applied it to the arts of life seems at first sight to explain nothing at all. The hypothesis

<sup>a</sup> This was near the temple of Artemis Mounychia, Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4, 11.

of solar symbolism is utterly irrelevant. Nor does the suggestion of vegetation-magic assist us; for this would be performed in the fields, but the Athenian torch-bearers raced through the most crowded part of the city.

The true explanation of ritual is sometimes assisted by our knowledge of the dates in the year at which it is performed. Now we know at least the date of the Panathenaian lampadephoria, as that festival fell two days before the end of Hekatombaion, the first month of the Attic year<sup>a</sup>. The evidence that the Hephaistia and Promethia fell in the autumn-month Pyanopsion, and were in some way associated with the Apatouria, which was the great festival of that month, is fairly strong. As the Pan-worship was so closely associated in story with the battle of Marathon, it is reasonable to suppose that his torch-race was run about the time of the year when the battle was fought, probably therefore about the sixth of Boedromion<sup>b</sup>. Finally, the festival of Bendis in the Peiraieus fell on the nineteenth of Thargelion<sup>c</sup>, just before the corn-harvest.

Before considering whether these dates bear on what we are seeking, namely, the original religious purpose of such a ritual, we may briefly notice the few other recorded examples of transference of sacred fire in the cults of Hellas. The most celebrated is that recorded by Plutarch in his life of Aristides<sup>d</sup>: after the battle of Plataia the fires in Boeotia which had been polluted by the presence of the Persians were extinguished at the bidding of the Delphic oracle, the god commanding that they should be rekindled by the purifying fire of his own 'common hearth': whereupon the Plataean runner, Euchidas, after solemnly sanctifying himself, went to Delphoi, and having procured the holy fire from the altar, ran back with such speed

<sup>a</sup> Athena, R. 35<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> This date for the battle has been contested; but at least we have no reason to disbelieve Plutarch's definite statement that in his time the Athenians were holding their festival commemorative of the great event on the sixth of Boedromion; and the λαμπάς of Pan

would at least belong appropriately to that *ἑορτή* (Plut. p. 349 F, *De Glor. Ath.* c. 7).

<sup>c</sup> Vide schol. Plat. *Rep.* 327 (Ruhnken, p. 143); Mommsen, op. cit. p. 488.

<sup>d</sup> C. 20, vide vol. 4, p. 301; vol. 1, Zeus, R. 131<sup>b</sup>.

that he covered the distance from Delphoi to Plataia in one day and died after delivering his burden. No doubt the sacred flame would be first applied to kindle the altar of some leading Plataean divinity, possibly the newly established Zeus Eleutherios. Here, then, is a close parallel to the Attic torch-race, and the object of this transference of fire from Delphoi is clearly kathartic.

We discern the same purpose in another example of the same ceremony. Philostratos, in his *Heroika*<sup>8k</sup>, describes a very interesting ritual of Lemnos, the account of which he may have derived from some earlier record or which may have survived down to his day: in consequence of the murder of their husbands by the Lemnian women the whole island had to be solemnly purified once a year: to effect this all fires were put out for nine days, while a sacred ship was sent to Delos to bring back fire, no doubt from the altar of Apollo; and the ship could not return into the harbour of Lemnos until the ghostly part of the piacular ritual, which in itself would pollute the new fire, was concluded: when the ship at last could enter, the fires were rekindled from Apollo's sacred flame, and it was said that 'a new life began.' Philostratos omits to give us the calendar-date, but we can scarcely doubt that this was the beginning of the new year at Lemnos; for it is just at this season, or at the summer and winter solstice, when the extinction of fires, a part of the general purification of the community whereby they enter upon a new life, is recorded of other peoples. The elaborate Lemnian katharsis could only have been established after the recognition of Apollo as the divine source of purity had become prevalent in the Greek world.

Another interesting example of fire-transference has already been considered in the chapter on Apollo<sup>a</sup>: in the annual Pythian procession from Athens an official, known as the *Πυρφόρος*, carried holy fire from Delphoi to Athens, probably in order that the city of Athena, and in particular the Athenian altar of Apollo Pythios, might be quickened and purified by mystic contact with the altar of the Delphic god.

Now it is after the analogy of these instances that we should

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 4, p. 302.



frame our hypothesis to explain the Attic lampadephoria<sup>a</sup>. We hear indeed of no general extinction of fires at Athens, nor did any one of the five celebrations fall at the beginning of the new Attic year. But the Panathenaia occurred in the first month, and the idea may well have commended itself that at the great festival of the goddess, the first important religious function of the new year, the altar of Athena Polias should be hallowed, and perhaps 'the inextinguishable lamp' should be invigorated with the purest fire that could be obtained; the natural source of this, before the Delphic Apollo won his predominance, would be considered the altar of Prometheus and Hephaistos, for both were the divine givers of fire, and therefore their altar would be considered the sacred fountain-head of it. The same explanation may be partly applied to the Hephaistia and Promethia, if the surmise ventured above be correct, namely, that the runners' goal in these was the Hestia, where the representatives of the phratries sacrificed in the Apatouria: only these festivals did not fall at or near the beginning of the new year. But the same ritual may often be performed for more reasons than one, or for a primary and a secondary reason. The transference of fire from one altar to another may have been at times a mystic act establishing or expressing a close affinity between the two divinities; and this may have been the intention of the ceremony of carrying the fire between Athens and Delphoi, the Ionian population thus claiming kindred with Apollo; while possibly the official, commonly called the *Πυρφόρος*, who figures so frequently in the inscriptions and other records dealing with sacrificial processions, may have been appointed for the same purpose and to express the same idea in his ritual-act. Now we have sufficient proof that Hephaistos not only belonged to an ancient stratum of Attic religion, but was regarded as the divine ancestor of a portion at least of the population. This is substantiated not only by the well-known myth of the origin of Erechtheus, by the old name, 'Ἡφαιστιάς, of one of

<sup>a</sup> Since this chapter was in proof, I have noticed that the theory that the lampadephoria was a purification-rite had been suggested by Wecklein in *Hermes*, VII, p. 440.

the four Attic tribes<sup>a</sup>, but still more by the ritual mentioned above that formed part of the festival of the kindreds wherein the representatives raised burning torches from the hearth and sang hymns in his honour. Therefore an altar of Hephaistos stood in the shrine of the ancestor Erechtheus<sup>6 d</sup>; and we may surmise that the torch-race in the Hephaestia, if the fire was carried from the altar of Hephaistos in the Akademeia to the city's public hearth, and in the Panathenaia if its goal was the altar of Athena Polias, was in some wise a symbol of the affinity between the ancestral fire-god, the people, and the people's chief divinity. Then, as long as the consciousness of this religious significance of the ritual survived, the lampadephoria would be an appropriate function whereby the state could recognize and adopt into the older family-circle of worships a new cult, such as that of Pan or Bendis: some ancient altar of its leading tutelary divinity could furnish fire for the newly established hearth of the adopted immigrant, the loan of fire being an ancient token of fellowship<sup>b</sup>.

The other records of the cult and ritual of Hephaistos are singularly barren; it is particularly disappointing that we know so little of the Lemnian<sup>8</sup>, for this island and Attica appear to have been the only ancient Greek communities where the worship was of some national importance. Probably the Lemnian service included some fire-ritual, and yet we hear nothing of Hephaistos in the account of the singular purification of the island described above. We have only one noticeable detail recorded of his Lemnian priests: namely, that they were credited with skill in the treatment of snake-bites<sup>8 d</sup>. The therapeutic medium that they employed may have been the famous 'Lemnian earth'; but whatever was their method, magical or scientific, or whatever degree of truth there may be in the story, we have no reason to suppose that Hephaistos developed here or anywhere else the character of a god of healing. There is only one other place where anything definite is told us about his worship.

<sup>a</sup> The deme called Ἡφαιστιάδαι by Stephanos (vide R 6<sup>9</sup>) was more probably Ἴφιστιάδαι, vide Robert's note in Preller's *Griech. Mythol.* I, p. 180, n. 1.

<sup>b</sup> It is possible also that the torch-race in the Bendideia was taken over from Thracian ritual with the Thracian cult.

According to Aelian<sup>18 b</sup> his temple on Mount Etna maintained a perpetual fire in his honour, and sacred dogs were kept in the temenos. The *πῦρ ἄσβεστον καὶ ἀκοίμητον* seems so appropriate to the fire-god that it may be only an accident that we have not heard of it elsewhere. As regards the consecration of dogs, we cannot decide whether this was part of an ancient cult-tradition; if we could be sure about it, it would not be without its importance for a possible ethnographic theory concerning the origin of the cult. For the other Greek divinities to whom dogs were sometimes consecrated, Hekate, Asklepios, Ares, belong to the northern borderland of Greece.

The question of ultimate origin lies beyond the limits of the present treatise; only, if there is no evidence, as it seems there is not, for the dogma that Hephaistos was a deity of the aboriginal Indo-Germanic stock, it concerns us to ask whether he was the special creation of the Hellenic people or of some one branch of them, or was adopted by them from a pre-Hellenic tribe in whose settlements they found him. If we had evidence that he was widely recognized by the leading Hellenic stocks, we should incline to the first hypothesis; but though the Homeric poems might at first sight appear to suggest his prevalence among the Achaean tribes, the cult-record utterly fails to corroborate this. It is silent in regard to Achaia, Arcadia, Laconia; and the evidence from the Argolid<sup>7</sup> is very scanty, coming only from Epidauros and Methana, while at Troizen we may conjecture that his place was supplied by a native culture-hero Ardalos<sup>7 b</sup>. To attest his cult among the Dorians we have only the vague gloss of Hesychios, who informs us that the Dorians called him Ἐλωός, a designation perhaps of the metal-worker<sup>7 d</sup>.

Concerning the worship of Hephaistos in any Aeolic community, we have only the evidence of the name of the Aeolian month, Hephaistios<sup>10</sup>. The numismatic record tells us little beyond the fact that the cult was probably instituted at Methana<sup>7 c</sup> and at Populonia<sup>20 a</sup>, where the influence of the Etnaeian worship might be felt. The Hephaistos-types on the issues of Asia Minor are all of the Imperial period, and some may convey mythic allusion to the emperor's campaigns<sup>12-16</sup>.

Two primary facts with which the ethnographic inquiry must reckon are his ancient worships in Attica and Lemnos. In the former community, as we have seen, he appears as an indigenous god, closely connected with the phratric organization, an ancestor, and therefore admitted into the ancestral shrine of Erechtheus. But we are not therefore justified in regarding him as belonging to the aboriginal religion of the Ionic race, whose settlement of Attica is associated with other divinities, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Poseidon; Hephaistos seems here to attach himself rather to the pre-Ionic circle of Athena and Erechtheus, nor are we aware of his establishment in any other Ionic society, except, perhaps, Chalkis. As he is found in a late inscription among the Θεοὶ φρήτορες of Cumae, it is possible that the Ionic Chalkis had adopted him from Attica into her own phratric system, perhaps in the legendary days of her foundation<sup>20 c</sup>. Another strain in the Attic population is the Minyan, and legends sufficiently attest a Minyan element in Lemnos; but the Minyans, as we have seen, are everywhere special devotees of Poseidon, and no cult-record or genealogical legend attaches them to Hephaistos. Another race-name, usually of little value, but of some ethnic significance for Attica and Lemnos, is the 'Pelasgian.' And of the tribes that play a part in the early legend of Lemnian settlement<sup>a</sup>, the Pelasgians may with most plausibility be regarded as the original Hephaistos-worshippers.

At least we cannot explain his predominance in the island as due to the introduction there of the Semitic Kabeiroi-cult. The 'great gods,' as their influence spread gradually throughout Greece, attract the Dioscuri, Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, into their sphere, but have little connexion with Hephaistos; and the affinity that the historians and genealogists of the fifth century tried to establish between them, making him the husband of Kabeiro and the father of the three Kabeiroi, may have been merely suggested by the actual juxtaposition of the two great Lemnian cults<sup>8 h</sup>.

It is a reasonable hypothesis, then, that the presence and prominence of Hephaistos in Attica and Lemnos is due to

<sup>a</sup> For the ethnology of the island, vide Fredrich, *Ath. Mitth.* 1906, pp. 84-86.

the settlement of a Pelasgic population in those localities. The Pelasgians are generally assumed to be a pre-Hellenic people, and it is now established that part of the classical religion is a heritage from an earlier Mediterranean race. We also know that Crete was the most brilliant centre of the pre-Hellenic culture, and the recent discoveries in this island are revealing clues to the discovery of Hellenic religious origins; and as Homer mentions the Pelasgi among the ancient populations of Crete, we might expect to find Hephaistos among the indigenous Cretan gods, if he really were a prominent Pelasgic divinity. But the expectation is altogether disappointed by the record. It is true that a passage in Diodorus<sup>11a</sup> might appear at first sight to prove that he was generally worshipped in Crete as a god of fire and metal-work; but Diodorus is merely quoting the views of Cretan historians such as Ephoros, who tried to systematize and rationalize Greek polytheism and to show that Crete was the cradle of the greater part of it, and the particular reference to Hephaistos is valueless in regard to his actual worship in the island. It is much more significant that the numerous Cretan inscriptions, from which we can compile a long catalogue of Cretan divinities, Hellenic and pre-Hellenic, make no reference to Hephaistos at all. Neither do the Cretan legends of genuine antiquity; but, as other peoples in the primitive stages of civilization have been wont, the early Cretans attributed the discovery of the arts of metallurgy, not to high gods, but to primitive demoniac beings such as the Idaean Dactyli; and the 'Eteo-Cretan' Talos was probably one of this type of mysterious smith-heroes. When the island was Hellenized, some of the aboriginal divine names survived occasionally as epithets of the Hellenic divinities: Talos, for instance, gives a name to Zeus, and is adopted by Hellenic-Cretan legend as the father of Hephaistos<sup>11b</sup>. The obscure Cretan Velchanos, probably the ancestor of the Italian Volcanus, has no discoverable affinity with Hephaistos<sup>a</sup>. We have, in fact, no indication that the Hellenic settlers either

<sup>a</sup> Vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 401, Fig. 255, Velchanos as youthful god sitting on the stump of a tree, holding

a cock; inscription on dedication to Velchanos, recently discovered by Halbherr, shows him with the double-axe.

found or cared to establish the cult of Hephaistos in the island<sup>a</sup>; their metal-workers may have been content with the aboriginal 'daimones' of the arts and crafts.

We must confess, then, that the record is neither sufficiently full nor clear to allow us to dogmatize about the ethnic origin of this cult. If it belonged, as there is reason to suppose, to the pre-Hellenic population, we should conclude that it was not of sufficient tenacity and vogue among them to impose itself powerfully upon the conquering immigrants. But the legend and personality of the smith-god, being popular in folk-lore, were taken up by Greek literature, and thus made familiar to the imagination of the Greek world.

<sup>a</sup> There is no *vraisemblance* in the supposition that the name of the god and of the Cretan city of Φαιστός are etymologically connected.

## REFERENCES FOR CULTS OF HEPHAISTOS

<sup>1</sup> *Hom. H.* xx :

Ἕφαιστον κλυτόμητιν αἶειδο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,  
ὄς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα  
ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἷ τὸ πάρος περ  
ἄντροις ναιετάσκον ἐν οὔρεσιν, ἧῦτε θῆρες.

<sup>2</sup> Archilochus, ap. Plut. *de aud. poet.* c. 6, p. 23 A κλυθ' ἀναξ Ἕφαιστε  
καί μοι σύμμαχος γοννουμένω | Ἴλαος γενοῦ χαρίζεω δ' οἷάπερ χαρίζεαι.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. p. 369 a τῷ ἐν τῇ φλογὶ γινομένῳ ψόφῳ, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν  
τὸν Ἕφαιστον γελᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν, οἱ δ' ἀπειλὴν τούτων.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 436 ἐπιστάτης δὲ χαλκοῦς τρίπους χυτρόποδος  
ἐκτελῶν χρεῖαν· οἱ δὲ πῆλινον Ἕφαιστον πρὸς ταῖς ἐστίασις ἰδρυμένον, ὡς  
ἔφορον τοῦ πυρός. . . . οἱ δὲ πυριστάτην πλαττόμενόν τινα ξύλινον ἐν ταῖς  
ἐσχάrais, ὡς παρὰ ταῖς καμίνους τὸν Ἕφαιστον ἀναπλάττουσιν.

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *Plut.* 659 :

ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τέμενος ἦμεν τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἐπεὶ δὲ βωμῷ πόπανα καὶ προθύματα  
καθωσιώθη, πέλαος Ἕφαιστοῦ φλογί.

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER

<sup>6</sup> Attica, Athens: vide vol. I, Athena, R. 36 m, 98 a, b, c d, 99, 100 h.

<sup>a</sup> *C. I. A.* I. 197, in fifth-century table of accounts, Ἕφαιστοῦ.  
2. 114 A ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου . . . ἀνέθηκεν Ἕφαιστῷ στεφανωθείσα ὑπὸ  
τοῦ δήμου (343/2 B. C.).

<sup>b</sup> 2. 1203 ἱερεὺς Ἕφαιστοῦ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκεν (first century B. C.).

<sup>c</sup> 3. 1280 e inscr. found in the Asklepieion mentioning the ἱερεὺς  
Ἕφαιστοῦ (second century A. D.).

<sup>d</sup> Paus. I. 26, 5 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον . . . ἐσελθοῦσι  
δέ εἰσι βωμοὶ . . . τρίτος δὲ Ἕφαιστοῦ.

<sup>e</sup> Harpokrat. *s.v.* Κολωναίτας . . . τῷ Κολωνῷ . . . ὅς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαιστειον καὶ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειόν ἐστι.

<sup>f</sup> Schol. *Oed. Col.* 56 (on the base at the entrance to the shrine of Athena in the Akademeia) πεποιήται δὲ (ὡς καὶ Λυσισμαχίδης φησὶν) ὁ μὲν Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἐν δεξιᾷ σκηπτρον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ Ἡφαιστος νέος καὶ δεύτερος· καὶ βωμὸς ἀμφοῖν κοινός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ βάσει ἀποτετυπώμενος. Cf. Paus. *i.* 30, 2, quoted Athena, R. 98<sup>a</sup>.

Festival of the Hephaistia, vide Athena, R. 36<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Herod. 8. 98 κατάπερ Ἑλλησιν ἡ λαμπαδηφορὴ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ ἐπιτελέουσι.

<sup>h</sup> Andok. *de Myst.* § 132 γυμνασιάρχον Ἡφαιστίους.

<sup>i</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 131 Λαμπαδηδρομίαι δὲ γίνονται τρεῖς ἐν τῷ κεραμεικῷ, Ἀθηναίς, Ἡφαιστου, Προμηθέως. Cf. Schol. 1119, 1125.

<sup>k</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 167, Attic fifth century inscr. (cf. also *C. I. A.* 4, p. 65 n., 35<sup>b</sup>). 1. 7 τῆς μουσικῆς καθάπερ . . . τοῦ Ἡφαιστου καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίας . . . 1. 23 τὴν δὲ λαμπαδα ποιεῖν τῇ πεν[τετηρίδι] [καὶ τοῖς Ἡφαιστίους, ποιούντων δὲ οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ . . . λαμπαδηδρομία. 1. 29 οἱ (δὲ λαμπαδαρ]χοι οἱ ἡρημένοι ἐς τὰ Προμήθια . . . τὸν δὲ βωμὸν τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ . . .

<sup>l</sup> *C. I. A.* 2. 553 (circ. 403/2) ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος νενίκηκεν ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος παισὶν ἢ ἀνδράσιν Διονύσια ἢ Θαργῆλια ἢ Προμήθια ἢ Ἡφαιστια.

<sup>m</sup> Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 1 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πεισιστρατος ἐραστής Χάρμου γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καθιερωσάι, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσι οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπαδα διαθέοντες.

<sup>n</sup> Harpokrat. *s.v.* Λαμπάς· Ἴστρος ἐν ἅ τῶν Ἀθιδίων, εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Ἡφαιστον θύοντες (θέοντες Valesius) ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους.

<sup>o</sup> Pollux, 8. 90 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μυστηρίων προέστηκε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ Ληναίων καὶ ἀγῶνων τῶν ἐπὶ λαμπαδί.

<sup>p</sup> Schol. Demosth. 57. 43 (from Patmos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1, p. 11; vide Mommsen, *Feste d. St. Athen.*, p. 339, n. 3) γαμηλία· ἡ ἐς τοὺς φράτορας ἐγγραφῆ· ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν θυσίαν οὕτω φασὶ λέγεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων γαμῆν ἠνωμένην (leg. γνωμένην) τοῖς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ οὗτοι ἤγοντο λαμπαδοδρομίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῷ τε Προμηθεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· οἱ ἔφηβοι ἀλειψάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτοντο τὸν βωμόν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄψας ἐνίκα καὶ ἡ τούτου φυλή.



<sup>q</sup> Schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 231 E ὁ δρόμος γε ὁ μακρὸς τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἐρωτος ἐγένετο· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἀψάμενοι οἱ ἔφηβοι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθειον, καὶ τοῦ νικήσαντος τῇ λαμπάδι ἢ πυρὰ τῶν τῆς θεᾶς ἱερῶν ἐφῆπτετο.

Festival of Χαλκεία, vide Athena, R. 100 h.

<sup>r</sup> Plat. *Critias*, p. 109 C Ἥφαιστος δὲ κοινὴν καὶ Ἀθηναίαν φύσιν ἔχοντες, ἅμα μὲν ἀδελφῆν ἐκ ταυτοῦ πατρὸς, ἅμα δὲ φιλοσοφία φιλοτεχνία τε ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐλθόντες, οὕτω μίαν ἄμφω λήξω τήνδε τὴν χώραν εἰλήχατον ὡς οἰκίαν καὶ πρόσφορον ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει πεφυκυῖαν.

<sup>s</sup> Steph. s. v. Ἥφαιστιάδαι· δῆμος Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἦν Ἥφαιστος ἱερόν.

<sup>t</sup> Cic. *De Nat.* 1. 30 Athenis laudamus Vulcanum eum, quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo stante in utroque vestigio atque vestito leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis.

<sup>7</sup> Argolid.

<sup>a</sup> Epidaurus: *C. I. G. Pelop.* 1269, black quadrilateral stone inscribed Ἥφαιστος (third century B. C.).

<sup>b</sup> ? Troizen. Paus. 2. 31, 3 Ardalos, a native culture-hero, son of Hephaistos.

<sup>c</sup> Methana: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Pelop.'* p. 163, Pl. XXX. 10, head of Hephaistos with pileus on coins, 370-300 B. C.

<sup>d</sup> Hesych. s. v. Ἐλωός· ὁ Ἥφαιστος παρὰ Δωριεῦσι.

<sup>s</sup> Lemnos.

<sup>a</sup> Soph. *Philoct.* 986 ὦ Λημνία χθῶν καὶ τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας | Ἥφαιστό-τευκτον.

<sup>b</sup> *Rev. d. Ét. Grec.* 1902, p. 139 ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἐπωνύμου τῆς πόλεως Ἥφαιστος (inscr. of Roman period).

<sup>c</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἥφαιστιάς· πόλις ἐν Λήμνῳ.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Ven. *Il.* 2. 722 ἰστόρηται ὅτι Φιλοκτῆτης ἐν Λήμνῳ καθαίρων τὸν βωμὸν τῆς χρυσῆς καλουμένης Ἀθηναῖς ἐδήχθη ὑπὸ ὕδρου, καὶ ἀναρῶν τραύματι περιπεσῶν κατελείφθη αὐτόθι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἤδεισαν γὰρ τοὺς Ἥφαιστος ἱερεῖς θεραπεύειν τοὺς ὀφιοδηκτοὺς.

<sup>e</sup> Schol. Nik. *Theriac.* 472 Μόσυχλον τὰ ὄρη τῆς Λήμνου, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος

Ἥφαιστος πυρὶ εἴκελον ἦν ῥα τιτύσκει  
δαίμων ἀκροτάτης ὄρεος κορυφῆσι Μοσύχλου.

<sup>f</sup> Tzetz. *Lycophr.* 227 ἀπὸ κεραυνοβόλου δένδρου, ἐν Ἑλληνικαῖς χώραις ἐν Λήμνῳ πρῶτως εὐρέθη τό τε πῦρ καὶ αἱ ὄπλουργαία, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ Χίου κτίσεως Ἑλλάνικος ἰστορεῖ.

g Accius: *Frag.* Wordsworth, p. 319:

Lemnia praesto  
Litora rara, et celsa Cabirum  
Delubra tenes, mysteria queis  
Pristina castis concepta sacris

Volcania templa sub ipsis  
Collibus, in quos delatus locos  
Dicitur alto ab limite caeli.

h Strab. 10, p. 472 Ἀκουσίλαος δ' ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐκ Καβειροῦς καὶ Ἡφαίστου Κάμιλλον λέγει . . . Φερεκύδης δὲ . . . ἐκ Καβειροῦς τῆς Πρωτέως καὶ Ἡφαίστου Καβείρους τρεῖς καὶ νύμφας τρεῖς Καβειρίδας (hence the glosses in Hesych. Phot. s. v. Κάβειροι, Steph. Byz. s. v. Καβειρία).

i Herod. 3. 37 (at Memphis) ἐσηλθε (Καμβύσης) ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρὸν . . . ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπηρσε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοῖα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφεας παῖδας λέγουσιν εἶναι.

k Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 740, ritual of fire-purification in Lemnos associated, not with Hephaistos, but with Delos and Apollo; vide Apollo, R. 273 e.

l Samothrace. ? H. associated with the Kabeiroi in the mystery, vide Herod. loc. cit. Cf. coin of Thessalonika, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Macedonia,'* p. 113, Kabeiros with hammer: so also on Pergamene frieze of the Gigantomachy.

10 Lesbos. Month Ἡφαίστιος, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, 440.

11 Crete.

a Diod. Sic. 5. 74 Ἡφαιστον λέγουσιν (οἱ Κρήτες) εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐργασίας ἀπάσης . . . διόπερ οἱ τε τῶν τεχνῶν τούτων δημιουργοὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ μάλιστα ποιῶσι.

b Paus. 8. 53, 5 Κνωθίων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ῥαδάμανθους μὲν Ἡφαιστον, Ἡφαιστος δὲ εἴη Τάλω.

Asia Minor.

12 Kyzikos: coin-type, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Mysia,'* p. 45, Hephaistos seated working on anvil with hammer, A. D. 253-270.

13 Bithynia, Nikaia: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Pontus,'* p. 158, Hephaistos naked, standing with metal bar in left hand, hammer in right (Commodus). Cf. p. 181 (Nikomedeia).

14 Lydia: similar types on coins of Nysa—'Lydia,' p. 185, of Thyateira p. 295: on coin of Kolybrassos in Cilicia, 'Lykaonia,' p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> Adramyttion: *C. I. G.* 2349<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Antandros: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Troas,'* p. 34, Pl. VII. 8, Hephaistos standing with exomis and hammer (Faustina Junior).

<sup>17</sup> Lykia: Olympia (in neighbourhood of Mt. Olympos, anciently called *φοινικοῦς*, vide Strab. p. 666, ? volcanic) *C. I. G.* add. 4325 c grave-inscription *εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος βιάσῃται ἐκτείσει τῷ θεῷ Ἡφαίστῳ δηνάρια. . . .* Cf. similar formula in 4325 d, k (Roman Imperial period). Skylax, *Peripl.* § 100 ἀκρωτήριον καὶ λιμὴν Σιδηροῦς ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἡφαίστου ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ αὐτόματον ἐκ γῆς καίεται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννυται.

<sup>18</sup> Sicily. ? Cult on Etna.

<sup>a</sup> Eur. *Cycl.* 599 Ἡφαίστ', ἀναξ Αἰτναίε.

<sup>b</sup> Ael. *De Nat. Anim.* 11. 3 ἐν Αἴτνῃ δὲ ἄρα τῇ Σικελικῇ Ἡφαίστου τιμᾶται νεώς, καὶ ἔστι περίβολος καὶ δένδρα ἱερὰ καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστόν τε καὶ ἀκοίμητον· εἰσὶ δὲ κύνες περὶ τε τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλσος ἱεροί.

<sup>19</sup> ? Liparaean islands. Strab. 275 ταύτης (τῆς Λιπάρας) μεταξύ πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας, ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν Ἡφαίστου καλοῦσι . . . ἔχει δὲ ἀμπνοὰς τρεῖς ὡς ἂν ἐκ τριῶν κρατήρων. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 2. 133 Λιπαραιῶ Ἀφαιστοῖο.

<sup>20</sup> Italy.

<sup>a</sup> Populonia: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Italy,'* p. 5 (coin-type of autonomous period): bust of young Hephaistos with pileus: p. 6, the same bearded.

<sup>b</sup> Cumae: Strab. p. 246 ὑπέρκειται τῆς πόλεως εὐθύς ἢ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἀγορά, πεδῖον περικεκλειμένον διαπύροις ὄφρῦσι.

<sup>c</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 31, p. 133, inscr. at Naples on base with relief Μ. Κοκκῆιος Σε[βαστοῦ] ἀπελεύθερος Κάλλιτος σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις τέκνοις . . . θεοῖς φρήγοσι Κυμαίων: on side of the stone Hephaistos represented with exomis and pileus, left hand on shield, hammer in right; Dionysos with thyrsos, kantharos, and panther; Heracles with Kerberos.

## CHAPTER X

### THE CULTS OF ARES

THE personality of Ares is of less value for the social and religious history of Greece than that of any of the divinities hitherto considered. It is probable indeed that he received worship or at least recognition from most of the states, but no part of the higher civilization was connected with his legend and cult. And it is only a few records concerning these that arouse interest, an interest that is mainly anthropological or ethnographic. Two leading questions arise in this study. Was Ares a genuine Hellenic divinity? And was he in origin as well as in the later stages of his career a war-god and nothing more? It is easier to deal with the evidence for the latter problem first.

The earliest epic poetry of Greece, both the Homeric and Hesiodic, present him solely as the war-god, and convey no hint of a wider function or a more complex character. The short 'Homeric' Hymn<sup>a</sup>, in which he is invoked as a great cosmic and planetary power of righteousness and a spiritual prayer is proffered to him for moral strength and peace, stands alone in Greek literature, and has been regarded as an Orphic figment. And Greek ritual, where it is expressive of divine character at all, agrees nowhere with this, but rather with the most narrow conception of him, which only broadens slightly in the later literature and on the most natural lines. The god of war becomes sometimes regarded and invoked as the god of violent and unnatural death. Thus Aeschylus may speak of him as 'lording it (in the house of Atreus) in streams of kindred bloodshed'<sup>1</sup>; and

<sup>a</sup> No. VIII.

Sophocles might on an exceptional occasion consider him as the evil deity who sends plague on the land and withers the Theban country<sup>2</sup>. A passage from a scholiast on Homer and a gloss in Hesychios preserve the strange phrase Πισσοκωνίας Ἄρης, used by Kratinos and perhaps Aeschylus, and explain it no doubt rightly as alluding to a horrible mode of executing criminals or offering human victims by tarring the body and then burning it<sup>3</sup>. Therefore as a god of death he might be properly classified, according to Artemidoros, among the Θεοὶ Χθόνιοι<sup>4</sup>. But Greek ritual does not at all attest even this slight development in his character and functions. He is not invoked or remembered at the outbreak of plagues, or on the occasion of destructive physical calamities: he has no part in the funeral rites of the dead, nor is he associated with the kindly divinities of the earth or the lower world: except, indeed, it has been supposed, in the strange cult of Ares Ἀφνειός, on the hill near Tegea<sup>18 b</sup>. The local and popular explanation of the name is valuable as a charming piece of folk-lore, but not as an explanation. The epithet has been regarded as descending from a period when Ares possessed a wider aspect as a divinity of the lower world who could 'enrich' men with the fruits of the soil<sup>a</sup>. But an isolated and doubtful cult-appellative ought not to be explained by a hypothesis unattested by any other facts. And Ἀφνειός could be normally explained as the title of a god who enriches his votaries with the spoils of war—ὁ χρυσάμοιβος Ἄρης<sup>b</sup>. By the time of Pausanias the Tegeans had ceased to find war a source of profit, and they therefore invented another and quite impossible explanation<sup>18 b</sup>. Generally we may say that in the state-religion the cult of Ares had reference solely to war, present or prospective. At Athens, the epheboi, the armed youth of the country, take the oath of allegiance in the name of Ares Enyalios, the latter being an appellative and sometimes a divine emanation of the war-god<sup>12 f</sup>; the Polemarch, the ancient war-minister, sacrifices

<sup>a</sup> This is Stoll's view expressed in his article in Roscher, *Lexik.* I, p. 486: and it appears also in Immerwahr's

*Kulte u. Mythen Arkad.*, p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> Aesch. *Agam.* 437.

to him <sup>12e</sup>, and he is invoked in the oath of alliances, of which the chief concern is war or to prevent war <sup>12f</sup>. At Geronthrai, in Laconia, women were forbidden to enter his temple <sup>17a</sup>; and an explanation that sometimes applies to such a *tapu*, and is natural here, is that the 'mana' or virtue of the war-god is weakened by the presence of women <sup>a</sup>. The Spartan sacrifice performed either by the epheboi or the officials had an evident warlike significance <sup>17f,g</sup>, and the fact that part of the ritual was performed by night cannot be pressed to the support of a theory that Ares was here a chthonian power like Hades-Pluton. In fact, so far as the record of the Greek cults suffices to reveal him, we must regard him as nothing more than the functional god of war. And the Homeric portraiture of him agrees strictly with this conception of him; nor is any other divinity in the Homeric pantheon so narrowly specialized or so limited in function. But many theorists have insisted that this could not have been the earliest aspect of him, and that the aboriginal conception of him must have been wider and fuller; thus on the assumption that all Hellenic divinities were in the last resort nature-powers, Ares must have arisen in the same way, probably as a god of winter and storms <sup>b</sup>. But the fallacy of such an assumption has been exposed, and here it is entirely gratuitous, for there is no shred of evidence suggesting an association of Ares with storm or winter, sun or sky. It has also been urged that it is unnatural to believe that he could have arisen merely 'as the personification of the abstract idea of a war-god <sup>c</sup>.' No doubt such a phrase is unsuitable for any scientific theory about the genesis of a divine figure. But that the primitive Greeks could have explained the mysterious psychologic phenomenon of the war-passion as the agency of a personal power outside themselves is quite credible, and is in accord with a certain religious impulse to be studied in the next chapter. And as a matter of fact specialized war-gods are found among primitive peoples who

<sup>a</sup> Vide my article in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 1904, pp. 91-92.

<sup>b</sup> For the various hypotheses of this

sort put forth by the older generation of scholars, vide Roscher, *Lexik.* I, p. 486.

<sup>c</sup> Stoll in Roscher, loc. cit.

have advanced some degrees in polytheism<sup>a</sup>. Or on the other hand, if the Hellenes adopted him from some warlike and barbarous people, Ares may have shed all his other aboriginal attributes, and retained one only on his adoption into the Hellenic system.

And that he was actually an immigrant from an alien and savage stock, namely, the Thracians, has been an opinion held by some students of Greek religion<sup>b</sup>. Homer may be quoted in favour of this belief<sup>7</sup>; and we should understand in the great epic the strong partiality which Ares always shows for the Trojans, and the poet's marked aversion to him, if we believe that he was originally a divinity of the Thrako-Phrygian stock, and that Homer was aware of this. And other facts may be urged pointing to this view. Ares-cult appears strongest in Boeotia, especially Thebes, and in Attica; and in both these regions we have legends of the settlement of 'mythical' Thracians. The dog, an exceptional animal in Greek ritual, was offered to Ares in Laconia<sup>17 e, f</sup>, as also in Karia<sup>6</sup>; and certain other examples of dog-sacrifice appear to point back to the north-Greek frontier<sup>c</sup>, one record attesting its practice among the Thracians<sup>17 f</sup>.

There are other alien elements also discernible here and there in the ritual; and a legend of Amazonism attaches in certain localities to the cult of Ares. The tradition of the Amazonian invasion is beginning to be regarded as of some ethnologic value; and it would point to influences from Asia Minor and the Black Sea, or from Thrace proper.

The arguments here adduced cannot however be regarded as conclusive. The Homeric evidence may deceive us here as in the case of Apollo. Alien elements from Thrace or elsewhere may have been infused into the cult of a genuine Hellenic god. What we demand is some trustworthy record or discovery concerning the name and the personality of the god in Thracian religion. As regards the name 'Ares' it

<sup>a</sup> Vide Clodd, *Animism*, p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Stoll, *op. cit.*, expresses himself doubtfully; Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* pp. 375-378, is convinced of his Thracian

origin; Tümpel, *Ares u. Aphrodite*, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbuch*, 1880, p. 718, rejects the theory altogether.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 2, p. 508 n.

has as much claim to be regarded 'Hellenic' as any other divine name of the pantheon of Greece; philologists are not in accord concerning its origin, but all endeavour to derive it from some 'Aryan' root<sup>a</sup>. And we have no sure proof that it occurred in Thracian speech at all. Such statements as that of Herodotus<sup>7</sup>, 'The Thracians specially honour Ares, Dionysos, and Artemis,' have no linguistic value at all, as we have seen<sup>b</sup>; nor can we draw a linguistic conclusion from the fact that some territory in Thrace was called by the Greeks Ἄρειον πεδῖον or Ἄρια<sup>7</sup>. We must reserve our judgement until we find the name Ἄρης in some genuine record of Thracian speech or as a formative part of genuine Thracian names.

What we may accept as certain is that there was a divine personality in the Thracian religion whom the Hellenes interpreted as their Ares; and we gather that he was a war-god, who sometimes assumed the form of a wolf, who gave oracles, delighted in human sacrifices, and who at times died and was buried<sup>7</sup>; and such a god might have been a double of Dionysos<sup>c</sup>. The Hellenic Ares, though a tradition of human sacrifice attached to him, does not show these other traits. And wherever the Greeks found among alien peoples a divinity whose character was markedly warlike, as among the Carians and Scythians<sup>6,29</sup>, they would of course call him Ares.

If we believe in his Hellenic origin, the facts of cult will not allow us to suppose that he was ever the paramount deity of any of the leading stocks from whom the civilization of historic Greece was derived, Ionians, Achaeans, Dorians. We should regard him rather as the divinity of some more primitive and backward tribes who were submerged, leaving only as a heritage their savage god and a certain tradition of savagery associated with their names. Such might have been the Phlegyai or the pre-Cadmean Aones<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> For a recent attempt vide Fennell in *Class. Rev.* 1899, p. 306.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 89.

<sup>c</sup> Vide supra, pp. 101, 104.

<sup>d</sup> Tümpel, op. cit., believes that Ares at Thebes was the god of the Aones whom Kadmos conquered and adopted (Paus. 9, 5, 1). Phlegyas was the son



Whatever view we take as to his original home, we must admit that those Hellenes among whom the Homeric epic and epic diction arose must have been familiar with his name from a very early period. For the word appears in the poems, not only in the personal sense, but as a common impersonal noun, an equivalent for battle or war; and a recently adopted personal name could hardly have acquired this extension of meaning.

The questions already mooted may receive some light from the geography of this cult. It evidently belonged to the primitive tradition of certain localities of North Greece, Aitolia<sup>10</sup>, and Thessaly. In the latter country it connects itself with the strain of the Phlegyai, from whom the inhabitants of Gyrton claimed descent, and the coins of Gyrton attest their devotion to it<sup>8</sup>. Hence the Minyai may have become acquainted with it, although they never adopted Ares as their ancestral deity<sup>8</sup>. Or they may have come into contact with it in their Boeotian settlements; for Boiotia was the chief centre of the cult of this god. Here he was evidently pre-Cadmean; the serpent whom Kadmos slays, who becomes in some degree the familiar ancestral spirit of Thebes, was the divine animal, some even said the offspring, of Ares, who demands reparation for his death<sup>9</sup>. In a double sense therefore Ares became the ancestral deity of Thebes, through that snake from whose teeth arose the 'Spartoi,' and through Harmonia. And Thebes, almost alone of all the Hellenic communities<sup>3</sup>, venerated and, we may believe, occasionally invoked him on the ground of this intimate relationship. 'Wilt thou, oh Ares, betray thy own land?' cry the Theban women in the play of Aeschylus<sup>9</sup>. Yet in the later periods the god appears to have had little hold on Theban devotion;

of Ares (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 5, 5), and his race were the enemies of Apollo (Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 713). The genealogical legends are specially untrustworthy in regard to the ethnology of this cult, for 'a son of Ares' became a mere conventional phrase.

<sup>8</sup> The Scholiast on Pindar says indeed

that Ares was the ancestor-god of Elis; but this need only mean that the Scholiast was aware that Oinomaos was regarded as his son. The Eleans of history were not devoted to Ares nor to Oinomaos: vide *infra*, p. 404, for a possible ancestor-cult of Ares at Triteia.

no inscriptions or dedications from Thebes attest his influence, nor does his form or countenance appear on the Theban coins. But in prehistoric times his cult must have been of far greater significance in this city; since here arose his cult-association with Aphrodite, a religious tradition which travelled from this centre to Athens<sup>12<sup>a</sup></sup> and Argolis<sup>16</sup>, and which gave the cue to the legend current in Greek literature, and vouched for by Homer and Hesiod, of the love-relations between the two.

His cult at Athens must also have been very ancient, perhaps arriving from Thebes, though we have no clue as to the tribe or stock that brought or maintained it<sup>a</sup>. There are two important facts as bearing on its antiquity here: the inclusion of him among the native divinities of Attica, by whom the epheboi swore their oath of allegiance<sup>12<sup>e</sup></sup>, and, secondly, the name of the hill below the Akropolis, Ἄρειος πάγος, of which the only reasonable linguistic interpretation is 'the hill of Ares'<sup>b</sup>. The legend of Theseus' battle with the Amazons clave to this locality<sup>12<sup>b</sup></sup>, and near to it arose the later temple of Ares with statues of Aphrodite and Enyo<sup>12<sup>a</sup></sup>.

The story of the trial of Ares for the slaying of Halirrothios was derived probably from more genuine local folklore than the Areopagite tradition of Orestes, and Ares is represented in this incident as the mate of the old Attic earth-goddess, Ἄγλαυρος<sup>12<sup>n</sup></sup>. But none of the various legends that arose about the Sacred Hill ever present Ares as a god of Judgment or Law: nor does the solemn ritual which is recorded as part of the procedure of the court appear to have given him any recognition at all. 'Stat magni nominis umbra.' An ancient Attic cult-name attached to the war-god was Ἐννάλιος, a name of virtue to invoke when the battle joined,

<sup>a</sup> Tümpel, op. cit. pp. 679-680, supposes that the Ares-cult came to the Areopagos from Thebes, bringing with it a tradition of his association with the Erinyes, who become the Athenian Semnai. But the Tilphossian Erinys is only doubtfully and casually associated with Ares<sup>9</sup>; the Semnai have no

discoverable likeness to her, nor in Athens was Ares ever connected with them.

<sup>b</sup> The form Ἄρειος is against the explanation of the word as 'the hill of curses': we should have expected Ἄραιος πάγος.

which in cult at least has no personal significance distinct from Ares<sup>a</sup>.

In the scanty records of the Argolid we can detect nothing of special interest, except a reminiscence of Polyneikes, suggesting the Boeotian origin of the Ares-worship, and a legend of warlike women, of which the significance will be considered directly<sup>16</sup>.

The accounts of Laconian worship<sup>17</sup> do not suggest any prominence of the war-god in the state-religion. We hear of no temple in Sparta itself, but only of an archaic statue of Enyalios, having chains about it, a fetichistic device of which there are a few other examples in Greek religion<sup>17<sup>d</sup></sup>. The most ancient shrine that Pausanias found was on the road to Therapne<sup>17<sup>b</sup></sup>, containing a statue which the local legend declared to have been brought by the Dioskouroi from Kolchi; another shrine was at Geronthrai<sup>17<sup>a</sup></sup>; and the sacrifice of the epheboi noted above took place in the Phoibaion outside the city. Doubtless some ritual was occasionally performed in his honour within Sparta itself; we hear of the sacrifice of an ox or a cock to Ares after a victory according as it was won by stratagem or open force<sup>17<sup>g</sup></sup>. But we do not hear that the Spartan ceremonies at the opening of a campaign were concerned with him at all: the divine war-leader is Zeus 'Αγήτωρ, from whose altar the πυρφόρος, or 'fire-bearer,' who elsewhere might have been called 'the priest of Ares<sup>34<sup>b</sup></sup>,' is said to have brought the sacred fire<sup>b</sup>. We can, in fact, hardly regard this cult as an aboriginal tradition of Laconia. The dog-sacrifice, as has been remarked, appears to point to North Greece; and the mysterious cult-term Θηρείτας, which was attached to him in the temple near Therapne<sup>17<sup>b</sup></sup>, has been reasonably traced by Wide to Boiotia, a country whence many influences can be proved to have reached Lakedaimon<sup>c</sup>.

Nor does Ares appear among the indigenous divinities of

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 'Ενυάλῳ ἐλελίξειν, Xen. *Anab.* 1. 8, 18. The passage in Aristoph. *Pax*, 456 does not prove any real distinctness of personality.

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. I, Zeus R. 119<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 150 (quoting Paus. 9. 40, 5).

Arcadia<sup>18</sup>; and Boeotian influences<sup>a</sup> might account for his association with Aphrodite at Mantinea<sup>18<sup>o</sup></sup> and at Lykosoura<sup>18<sup>d</sup></sup>. The significance of the title 'Αφνειός at Tegea has been noted; and an important question both for history and ritual will arise concerning the other Tegean cult of Ares Γυναικοθόινας.

It may be that the Achaean city of Triteia owed its worship of Ares to Arcadia; for, according to Pausanias<sup>b</sup>, Triteia was originally Arcadian. The foundation-legend spoke of the love of Ares and Triteia, whose son Melanippos founded the state and named it after his mother; and down to the days of Pausanias sacrifice was offered to Ares and Triteia in the temple of Athena there<sup>20</sup>. It may be then that here as at Thebes the god was regarded as the city-ancestor; but the worship seems to have been slight, and he was scarcely regarded here as a high god.

There are certain ritual-records of the Ares-cult that are of interest and importance. The scholiasts on Euripides, drawing from some unknown source, preserve an account of an ancient Hellenic custom which prevailed before the invention of the trumpet: each of the two hosts advancing to battle were preceded by a 'fire-bearer,' who flung down his torch into the middle as a sign for the combat to begin; the two πυρφόροι were 'priests of Ares,' and were inviolable<sup>34<sup>b</sup></sup>. The rite resembles somewhat the act of the Roman *fetiales* on the declaration of war, the throwing the bloody spear, burnt at the end, into the enemy's territory. Both acts belong to war-magic; and the Hellenic may be explained as an act of 'devotio,' the consecration of the enemy to the nether world. The ordinary sacrifice to Ares presents no special features. As we should expect in the cult of a half-savage god, a reminiscence of human sacrifice lingers in it. The voluntary sacrifice of Menoikeus is interpreted by Apollodoros as a sacrifice to Ares; but as Euripides narrates it in the Phoinissai, it appears rather as an atonement to the dragon, the injured earth-spirit<sup>34<sup>d</sup></sup>. But according to Porphyry, who quotes Apollodoros as his authority, the Lacedaemonians had

<sup>a</sup> The strength of these in Arcadia pp. 50-62, vol. 4, p. 19.  
have often been noted; vide vol. 3,

<sup>b</sup> 6. 12, 8.

once the custom of sacrificing a man to Ares<sup>17c</sup>; and we have also a well attested record of a human offering to this god in Lemnos<sup>21</sup>, in a ritual called the *ἐκατομφόνια*, which was an observance both in Athens and Lemnos<sup>21</sup> commemorating a patriot's feat of slaying a hundred enemies. Usually the ordinary sacrificial animals were offered to the war-god, and especially the male victim, according to the account given of the Attic *τρίκτεια*<sup>12c,d</sup>; the bloodless sacrifice he was supposed to repudiate<sup>34c</sup>. The rite described in a passage of 'the Septem' of Aeschylus, where the seven leaders against Thebes take oath in the names of Ares, Enyo, and Phobos, dipping their hands into bull's blood that had been shed into a hollow shield, is interesting as a form of oath analogous to sacramental communion<sup>34a</sup>.

But the most interesting ritual-question arises concerning the worship of Ares *Γυναικοθόλυας* at Tegea<sup>18a</sup>, the god 'of the women's sacrificial feast,' from whose worship and sacrifice men were excluded. The name and the ritual-law were explained as derived from an historical incident; when the Spartans attacked Tegea, the Tegeate women put on hoplite-armor, and by their sudden apparition on the rear of the enemy caused their overthrow. A similar story was told concerning the Argive heroine Telesilla and the cult of the *Γυναικῶν Ἄρης* in Argos<sup>16</sup>. That women have fought, and can fight, is known; and ancient Greece may have had more than one Joan of Arc. But when we find two similar stories in vogue in different localities used to explain a very singular piece of ritual or cult-name, we naturally suspect that these stories are aetiological figments and not history: and that the cause of the religious phenomenon lies deeper<sup>a</sup>.

For the exclusion of men in this worship is certainly exceptional: Ares is emphatically the man's divinity, and at Geronthrai in Laconia it was the women who were excluded<sup>17a</sup>; and the *ταψυ* at Tegea cannot be explained on ordinary Hellenic principles. It must be regarded as an alien trait, and is to be connected with the Amazonian tradition which

<sup>a</sup> I have partly discussed the problem in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 1904, pp. 80-83.

was sporadic in Hellas, and which always perplexes the ethnographer and the student of religion. He cannot regard these local traditions as suggested by vague caprice and by the influence of the epic narrative; for they are generally associated with specific and peculiar cult. In Laconia the Amazon-legend was attached to the local worship of Apollo Amazonios and Artemis Astrateia, probably a corrupt form of the name Astarte<sup>a</sup>; in Ionia to the idol of the Ephesian Artemis<sup>b</sup>. But their special patron-deity was Ares. The Attic legend of Theseus' conflict with them was localized in the vicinity of the Areopagos, which according to Aeschylus took its name from the Amazonian sacrifice to the war-god<sup>121</sup>; before the great battle Theseus himself offered chthonian victims to Φόβος, the Fear-Power, the emanation or the double of Ares<sup>12 b</sup>; and if we can trust Plutarch, a sacrifice was offered by the ancient Athenians to the ghosts of the Amazons 'before the feast of Theseus<sup>c</sup>.' Again, at Troizen, the story of Theseus' triumph over the warrior-women clave to the spot where a temple of Ares stood<sup>15 a</sup>. Is it possible that the curious temple-legend which connected the idol of Ares *Θηρείτας* of Geronthrai with Kolchi<sup>17 b</sup> was a vague Amazonian reminiscence? For *Θηρείτας* has been tracked through the personal name *Θηρώ* back to Boiotia, where there is some trace of the same tradition in a local name τὸ 'Αμαζονικόν<sup>d</sup>. It seems, then, most reasonable to explain on the same lines this strange worship of 'the women's Ares' in Tegea and Argolis, with its legends of fighting women. We may here discern in cult and folk-lore the dim reflex of some prehistoric event, some inroad of a barbarous horde bringing a barbarous cult<sup>e</sup>.

One last piece of interesting primitive ritual may be noted, which is revealed to us by a famous passage in Homer's *Iliad*,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 2, p. 485.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 2, p. 482.

<sup>c</sup> *Vit. Thes.* 27. We would like to know the source of this statement.

<sup>d</sup> Wide, *Lakon. Culte*, p. 150: Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αμαζόνειον.

<sup>e</sup> The explanation of the Amazones

as *ιερόδουλοι*, armed women performing religious dances, does not explain all the facts. The historical theory, such as Professor Myres works out, *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 138, is more fruitful and real.

where the Aloadaï are said to have bound Ares in a pot and only released him after twelve months' imprisonment<sup>a</sup>. We may compare the saga of Sisyphos binding Death. Such stories arise from a real ritual which has been expounded by Mr. Crooke, who quotes from India and elsewhere examples of the rite of shutting up a ghost or spirit in a hole or a pot with a view to control or avoid its potency; and he explains the release of Ares in the thirteenth month as an indication that the statue or fetich is taken out and revealed once a year<sup>b</sup>. The rite belongs rather to magic and the ghost-sphere than to higher religion; and if it was remembered in later times, it would probably acquire a different meaning. When we see Mars on a Praenestine chest of Roman date being forcibly put into a pot by Minerva in the presence of Victoria and Fortuna and other deities<sup>c</sup>, we may maintain that the art-motive descends ultimately from the primitive ritual, but that it has acquired a symbolical significance proper to the spirit of Rome.

In the hierarchy of Greek religion Ares remained a backward god of most limited function, inspiring little real devotion and no affection, associated with no morality or social institution. The civilized art of war, so intimately connected with progress in culture, is not his concern. And the courage which he inspired was not the tempered civic courage exalted by Aristotle and other Greek moralists as one of the highest virtues, but the brute battle-rage, which might at times be useful, but for which the Greeks, who had left the Berserker spirit long behind them, had little sympathy. The monumental representations of him that can be called religious are very few<sup>d</sup>. Great artists dealt with his figure, but, in and after the fourth century, mainly in a romantic spirit, showing him as the restless and turbulent lover. Yet the state-cults continued to give him recognition till the latter days of paganism, thanks perhaps to the stimulus of the more powerful Roman cult of Mars.

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* 5. 385.

<sup>b</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1898, p. 325; cf. *Anthrop. Journ.* 1902, p. 43, for the African custom of burying the ghost in a pot and flinging it into a river.

<sup>c</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* 9. 59.

<sup>d</sup> Vide vol. 2, Pl. L a, b. I incline now to Prof. Gardner's view—*Sculptured Tombs*, p. 103—that the relief in Venice represents not Ares but the heroic dead.

## REFERENCES FOR CULTS OF ARES

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1510:

βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις ἐπιρροαΐσιν αἱμάτων  
μέλας Ἄρης.

<sup>2</sup> Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 190:

Ἄρεά τε τὸν μαλερόν, ὃς  
νῦν ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων φλέγει με  
περιβόατος, ἀντιάζω παλίσσυτον δράμημα  
νωτίσαι πάτρας ἄπουρον, εἴτ' ἐς μέγαν  
θάλαμον Ἀμφιτρίτας εἴτ' ἐς τὸν ἀπόξενον  
ὄρμων Θρηϊκίον κλύδωνα.

<sup>3</sup> Kratinos, *Frag.* 162 (Meineke, vol. 2, p. 228) πισσοκωνίας Ἄρης:  
cf. Hesych. s. v. κωνῆσαι . . . πισσοκωνήτον μόρον λέγουσιν ὅταν πίση  
καταχρισθέντες τινὲς ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀποθάνωσιν. Δίσχυλος Κρήσσαις καὶ  
Κρατῖος.

<sup>4</sup> Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 2. 34 αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄρη πῆ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγείοις πῆ  
δὲ ἐν τοῖς χθονίοις κατατακτέον.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 757 B σκοπεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἄρη . . . πηλίκας εἵληχε τιμὰς ὑπ'  
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάλιν ὅσα κακῶς ἀκούει.

<sup>6</sup> Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 4. 25 Quis Spartanum fuisse Martem (prodidit)?  
Non Epicharmus auctor vester? Quis in Thraciae finibus procreatum?  
Non Sophocles Atticus cunctis consentientibus theatris? Quis men-  
sibus in Arcadia tribus et decem vincitum? . . . Quis ei canes ab  
Caribus, quis ab Scythis asinos immolari? Nonne principaliter cum  
ceteris Apollodorus?

## GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF CULTS

Thrace.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. 5. 7 θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται (Θρηϊκῆς) μόνους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ  
Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. 7. 76 (Θρηϊκῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ) . . . ἐν τούτοις  
τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον. Cf. Clem. *Recogn.* 10. 24 Martis  
(sepulcrum demonstratur) in Thracia. Lyk. *Cass.* 937 τὸν τε Κρηστώνης



θεὸν Κάνδαον ἢ Μάμερτον ὀπλίτην λύκον. Cf. Schol. *id.* 14. 10 Κανδαίος καὶ Μάμερτος ὁ Ἄρης λέγεται. Polyb. 13. 10, 7 Ἄρειον πέδον. Ἔστι καὶ Θράκης ἔρημον πεδῖον. Ammianus, 27. 4, 4 Scordisci . . . hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Θράκη . . . ἔστι δὲ ἡ Θράκη χώρα, ἢ Πέρκη ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Ἄρια (? Ἄρεία). Hom. *Il.* 13. 298

οἶος δὲ βροτολοιγὸς Ἄρης πόλεμόνδε μέτεισι,  
τῷ δὲ Φόβος φίλος υἱὸς ἄμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβῆς  
ἔσπετο . . .  
τὸ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ Θρήκης Ἐφύρους μετὰ θωρήσσεσθον,  
ἠὲ μετὰ Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας.

Cf. Strab. p. 442, Paus. 9. 36, 3, Hom. *Od.* 8. 361.

<sup>8</sup> Thessaly: vide Apollo, R. 2. Askalaphos, the Minyan leader, son of Ares, *Il.* 2. 511. Month Ἄρειος in Thessalian calendar, vide *Ath. Mitth.* 7. 71. Photius, *s. v.* Ὁμολώϊος Ζεὺς . . . ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ Ὁμολώϊας προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐννέως. Gyrton, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Thessaly,' p. 203, Pl. iii, 4<sup>a</sup>: on coin of fourth century B. C., obv. youthful head of Ares with helmet: rev. Aphrodite. Cf. Strab. 442 τοὺς Γυρτωνίους Φλεγύας πρότερον ἐκάλουν ἀπὸ Φλεγύου τοῦ Ἰζίου ἀδελφοῦ.

<sup>9</sup> Boiotia: Aesch. *Sept.* 105 τί ῥέξεις, παλαίχθων Ἄρης, τὰν τεὰν γὰν ; | ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον, ἔπιδ' ἔπιδε πόλιν | τεὰν ἄν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθον. Paus. 9. 10, 5 Ἄνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου τὴν κρήνην ἴδοις ἄν ἦντινα Ἄρεώς φασιν ἱερὰν εἶναι καὶ δράκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐπιτετάχθαι φύλακα τῇ πηγῇ. Schol. Soph. *Antig.* 126 ἐγγόνει ὁ δράκων ἐξ Ἄρεως καὶ Τιφώσεως Ἐρινύος. *C. I. G. Sept.* 2808, decree of the ἱερὰ γερουσία τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ at Hyettos, τὸ κενὸν ἐδάφιον τὸ καλούμενον ἄλως Ἄρεος mentioned among land-boundaries. Plut. *Vit. Marcell.* 21 Ἐπαμεινώνδας τὸ Βοιωτικὸν πεδῖον Ἄρεως ὀρχήστραν (προσείπε). Ares the ancestor of the Phlegyai, Paus. 9. 36, 1.

Western Greece.

<sup>10</sup> ? Aitolia: Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* 2. 727 Pleuron Aetoliae civitas . . . Marti consecrata. Ares in Aetolian genealogies, Apollod. *I.* 7, 7; *I.* 8, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Korkyra: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Thessaly,' Pl. xxvi. 2, Ares with sword and spear, foot on rock (coin of Antoninus Pius). Cf. Pl. xxvi. 12, coin of Plautilla with Zeus, Hera, Ares.

<sup>12</sup> Attica (vide R. 21).

<sup>a</sup> Athens: temple of Ares near the Areopagos, Paus. *I.* 8, 4. Ἄρεώς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κείται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ

"Αρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναῶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῷ Λοκρός. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐννοῦς ἀγαλμά ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους.

b Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 27 Θησεὺς κατὰ τι λόγιον τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιασάμενος συνήψεν αὐταῖς (ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι).

c Hesych. *s. v.* Τρίκτεια· ἢ Τριττία· θυσία Ἐνναλίῳ· θύεται δὲ πάντα τρία (? τριετῆ) καὶ ἔνορχα.

d Photius, *s. v.* Τριττίαν. θυσίαν· Καλλίμαχος μὲν τὴν ἐκ κριοῦ, ταύρου, καὶ κάπρου· Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιφανείαις ἐκ βοῶν αἰγῶν ἰὼν ἀρρένων, πάντων τριετῶν.

e Sacrifice of Polemarchos to Enyalios, vide Artemis, R. 26f.

f *C. I. A.* 2. 333 (oath of alliance between Athens and Sparta), vide Athena, R. 85<sup>a</sup>. Cf. oath of Epheboi (Athena, R. 25<sup>c</sup>) to Enyalios Ares.

g *C. I. A.* 2, add. 409<sup>b</sup> τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθενεν . . . τοῖς . . . καὶ τῷ Ἄρει (Macedonian period).

h *C. I. A.* 3. 2 ἱερεὺς Ἄρεως Ἐνναλίου καὶ Ἐννοῦς (Hadrian). Cf. Athena, R. 90<sup>a</sup>.

i 3. 130 ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἄρεως Ἀπολλοφάνου τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαρνέων . . . χαριστήριον Ἄρει καὶ Σεβαστῷ (Augustus).

k Enyalios in Salamis, Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 9 Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἐνναλίου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἰδρυσαμένου Σόλωνος.

l Legends concerning the Areopagos: Aesch. *Eumen.* 685

πάγον δ' Ἄρειον τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν

Ἄρει δ' ἔθενον, ἔθενεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος

πέτρα, πάγος τ' Ἄρειος.

m Demosth. κ. Ἀριστοκρ. p. 641 ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ δικαστηρίῳ δίκας φόνου θεοὶ καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἤξιωσαν . . . ὡς λόγος, λαβεῖν μὲν Ποσειδῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀλιροθίου τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ Ἄρεως.

n Et. Mag. *s. v.* Ἄρειος πάγος. . . ἢ ὅτι ἐπηξεν τὸ δόρυ ἐκεῖ ὁ Ἄρης, Ποσειδῶνος κατηγορήσαντος διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀλιροθίου, ὅτε ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν Ἄρης, βιασάμενον Ἀλκίππην τὴν θυγατέρα Ἄρεος καὶ Ἀγραύλου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς, ὡς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῃ.

o Eur. *El.* 1258

ἔστιν δ' Ἄρεώς τις ὄχθος οὗ πρῶτον θεοὶ

ἔζοντ' ἐπὶ ψήφοισιν αἵματος πέρι,

Ἐλιρρόθιον ὄτ' ἔκταν' ὠμόφρων Ἄρης,  
 μῆνιν θυγατρὸς ἀνοσίων νυμφευμάτων,  
 πόντου κρέοντος παῖδ'. . . .

<sup>13</sup> Megara: temple of Ἐννάλιος, Thucycl. 4. 67.

<sup>14</sup> ? At Corinth: Paus. 5. 18, 5 (on chest of Kypselos) ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης ὄπλα ἐνδεδικώς, Ἄφροδίτην ἄγων' ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ἐννάλιος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ.

<sup>15</sup> Hermione: Paus. 2. 35, 9 (near the temple of Klymenos) ἔστιν ἄλλος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἄρεως. *C. I. G. Pelop.* 717. 17 Αὐρήλιον Σατορνεῖνον . . . τὸν ἱερέα Ἄρεως Ἐνοιαλίου.

<sup>15</sup> a Troizen: Paus. 2. 32, 9 (near the spot called Γενέθλιον) ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἄρεως, Θησεῶς καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἀμαζόνιας μάχη κρατήσαντος.

<sup>16</sup> Argolid, near Argos on the road to Mantinea: Paus. 2. 25, 1 ἱερὸν δίπλουν πεποιήται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐτέραν ἔχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἄφροδίτης κείται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἄρεως. εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα Πολυνείκου λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἀργείων. Lucian, *Erot.* 30 ἢ Σπαρτιάταις ἀνωπλισμένη Τελέσιλλα, δι' ἣν ἐν Ἀργεῖ θεὸς ἀριθμεῖται γυναικῶν Ἄρης.

<sup>17</sup> Laconia.

<sup>a</sup> Geronthrai: Paus. 3. 22, 6 ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος. ἐορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος, ἐν ᾗ γυναιξὶν ἐστὶν ἀπηγορευμένου ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος.

<sup>b</sup> On the road from Sparta to Therapnai: Paus. 3. 19, 7 ὅποσα δὲ πεποιήται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον αὐτῶν Ἄρεως ἱερόν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶ κομίσει ἐκ Κόλχων. Θηρείταν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσι ἀπὸ Θηροῦς· ταύτην γὰρ τροφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἄρεως λέγουσι.

<sup>c</sup> Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 55 Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἀρει θύειν ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>d</sup> In Sparta: Paus. 3. 15, 7 (by the shrine of Hipposthenes) τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐννάλιος ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον.

<sup>e</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 290<sup>d</sup> ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι τῷ φονικωτάτῳ θεῶν, Ἐνναλίῳ, σκύλακας ἐντέμνουσιν.

<sup>f</sup> Paus. 3. 14, 9 (in the Phoibaion near Therapnai) ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρω μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ θύουσι . . . νυκτεριναὶ δὲ ἦ τε Κολοφωνίων θυσίαι καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐφήβων καθεστήκασιν. Vide Hekate, R. 12 (sacrifice of hounds in Thrace, vide *Eurip. Vita I*).

ε Plut. *Inst. Lac.* p. 238 F ὅταν στρατηγήματι τοὺς πολεμίους νικήσωσι, βοῦν τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν, ὅταν δ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ἀλεκτρυόνα. Cf. *Vil. Ages.* c. 33.

h *Vil. Cleom.* 9 Ἔστι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐ φόβου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θανάτου καὶ Γέλωτος καὶ τοιοῦτων ἄλλων παθημάτων ἱερά.

<sup>18</sup> Arcadia, vide supra R. 6.

a Tegea: Paus. 8. 48, 4 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρεως ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν ἀγορᾷ· τοῦτο ἐκτετύπεται μὲν ἐπὶ στήλῃ, Γυναικοθόιναν δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτόν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον . . . λαβοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ὄπλα ἐλόχων . . . τὰς γυναῖκας δὲ τῷ Ἄρει θύσαι τε ἄνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδία τὰ ἐπινίκια, καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῶν κρεῶν οὐ μεταδοῦναι σφᾶς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

b 8. 44, 7 (near Tegea) ἔστι δὲ ὄρος οὐ μέγα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καλούμενον Κρήσιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἄφνειοῦ πεποιήται· Ἄερόπη γὰρ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἄλεου συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καθὰ οἱ Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφήσιν ἐν ταῖς ὠδίσι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δὲ παῖς καὶ τεθνηκυῖας εἶχετο ἔτι τῆς μητρὸς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαστῶν εἶλκεν αὐτῆς γάλα πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον, καί, ἦν γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως γνώμη τὰ γινόμενα, τούτων ἕνεκα Ἄφνειον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι· τῷ δὲ παιδίῳ ὄνομα τεθῆναι φασιν Ἄερόπον.

c Megalopolis (vide Aphrodite, R. 27): Paus. 8. 32, 2 ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ἄρεως βωμός· ἐλέγετο δὲ ὡς καὶ ἱερόν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὠκοδομήθη τῷ θεῷ.

d At Lykosoura: Paus. 8. 37, 12 (by the temple of Pan) ἐνταῦθά ἐστι μὲν βωμός Ἄρεως, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀφροδίτης ἐν ναῷ, λίθου δὲ τὸ ἕτερον λευκοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότερον αὐτῶν ξύλου.

e Mantinea, vide Aphrodite, R. 96, vol. 2, p. 745. Tribal name Ἐννάλιος at Mantinea *C. I. G.* 4303 h<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Elis: Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 148 ἐπιχώριος καὶ πατρῷος τῶν Ἡλείων ὁ Ἄρης. At Olympia, vide Athena, R. 93<sup>a</sup>. Cf. Paus. 5. 1, 6 Οἰνόμαος ὁ Ἀλξιῶνος, Ἄρεως δὲ καθὰ ποιηταί τε ἐπεφήμισαν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος.

<sup>20</sup> Achaia: at Triteia, Paus. 7. 22, 8 οἱ δὲ ὡς Ἄρης συγγένειοι Τριτεία θυγατρὶ Τρίτωνος (λέγουσι)· ἱεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν παρθένον· Μελάνιππον δὲ παῖδα Ἄρεως καὶ Τριτείας οἰκίσαι τε ὡς ηὔξῃθη τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναός . . . θύει δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἄρει καὶ τῇ Τριτεία νομίζουσι. Patrai: Paus. 7. 21, 10 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα τοῦ λιμένος ἐγγυτάτω χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἄρεως.

#### The Islands.

<sup>21</sup> Lemnos: Müller, *F. H. G.* 4, p. 397 Diophantes Lacedaemonius, qui de sacris Deorum scripsit, apud Athenas Marti solere sacrificare sacrum, quod Ἐκατομόφονα appellatur; si quis enim centum hostes interfecisset, Marti de homine sacrificabat apud insulam Lemnum.

<sup>22</sup> Delos: the month Ἀρησιών, vide *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v, p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> Nisyros, vide vol. 4, Poseidon, R. 80.

<sup>24</sup> Crete: vide Aphrodite, R. 96. Cf. Cauer, *Del.*<sup>2</sup> 121, Ares' name in the state-oath of Latous, Hierapytna, Dreros. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* (inscr. circ. 200 B. C. at Knossos) ἀναγραφῆτω τὰ εὐδοκημένα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἄρεος (τῷ) ἐν Δέρα[ι] ἐν στάλα. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1908, p. 122, vase of geometric style found in a grave at Knossos showing figure of armed god, circ. 750 B. C.

#### Black Sea.

<sup>25</sup> Pantikapaion: Latyshev. 2, n. 47 τὸν ναὸν . . . τοῦ Ἄρεως (late Roman). Tanais, *ib.* 2. 423 dedication Διὶ Ἄρη καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ (second century A. D.).

#### Asia Minor coast.

<sup>26</sup> Erythrai: Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 600. 34 (ἱερητεία) Ἐννοῦς καὶ Ἐνναλίου (inscr. concerning sale of priesthoods circ. 270 B. C.).

<sup>27</sup> Pergamon: vide Athena, R. 85<sup>d</sup> (Ares' name in the oath of Eumenes).

<sup>28</sup> Smyrna: vide Athena, R. 85<sup>c</sup> (Ares' name in the oath of Smyrna and Magnesia). Cf. Apollo, R. 87.

<sup>29</sup> Caria: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 25 P πολλὰ κάγαθὰ οἱ Κἄρες σχοίεν οἱ καταθύουσιν αὐτῷ (τῷ Ἄρει) τοὺς κύνας. Cf. R. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Attaleia in Pamphylia: vide Apollo, R. 65 (Ares as city-god).

<sup>31</sup> Kyaneai in Lykia: *C. I. G.* 4303 h<sup>i</sup> Θεῷ Μεγάλῳ Ἄρει καὶ Ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀρχηγέτιδι ἐπιφανεῖ θεῇ καὶ Διὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ . . . Κυναιτῶν ἢ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀφιέρωσεν.

<sup>32</sup> Egypt: inscr. in British Museum circ. 208-206 B. C. Ἄρη Νικηφόρῳ Εὐάγρῳ (dedication of hunting-party).

<sup>33</sup> Sicily: Roehl, *Ins. Graec. Antiqu.* 515 διὰ τὼς θεῶς τῶσδε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινῶντιοι . . . διὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον.

<sup>34</sup> Ritual, R. 6, 12, 17, 18, 21, 29.

<sup>a</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 42

Ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτὰ θούριοι λοχαγέται  
ταυροσφαγοῦντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος  
καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου  
Ἄρη τ', Ἐννώ, καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον  
ὠρκωμότησαν.

b Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1377 πρὶν εὐρεθῆναι τὴν σάλπιγγα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους λαμπάσιν ἐχρῶντο σημείω τοῦ κατάρξασθαι τῆς μάχης, ἃς ἔφερον δύο ἱερεῖς Ἄρεος, ἐξ ἑκατέρων ὄντες τῶν στρατευμάτων, οὓς καὶ μόνους ἀθώους ἐν μάχαις εἶων ὄθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρδην ἀπολλυμένων λεγομένη 'οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη.' Cf. Zeus, R. 119<sup>a</sup>.

c Anth. Pal. 6. 324

Πέμματα τίς λιπόωντα, τίς Ἄρεϊ τῷ πτολιπόρθῳ  
βότρυς, τίς δὲ ῥόδων θῆκεν ἐμοὶ κάλυκας ;  
Νύμφαις ταῦτα φέροι τις· ἀναιμάκτους δὲ θυηλὰς  
οὐ δέχομαι βωμοῖς ὁ θρασύμητις Ἄρης.

d Human sacrifice to Ares, R. 3, 7, 17<sup>c</sup>, 21: vide Apollo, R. 2. Apollod. 3. 6, 8 οὗτος οὖν (Τειρεσίας) Θηβαίους μαντενόμενος εἶπε νικήσειν, εἰάν Μενοικεὺς ὁ Κρέοντος Ἄρει σφάγιον αὐτὸν ἐπιδιδῶ (cf. Eur. *Phoin.* 934-936).

## CHAPTER XI

### MINOR CULTS

THE leading personal deities of the public worships of Greece have been the main subject of this treatise hitherto. But the picture of the state-polytheism would be incomplete without a careful study of the minor cults, of which the material documents are collected at the end of this volume, but which can only be considered now in regard to their general and essential features.

The high gods are, as we have seen, mainly anthropomorphic and ethical personalities more or less detached from nature. Yet pure nature-worship and nature-magic were practised widely no doubt by the prehistoric Greek communities, and never wholly abandoned in the historic period. The rite, that Pausanias described as maintained in his own day by Methana near Troizen, of carrying round the vineyards the dismembered limbs of a cock to preserve the vines when the baneful wind blew that they called Lips, may be pre-animistic magic, directed to no personal god<sup>6</sup>. The processes whereby the 'magi' of Kleonai endeavoured to avert storms of hail and snow, according to the statement of Clemens, combined magic with elemental worship<sup>7</sup>: 'they endeavour to avert the threat of (the sky's) anger by incantations and sacrifices; and if they are in want of a sacrificial victim, they draw blood from their own fingers.' This blood-letting must have had the peculiar purpose of soothing the wrath of the elements, and this is religion. That the primitive Greek tribes had passed through the stage of religious feeling at which elemental forces and objects of nature are worshipped as living and 'divine' is further attested by what Pausanias tells us of the Arcadians<sup>8</sup>: (near Trapezous) 'sacrifices are offered

to lightning and thunder and storms.' Between such simple animism as this and higher personal theism we may range the Arcadian cult of Zeus *Κεραυνός* at Mantinea<sup>a</sup>, noticed in a former volume as showing the divine personal power still undetached from the phenomenon. The average Macedonian probably represented the mental condition of the backward Greek; and a valuable record has reached us through Clemens from a good source that 'the Macedonian priests in their formal prayers called upon Bedu, which is their term for Air, to be propitious to themselves and their children<sup>1</sup>.'

But the advanced communities also, even in their public ritual, allowed a place, though a subordinate one only, to such worship of the elements. And in the records of these minor cults it is interesting to discern the animistic perception maintaining itself against the anthropomorphism which was dominant in the Hellenic religious imagination. The cult of the winds, and especially of Boreas, is recorded of a certain number of states, and we may suppose that it was fairly prevalent<sup>2-12</sup>. Where the personal name Boreas appears in the record, the religious view was in the main anthropomorphic; but nowhere perhaps so intently and distinctly so as at Athens, thanks to Attic legend and the Attic art which came to present him as a wild-visaged god with wings and boots. The men of Thourii also must have had a robust personal faith in him when they elected him as a citizen and gave him a house and an allotment of land<sup>11</sup>. But where the object of the worship was indefinitely called *ἄνεμοι*, 'winds,' it may have been outlined with the vagueness of inchoate divinity. Part of the ritual indeed even of the *ἄνεμοι* shows the method and view of personal polytheism. We hear of altars and sacrifice<sup>3, 5</sup>, sometimes cakes and 'sober' offerings<sup>4</sup>, sometimes blood-offerings<sup>5</sup>; at Tarentum the victim was an ass, unless the lexicographers were deceived<sup>10</sup>. But probably the service often savoured of magic more than of religion. What are we to say of the *Εὐδάνεμοι* in the service of the Athenian state, who seem to have had some part assigned to them in the Eleusinian mysteries<sup>4?</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Vol. I, p. 45.



Their name suggests that their function was the same as that of the *Ἀνεμοκόλται*, an official guild of 'wind-lullers' at Corinth<sup>a</sup>. Both titles savour of magic, and we may suspect that these guilds worked by traditional methods of incantation. Most instructive and explicit is what Pausanias tells us of the wind-cult at Titane in Sikyon: on one night in the year the priest offered sacrifice on the altar of the winds; 'and he makes other secret offerings into four pits of the ground [*βόθροι*], assuaging the fierceness of the wind-spirits, and as they say he sings over them the spells that Medea used.' The incantations of witchcraft are here combined with religious service. And the passage teaches us also that the winds, or at least the more violent of them, were regarded as powers of the lower world<sup>a</sup>. The same view explains why on the chest of Kypselos Boreas was represented with snake-legs. The superstition might arise from the impression that winds often burst forth from mountain-hollows and caverns in the hills. But it also may be connected with the primitive animistic association of winds with ghosts. That the ancestral spirits are in the storm and driving winds is a belief found among many savages; and it underlies and explains the vague records concerning the Attic Tritopatores who, according to the obvious meaning of the name, must have been the spirits of remote ancestors, but were also interpreted as 'winds and the sources of birth'<sup>4</sup>.

The perception of mysterious power in the natural world leads often to the adoration of the celestial bodies and the lights of heaven. And solar worship no doubt existed among the aboriginal Greeks, and doubtless they found it among the earlier inhabitants of the land that they conquered. There are a few utterances of the classic authors which might lead us to suppose that the sun-god enjoyed universal worship among Hellenes as among barbarians<sup>b</sup>. According to Plato and Lucian<sup>14, 15</sup> it was the ordinary Greek custom, when one rose in the morning at sunrise and went forth, to greet the luminary with some sign of adoration such as kissing the hand.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Stengel, in *Hermes*, xxxv ordinance that every one should worship Helios and Selene<sup>16</sup>.  
(1900), p. 627.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch regards it as a natural

And we gather from a passage in Plato's *Apology*<sup>a</sup> that the average Athenian of the time of Sokrates could be startled and shocked by the views of Anaxagoras that the sun and the moon were not divine powers but mere material bodies. Moreover, Sophocles occasionally speaks as if some religious speculation of his age was inclined to regard the sun as a supreme divinity, the creative source of divine and human life<sup>18</sup>. Yet Aristophanes, in an important passage<sup>17</sup>, distinguishes Hellenic from barbaric religion particularly in this, that the barbarians sacrifice to sun and moon, the Hellenes to personal deities such as Hermes. The incongruity of these various statements is only apparent. To the perception of the average Greek, still viewing nature with some primitive vagueness as to the distinction between animate and inanimate, the sun and the moon would appear as animate and living powers. As all-seeing, Helios would be usually invoked in oaths<sup>24, 40</sup>, and would be called upon to witness the enfranchisement of a slave, which would naturally take place under his ken<sup>22</sup>; and these religious acts do not necessarily imply an anthropomorphic conception of the divinity. But when we scrutinize the testimony concerning public cult, we find only one Greek state that gave a dominant position to Helios in the historic period. One of Pindar's greatest odes is an abiding memorial of the devotion of Rhodes to the cult and personality of the sun-god<sup>38</sup>. We are assured that he was for the Rhodians what Zeus Olympios was for Elis or Athena for Athens<sup>38</sup>, and their enthusiasm came to be a subject for satire<sup>b</sup>. The local myths that have come down to us, especially those concerning the Heliadaï, suggest that he was revered as the founder of their race and their civilization, as a great personal god, anthropomorphically imagined. The coins of the city of Rhodes, from its foundation down almost to the latest period of its issues, scarcely admit any other type but his. And the countenance on the gold staters of the early part of the fourth century is a masterpiece of the anthropomorphic imagination, transforming with fervour and conviction the elemental per-

<sup>a</sup> p. 26 D-E.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Meineke, *Frag. Com. Gr.* 2, p. 746.

ception into a personal type radiant with vitality [Coin-Pl. 33]. Here then was a living cult, appealing to the faith and affection of the people, descending, we may believe, from the 'Minoan' culture, with which Rhodes was closely associated. In Crete also we find traces of Helios-worship, dimly recalling the 'Minoan' solar name of Pasiphae<sup>40</sup>; but here, as in most other states where Helios enjoyed some recognition, we seem to discern only the faint shadow of a former great elemental god. We have reason to think that at Corinth in the Mycenaean period he was a dominant power, but later it is clear that he faded before Poseidon and more personal divinities<sup>25</sup>. The records from Athens produce the same impression<sup>24</sup>; he enjoyed an altar upon which wineless offerings and an occasional candle might be consecrated, and in the later period we hear of a priestess; but this was little enough for so timidly pious and conservative a city as Athens, and with its real religion Helios had nothing to do, though it might pray to him occasionally for blessings. Elsewhere we hear not infrequently of altars, but of temples, the habitations of free personal divinity, only at Hermione<sup>28</sup> and Kos, where recent archaeological evidence proves the existence of a small shrine of Helios and Hemera, the goddess of day<sup>39</sup>. Of some interest for the light that it seems to reflect on the ancient tracks of culture is the record of the cult on the seaward slopes of Taygetos<sup>32, 33</sup>. On the promontory of Taletos, above Brysiai, horses were sacrificed to Helios, a ritual very rare in Greece, but recorded also of the Helios-worship in Rhodes. In the earliest period Rhodes stood in close relations with Crete, and it is not too hazardous to suppose that the name Taletos is to be associated with the Eteo-Cretan word Talos which survived in the epithet *Ταλλαῖος* of Zeus<sup>a</sup>; and at Thalamai near Brysiai the sun-god appears in company with the Cretan Pasiphae<sup>33</sup>.

The inference suggested by these facts is that sun-worship had once been prevalent and powerful among the people of the pre-Hellenic culture, but that very few of the communities

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 1, p. 177, R 156<sup>a</sup>.

of the later historic period retained it as a potent factor of the state-religion, while at the same time the individual's perception of the great luminary was still one that may be termed religious. That Helios was not generally accepted as the high god of the 'polis' suggests the same reflection as was prompted by the cults of Ge and Hestia. 'Earth,' 'hearth,' 'sun' were names of palpable objects, regarded indeed with some sense of mystery that is the emotional background of religion, but liable to be transformed by the healthy materialistic perception, and in any case too limited in respect of local position, movement, or function to satisfy the true Hellenic idea of godhead. Such names as Zeus, Apollo, Athena were of greater value for this people, because they denoted no visible objects upon which the materialistic sense could seize, but concrete personalities, real though unseen, of varied individuality that could work in every part of the public life. But when we study the later days of Paganism and the Graeco-Roman religion we discern the religious bias changing its tendency. A wave of Oriental imagination brings back the sun-god into power, especially transforming Apollo as we have seen, and raising the figure of 'Sol Invictus' in later Rome. And it is often impossible to determine in regard to the few barren records of Helios-cults how far they are products of this later force, how far they are survivals from a distant past. Such a doubt may well arise concerning the image and the striking title of 'Helios the Saviour' at Megalopolis<sup>34c</sup>. Let it also be here noted among the great negative gains of Greek religion, that the communities avoided star-worship, and that therefore in the days of its independence the Hellenic spirit was saved from the disease of astrology. If Seirios and other planets were worshipped in Sinope, of which we have only doubtful evidence, we may ascribe this to the oriental influences in a city whose Semitic origin is attested by its name as by its legend<sup>41</sup>.

No objects of the natural world attracted the religious devotion of the primitive and later Greeks so much as the rivers and springs, and no other obtained so general a recog-

dition in the cults of the Greek states<sup>68-85</sup>. We may believe that the aboriginal emotion which inspired the worship was the mysterious wonder awakened by the moving water regarded inevitably as an animate power; this sentiment comes later to be blent with the local home-love of the stream as the father of the community that for generations had lived on its banks and tilled the fields it watered. In fact, the widespread cult of Acheloös throws some light on the earliest settlements of the Hellenic race, whose leading tribes must have once lived contiguous with its waters; for they carried the memory and the worship of the great river of the north-west to their later most distant homes; we find it in Attica<sup>69</sup>, Megara<sup>70</sup>, Mykonos<sup>75</sup>, and Italy<sup>85</sup>, and Macrobius had some right to regard it as universal; while we may believe on his assurance that it was sometimes enjoined or revived by the voice of the Dodonaean oracle<sup>60</sup>. But what Acheloös was once for the North Greeks, Ilissos, Eurotas, Alpheios, and a hundred others became for the men whose childhood had been nurtured by the river of their land. For the psychological study of religion these cults are of chief interest as manifesting in the clearest light the pre-anthropomorphic perception struggling with the imperious anthropomorphism of the Hellenic mind and never wholly overborne by it. In Homer's poetry<sup>58</sup> the rivers are only half personal; Skamandros comes forth from his flood and converses with Achilles in human shape, but in his attack on the hero and in Hephaistos' attack on himself he is conceived as the divine and animate element. And the ritual that Homer attests shows the same confusion in the religious point of view. Skamandros, the river of Troy, has a priest allotted to him<sup>58</sup>, but priesthood does not necessarily imply personal godhead. Achilles had dedicated his hair to Spercheios, intending by this act a grateful communion with the river that had fostered his childhood; the stream must here have been regarded as an animate power, but not necessarily as a human-shaped god, any more than is the rock to which the savage offers a pipe of tobacco. The same may be said of such ritual as casting live bulls and horses into the depths of the water<sup>58</sup>. It is

otherwise when Homer speaks of altars or shrines on the river-bank, for then the god must be conceived as separable from his element and capable of departing from it to enjoy the offerings in the holy place on the shore; that is, he must be supposed to assume some definite shape, human or animal, or both combined; and the poet's imagination must have conceived of them thus when the river-powers congregate in the council of Zeus.

The same double point of view is discernible in the later ritual-records. Hesiod advises the traveller not to 'pass through the fair-flowing water of streams, ere thou utterest a prayer, gazing into the fair torrent and having washed thy hands in the white and lovely water<sup>59</sup>.' Here there need be no imagination of a god conceived in human form, but the prayer might be directed to the water itself as to a vague and mysterious potency; just as we are told that the Arcadian priest of Zeus Lykaios in time of drought 'prayed into the water<sup>a</sup>.' And no more than this may be implied by the consecration of the hair to the river when the age of puberty was reached, a rite which survived till a late period at Phigaleia<sup>72</sup>. The sacrifice prescribed by a *ἱερὸς νόμος*, preserved by an inscription from Mykonos, well illustrates the two phases of religious perception<sup>75</sup>; certain victims are to be sacrificed to Acheloös on his altar, and the altar-service and the personal name of the river-power, who has travelled far from his Thesprotian stream, belong to the higher Greek polytheism; but other victims are ordered to be thrown directly into the stream, and this ritual is a trait of the pre-anthropomorphic period. The progress of Greek art assisted this anthropomorphism<sup>b</sup>, but shows at the same time that it was never able entirely to transform the primitive type of the river-deity. We gather from Aelian that the bull, the natural animal-counterpart of the roaring and rushing torrent, was at least as common an incarnation of the river as was the human form<sup>77</sup>. And many coin-issues of Magna Graecia and Sicily in the fifth century show us the type of the man-

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 1, Zeus, R 22<sup>c</sup>.

worship in *Transactions of Royal Society*,

<sup>b</sup> Vide P. Gardner, *Greek River-* 1878, p. 30.

headed bull, occasionally in the attitude of swimming; but this becomes usually transformed into the human figure with some slight indication of the bovine nature in the ears or small horns above the forehead<sup>84, 85</sup>. These monuments well attest the influence and charm of this simple nature-religion in the public life of Hellas and the inspiration it brought to the popular art. For the Greek whose home was in a well-watered valley the stream was the source and the guardian of his life. Hence these cults, alone among those we call minor, have a marked political character: the river Erasinos refuses to abandon his citizens, the Argives, to Kleomenes<sup>71</sup>, and the traitors of Amphipolis were held to have betrayed the river Strymon to whom a tenth of their property was confiscated<sup>63</sup>. Their close association with family-life and family-memories was expressed by the consecration of the hair<sup>71, 72</sup>. In Artemidoros' interpretation of dreams a vision of rivers is a sign of offspring<sup>94</sup>. And with this we may compare an interesting ritual described in one of the fictitious letters of Aischines<sup>77</sup>, which we may believe to have been in vogue in the Troad in the later centuries before our era and to have descended from primitive times. Every maiden, on the approach of her marriage, was required to go and bathe in the Skamandros, and, standing in the water, to pronounce the sacred formula, 'Skamandros, take my maidenhood as a gift.' The letter narrates how a mortal assumed the human form of the god and took a treacherous advantage; but originally, we may suppose, the rite of consecration was not associated with any anthropomorphic divinity, but was performed in the hope that the spirit of the river might enter into the maiden, and that the child she might afterwards bear to her wedded husband might thus be mystically akin to the guardian of the land. The many early myths concerning heroines and princesses being made pregnant by river-gods suggests that the ritual just described was once prevalent in primitive Greece; for such myths could arise naturally from such a custom<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Frazer, in his *Early History of Kingship*, pp. 179-183, gives interesting examples of dedications of maidens to river-spirits; but those that he quotes are occasional rites resorted to in time of danger and mainly connected with

We see, then, that these river-cults had a fascination and a certain significance for the civic communities, and yet belong to a lower stratum of the polytheism, being only on the borderland of anthropomorphic religion. The river power remained only half-personal, an animate nature-power, to whom altars might be erected, but rarely a temple <sup>a</sup>.

With the river-deities the *Νύμφαι*, the nymphs of the spring, the tree, and the mountain, were closely associated in worship <sup>94-129</sup>. They stand for the productive powers of nature conceived as feminine; but, unlike the rivers, they are presented in the popular imagination and cult as personal, divine, or semi-divine individuals, and are almost always anthropomorphically imagined; rarely, for instance, is the attribute of horns, the mark of the water-deity, seen above the forehead of the nymph, as on the coin of Thermai Himeraii in Sicily <sup>128</sup>. And the very name belongs to the vocabulary of human and family relations, the original meaning being probably 'bride' or 'young woman.' Thus they fall into line with the ordinary personages of Greek polytheism, and their ritual was the same as that of the high gods, the offerings being often animal-victims, and sometimes cereals; we are told that wine was tabooed in their service <sup>20, 186</sup>, but this rule was not likely to have been without exception, for we hear of the Sicilians dancing drunken dances in their honour <sup>128</sup>. The worship, as the literary and monumental records attest, was widely prevalent and was probably universal, having been taken over by the state-religion from the primitive beliefs of the country-side; and though it was usually confined to a special spot, stream, grove, or hill, it might here and there expand into prominence over a larger area. For instance, the nymph Nysa, the nurse of Dionysos, created by a misunderstanding of the name of the god, was patronized by the Athenian state and attended by public officials called *Ἕμνητρίαι*, 'hymn-singers,' who were given a seat of honour in the theatre <sup>104 a</sup>; and another Attic nymph acquired the lofty political title of *Πάνδημος* <sup>104 a</sup>. Wild

human sacrifice: the custom in the Troad had obviously no such connexion, but was regular and general.

<sup>a</sup> We hear of shrines only in Attica <sup>69</sup> and Argolis <sup>71</sup>, and at Assorus in Sicily <sup>81</sup>.



mountain-spirits might be concerned with momentous world-events if a great battle was fought on their ground; and the nymphs of Kithairon were partly held responsible for the triumph of Hellas at Plataia<sup>102 b</sup>. The magistrates of Kos were specially charged with 'the ancestral sacrifices' to the nymphs, and appear to have given a tribal banquet in their honour<sup>111</sup>. And in Thera the Dorian tribal divisions of the Hylleis and the Dumanes had each their own nymphs<sup>117</sup>. It has been shown that the Cretan 'mothers,' nymphs or vague powers of birth and life and, according to the Cretan legend, the fosterers of Zeus, were of such religious repute that their worship travelled to Sicily and attained a great celebrity there<sup>119</sup>. The frequency of the nymph-types on Sicilian coin-issues attests the hold that these frail nature-powers maintained on the imagination of the Greeks of the cities<sup>128</sup>. But in many of the states the cult of the nymphs was strengthened and enhanced by their association with higher and more individual divinities, especially with Apollo<sup>a</sup> and Dionysos<sup>97</sup>, who are *par excellence* 'leaders of the nymphs,' frequently with Hermes and Pan, occasionally with Artemis and Acheloös.

The immediate utility of these nymph-worships lay in the stimulus they were supposed to give to a portion of the life of nature; but on the whole their control of the elements was limited and narrow<sup>b</sup>. Here and there these goddesses had the function of prophecy also; how it came to them we cannot say with certainty, probably from the ancient Greek, perhaps 'Aryan,' superstition concerning the significance of the sounds in trees and rippling water. But at the Nymphaion in Apollonia of Epeiros the divination was not of this sort, but was drawn from the crackling of incense in the altar-fire<sup>99</sup>. We are told also of an ancient *χρηστήριον* of the nymphs called *Σφραγίτιδες* on Kithairon; it was only a vague memory in the time of Pausanias<sup>102 b</sup>. And the epithet *Νυμφόληπτος*, applied

<sup>a</sup> The Dorians of the Pentapolis dedicated their federal festival to them in company with Apollo and Poseidon; vide vol. 4, Apollo, Geogr. Reg. *s.v.* Doris.

'Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms', *Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 1901, p. 83, that the rain-nymphs came to supplant Zeus *Ὀμβριος* in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. in the department of the rain-supply, appears to me untenable.

<sup>b</sup> The theory maintained by Morgan,

to persons in an inspired and ecstatic mood, suggests that an enthusiastic mode of divination might once have been popularly associated with them, though the state-religions did not recognize it. But by the simple folk they were cherished as the kindly fosterers of life, especially the life of children who might have been washed after birth in their streams. They have thus essentially the character of *κουροτρόφοι*<sup>94</sup>, a name of most tender appeal in the religious nomenclature of Greece. And their worship was interwoven in the early period, for the travel-worn Odysseus as no doubt for the later generations also, with the memories of childhood and home. In the days of sinking paganism when the old high gods were fading, the peasant still clung to these lesser deities and turned to his nymphs for help in time of trouble and disease<sup>98</sup>. Nor are they yet wholly forgotten in Greece and Macedonia, though the belief in them, through Christian influences, has now an element of terror. This is scarcely discernible in the ancient myths and cult-records; for the Hellenic spirit is seen at work here as elsewhere, purging out the uncouth and terrible and peopling its divine world with bright and kindly forms.

The personalities to whom the names 'Horai' and 'Charites' were attached may be supposed to have arisen originally from the same source in the popular belief as the nymphs. Looking at the proved etymology of the word *ῥα* and its cognates in the kindred languages, we may be sure that its earliest use was the impersonal designation of time, the year and its periods; it then came, before the age of Homer, to be applied as a personal name to certain goddesses, who were probably established in local cults already before this name was applied to them. At least we have the authority of Pausanias for believing that the two goddesses worshipped at Athens under the names *Καρπώ* and *Θαλλώ*, vegetation-powers of 'functional' titles, were the Attic Horai<sup>130</sup>. At the same time it is interesting to note that one of these, Thallo, was invoked by the epheboi in their oath of allegiance, with the view of binding themselves to guard and maintain the civilized agriculture of Attica<sup>130</sup>; and here again we have testimony how deeply such local cults of lesser prominence and narrower range might be rooted in

the patriotism and affection of the children of the soil. But we do not know whether Thallo and Karpo were officially styled Ὠραὶ, or whether it was specially to them that the Attic ritual consecrated to 'the Hours' was directed. We are told, for instance, that the 'Hours' received offerings and were honoured with a procession at the festivals of the Thargelia and the Pyanopsia, in late spring and autumn; and Philochoros has left the curious record that in the sacrifice to the Horai at Athens the sacrificial flesh was boiled, not roasted<sup>130</sup>; the more ancient process of cookery proving the great antiquity of the cult. But were 'the Hours' of Philochoros merely Thallo and Karpo, or a vague number of vegetation-nymphs whose virtue works in the soil at the different seasons of the year and from whom Thallo and Karpo emerge as names of power? The latter appears the more probable view. At a very early period the Hellenic spirit reveals itself as prone to crystallize vague perceptions of 'numina' into clear and concrete forms; and elsewhere than at Athens, though the record is faint, the 'Hours' may have become defined in number and in name or have been worked into the more organized polytheism by association with great personal divinities, such as Hera and Aphrodite.

In origin the Charites were probably closely akin to them, though they develop rather on the lines of mental culture<sup>134-148</sup>. Here as in the former case we may be sure that the earliest Greek meaning of the word was not personal but impersonal; χάρις must have meant that quality in things or persons that produces joy or gladness, and in the earliest literature, the Homeric poems, it is associated solely with persons or objects connected with man, such as dress, ornaments, works of art; it is not a term applied to the glad things of nature. And when Homer and Hesiod use the word as the name of divinities, the character and function of these still seem derived from the sphere of art or human beauty: Charis is the wife of the craftsman-god, or the handmaiden and adorer of Aphrodite, and the names that Hesiod was the first to give them, Aglaia, Thaleia, and Euphrosyne, are never found in Greek with any nature-connotation, but express

the glory and gladness of social man. Therefore it might seem that the goddesses called the Charites were primarily nothing more than 'the personifications' of human *χάρις*. But the few facts that reveal anything concerning the most ancient cult tell a different tale. It seems certain that the original site of their worship was the Minyan Orchomenos<sup>134-135</sup>. Eteokles was the mythic founder of their temple; here their aniconic emblems had fallen from heaven, and here they dwelt as 'guardians of the Minyans' ancient stock<sup>135</sup>, taking tithe, as Ephoros narrated, of the husbandmen in the rich plain of Orchomenos<sup>135</sup>. Games were instituted in their honour, perhaps long before our record begins, which only tells us something of their organization in the second century B. C.; and we hear of a Delphic oracle encouraging their cult among the Boeotians<sup>135</sup>. Here then, and perhaps here only, they were high goddesses of the state. Nor had they ever at Orchomenos any other discoverable name but 'Charites.' Yet we cannot but suppose that these powerful divinities of Orchomenos who appealed so strongly to the faith of the country-side were no mere 'personifications' of human grace, in their earliest stage at least, but goddesses of the soil, the givers of the flowers and fruits of the year. For the cult-records of other localities reveal this character in them. At Athens they were identified by Pausanias with Auxo and Hegemone<sup>134</sup>, and the first name expresses the idea of increase and growth. We find them also in Attica and Athens associated with such divinities of fertility and breeding as Hermes, Demeter, and Pan, possibly with the chthonian Hekate<sup>136</sup>; in Messenia with Pan<sup>142</sup>, and at Elis with the bull-Dionysos, the incarnation of the physical power of reproduction<sup>141</sup>; and two of their statues in Elis showed emblems of vegetation, such as the rose and the myrtle-branch<sup>141</sup>. We can only explain from this point of view the singular feature of their sacrifice at Paros<sup>145</sup>, whereat no crowns were allowed to be worn and the music of the flute was forbidden; the local legend explained it as commemorative of the sorrow of Minos, who was sacrificing to them in this island when the news was brought him of the death of

his son Androgeos, and he tore the crown from his head and hushed the music. The fiction is at least relevant, because this ritual-law points certainly to a service of gloom; and we find such in the ritual of the powers of vegetation who were at times conceived as gloomy and angry in the winter. Hence, again, we may understand the apparently incongruous rule sanctioned at Megalopolis that joint sacrifice should be made to the Eumenides and the Charites<sup>140</sup>. Now it is likely that this aspect of the Charites in these various cult-centres derives from the original Orchomenian conception of them; for Orchomenos, the Minyan home, was probably the source whence the worship radiated. We have proofs, drawn from the comparison of place-names, legends, and religious institutions, of Minyan settlement in Attica, Thera, Laconia, and Elis. Among the most archaic inscriptions of Thera, cut on the rock by the shrine of Apollo *Κάρνειος*, a dedication to the Charites has been found<sup>146</sup>, and it may well have been from Thera that their name and worship spread to the other islands. Floating down the track of Minyan migration, and then diffused further afield by the influence of literature, the name could be readily attached to pre-existing local goddesses of different names because of some general resemblance that they might bear in function or traits to the Charites of Orchomenos. It is likely that already in pre-Homeric days the Orchomenian divinities had become more than mere nature-goddesses, and that by the very virtue of their name they acquired a significance relative to human art and delight. In the later cults this aspect of them predominates and their elemental nature is half-forgotten, though archaic art, mindful of this, occasionally gave them the emblems of fruitfulness<sup>a</sup>. A strong argument in favour of the view that Orchomenos, the famous Minyan centre of the Mycenaean civilization, was the source whence the earlier Hellenic communities derived their worship of the Charites, may be drawn from the prevalent Hellenic belief in their triplicity. For in the earliest period of Orchomenian

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the archaic images at Elis, R. 141, and the relief from Thasos, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, Taf. 217.

cult, of which we have any evidence, they were presented as three<sup>134</sup>, and Hesiod's poetry reflects the local belief. The dogma probably arose from the simple fact that their earliest 'agalмата' happened to be three in number; and this is one of many examples of the influence of primitive art on religion. It may, then, seem unjustifiable to derive the Attic Charites from the Boeotian city, if we believe Pausanias that in Attica they were originally two, Auxo and Hegemone; but his statement has rightly been suspected, for it occurs in a controversial passage and there is no authority that supports it<sup>a</sup>. The earliest Attic monuments present them as three<sup>b</sup>; and the epigraphic evidence associates them, not with 'Auxo' or 'Hegemone,' but with Artemis, Athena Boulaia, and Aphrodite Hegemone, and still more frequently with Demos, in whose worship they have a part and a peculiar political significance as incarnations of the public 'gratitude'<sup>136</sup>. The other example of the cult of two Graces that Pausanias quotes, the shrine of Φάεινα, the 'bright' one, and Κλήτα, the 'glorious' one in Laconia near Amyklai<sup>134, 139</sup>, is difficult to appreciate with exactness. We are not sure that their identification with the Charites was original or was accepted by the official religion; we are tempted to think it was not, for there was another temple of the Charites which they shared with the Dioskouroi near Sparta. Κλήτα and Φάεινα, like Φοίβη, 'the pure,' and Ἰλάειρα, 'the bright,' are genial, well-omened names of vague goddesses whose aboriginal character escapes us; as they seemed so expressive of the nature of the Homeric 'Charites,' a poet like Alkman would be likely to attach them to these regardless of their number, and from their most popular lyric poet the people would catch the idea. At least we may be sure that these two Laconian goddesses were not of Orchomenian descent.

Finally, we may question why the name Χάριτες, which in

<sup>a</sup> Auxo is given as one of the names of the Horai by Hyginus, *Fab.* 183: 'Ἠγεμόνη is probably a title of a high divinity, Artemis or Aphrodite: vide vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 106<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>1</sup>, and

pp. 462, 662.

<sup>b</sup> The oldest is an archaic relief from the Peiraieus now in Berlin, *Athen. Mitth.* 3, 189.

its linguistic value can have been nothing more than the personal use of an abstract or conceptual term, should have been applied to these concrete fertility-powers of the Minyan religion. Had they earlier 'functional' or individual names formed like most others in the religious nomenclature of Greece? And were these then supplanted by the name *Xápis*, a personification current already in popular speech before Homer, and bearing the significance that Homer gives it, and therefore applicable to any 'bright' and half-nameless 'numen' who was struggling to emerge as a *Θεά*?

The question may be put, but on the present evidence cannot be answered.

If the theory here stated of the evolution of these goddesses is correct, we have an example of the phenomenon not infrequent in polytheism, the transformation of elemental into spiritual powers; and the chief value of these cults lies in their consecration of the grace and charm of human life in the ancient society.

Pan, the rustic and uncouth god of Arcadia, is a personality whom the most cursory review of Greek religion cannot ignore<sup>149-187</sup>, and as he appears frequently associated with the lesser divinities of the country-side, the nymphs, and occasionally with the Graces, the salient features of his cult and his history may be here noticed. He is one of the few Hellenic divinities whose name can be interpreted with some certainty. We may regard it as a contraction for *Πάων*, 'the feeder' or 'grazier'<sup>a</sup>, this etymology being supported by the recent discovery of a dedication in his temple on Mount Lykaion, *τῷ Πάωνι*<sup>152</sup>. We have no right then to regard him as an elemental power or as a nature-god, still less as solar<sup>b</sup>: so far as we can interpret the facts, he is in origin nothing more than a generative daimon who watches over the herds, ithyphallic, half-goat, half-man. Arcadia, the land of flocks, was certainly his aboriginal home, where in the early days

<sup>a</sup> Vide Roscher's article on 'Pan,' *Lexikon*, vol. 3, 1405.

<sup>b</sup> The old solar theory first expounded by Welcker, *Griech. Gött.* I, p. 454, and

accepted by Immerwahr, *Kult. u. Myth. Arkad.* p. 204, is rightly rejected by Roscher, *op. cit.* p. 1405.

of Greece he was imagined and embodied by the day-dreams or terrors of the herdsman in the lonely pastures. As early as the seventh century he was beginning to be known to the Hellenic world, as the Homeric hymn to Hermes proves<sup>a</sup>; and soon after the Persian invasion he made his way to Athens. It may have been partly through the influence of Athens and the diffusion of the legend for which she vouched concerning his good help at Marathon, partly through the example of Pindar and the vogue of his lyric verse<sup>172</sup>, that the cult spread to the North-Greek communities and across the sea to Asia Minor. The coins, which are our earliest records of his reception by other communities than Athens, nowhere allow us to refer it to an earlier date than the fourth century<sup>b</sup>. The list of cities which appear to have received him is scanty enough; but, owing something no doubt to the popularity of the later bucolic idyll, his cult certainly travelled far afield and planted itself in strange places, for instance in the cave at the source of the Jordan by the city Paneias or Caesarea-Philippi<sup>185</sup>. But in none of these did it touch the higher life of the society or the higher religion of the state; the rusticity of the wild Arcadian clung to him, his sacred haunt was the cave or the mountain-grove, and his associates the nymphs and the other pasture-gods, Hermes especially, and sometimes Apollo. Outside Arcadia we find no cult-titles by which he was invoked of any interest, except at Troizen where he was styled *Λυτήριος*, 'the deliverer,' because, as it was said, he showed the magistrates in dreams the way to cure a prevailing plague<sup>165</sup>; and it may be surmised that he here possessed an oracular shrine where incubation was practised. It was only in Arcadia that his worship attained a national significance and he was raised to the plane of the high gods<sup>149-160</sup>. On Mount Lykaios he entered into partnership with Zeus and presided over the great Arcadian games in which the victories were dated partly by the name of his priest; and Arcadian legend placed his birth in the temple on

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, 'Hermes,' Geogr. Reg. 52. Arcadia-Kyllene.

<sup>b</sup> We cannot affirm that the head on

the Carian issues, 430-400 B.C., with pointed ears and horns, represents Pan; it may be a local daimon<sup>183</sup>.



this mountain<sup>152</sup>. Other shrines were raised to him in the land and other mountains were consecrated to him. At Lykosoura a perpetual fire, the symbol of the life of the community, was maintained in his shrine<sup>153</sup>; oracular powers and functions were once attached to him here, and the local faith appears to have deeply impressed Pausanias with the power of the god and his guardianship of the moral order. At Tegea the title of Προκαθηγέρτης was applied to him<sup>156</sup>, which might, on the analogy of its use elsewhere, designate the political 'leader,' but may have been merely taken over from the simple bucolic religion in the sense of the 'leader of the herd.'

The ritual of Pan presents some features of interest. A well-known passage in the idylls of Theokritos informs us that in times of dearth, when the meat-supply was scanty, the Arcadian boys were in the habit of whipping the idol of the god with squills<sup>150</sup>. As this plant was supposed to have a quickening and purifying effect, the object of this discipline was not punishment and insult, but stimulative magic whereby the life-giving power of the deity might be restored. Again, we have reason for thinking that the Pan-worship was orgiastic, and therefore specially attractive to women<sup>167 f</sup>; we have a general statement to this effect, and Aristophanes at the beginning of the *Lysistrata* is sarcastic on the subject. We may suppose that the Attic cult was influenced by the Arcadian tradition, and we can better understand the women's enthusiasm for the herdsmen's god if we assume that Pan had associated himself early with the earth-goddess and the mother of the gods. And this assumption receives some support from the ode of Pindar and one record of Athenian ritual<sup>167 e</sup>. The herdsmen of Arcadia, clad in goat-skins as votaries of Pan, may have danced ritual-dances in spring to commemorate the awakening of the earth-goddess<sup>a</sup>.

The phallos, the fetish of life, may have belonged to Pan-

<sup>a</sup> Vide Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 1411-1412, for connexion between the goat-men's dance and the satyric drama of Attica.  
pp. 277-278, vases with 'Anodos' of earth-goddess and goat-men dancing:  
cf. Wernicke in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 3,

cult as to Hermes-cult in Arcadia and elsewhere<sup>a</sup>. But in spite of his life-giving power and his intimacy with the divinities of fruitfulness, Pan never became a general divinity of vegetation. The legend concerning the death of the 'Great Pan' is happily exploded<sup>b</sup>. He came too late into the other communities of Greece to change his rustic nature for one more political or ethical. Yet Sokrates found him worthy to be addressed with the strange and spiritual prayer that he utters at the close of the *Phaedrus*:—'Oh, dear Pan . . . grant me inner beauty of soul<sup>169</sup>.' There is no Greek cult so primitive and rustic but what some tolerant philosopher could infuse ethical thought into it.

There remain to be considered the cults of certain divine powers that come nearer to what we call personifications, and are for the most part connected with certain mental activities and states, and who, though they all stand below the plane of the high concrete divinities, are by no means all on the same level. We must distinguish those that were merely 'personifications' from others that possessed a more real personality and something of concrete form in the popular faith, taking their rise from an ancient and fruitful stratum in the religion.

Prominent in this special class are the figures of the *Μοῦσαι* or Muses<sup>189-205</sup>. These divinities of culture have been explained by an older generation of scholars<sup>c</sup> as originally elemental powers of the natural world, as nymphs of the spring and rivulet, gradually transformed into goddesses of song and inspiration because of the music of the waters and its immemorial association with prophecy. This theory supports itself partly on the names derived from rivers given them by Eumelos, partly on the fact that their shrines were occasionally founded by fountains or streams, and the ritual-legend concerning Dionysos may be added to this evidence<sup>d</sup>. But it is frail, and probably misleading. Naturally they

<sup>a</sup> It certainly stands for Pan on the coins of Alyzia, R. 174.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Reinach, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907, pp. 1-19.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Welcker, *Griech. Götter.* 1, p. 702.

<sup>d</sup> Vide supra, p. 182.

entered into close relations with the nymphs and other goddesses of vegetation who loved the dance and song; but there is nothing in the general Hellenic legend about them, nor in the significance of the popular names occasionally attached to them that suggests any close or original association with any domain of nature. And against any such theory is the evidence of their name itself. *Μοῦσα*, *Μου-σα*, *Μου-τια*, the 'mindful' one<sup>a</sup>, is a word that belongs to the psychic domain, not to the world of things. Its denotation may at first have been impersonal, marking the mental tension that relieves itself in prophecy or song; then as this was a mysterious 'demoniac' condition, it would be explained as the psychical effect of some power of the unseen world that acts on our minds from without, and the word would acquire a personal-divine significance. That this is in accord with an ancient law of the religious imagination will appear when we examine other similar phenomena. But we see that the Muses, though at first indefinite in number, presented themselves very early to the popular faith and imagination as real personal divinities, not as vaguely conceived 'numina.' We may explain this fact as due to the prowess of the Hellenic imagination which, with a strange intensity of force, projected the poetic mood into the cosmos of divine causation; or we may suspect, though we cannot prove, that in some early centre of their cult the personal name *Μοῦσαι* happened to be attached to some prior anthropomorphic personages, some prophetic and musical nymphs of fountain or hill-side. As regards their original home, it is generally and rightly placed on the north frontier of Greece, in the region of Mount Olympus and Pieria: here the Muses acquired their 'Thracian' traditions which followed them to Helikon<sup>189 a</sup>, their local affection for the place-names Leibethra and Pimpleia; their association with the Thracian hero Rhesos, whose tomb was shown at Amphipolis, opposite to the temple of Kleio<sup>188</sup>; here also they may well have been drawn into the Dionysiac circle, and entered into the legend of Orpheus. Also as Olympus was the metropolis of the Zeus-cult, the Muses in

<sup>a</sup> Vide Curtius, *Gr. Et.*<sup>5</sup>, 312.

the earliest period of the Hellenic faith that is revealed to us became raised to the rank of the daughters of Zeus<sup>189 b</sup>. Travelling southward, doubtless in pre-Homeric days, they find a permanent home on Helikon, bringing with them a Thessalian legend of the Aloidai as their missionaries<sup>189 c</sup>; and some of the local names of Pieria reappear in the district of Helikon. From this new centre the cult may have spread to Delphoi<sup>191</sup>, and probably passed by Eleutherai, as a hint of Hesiod's verse reveals to us<sup>189 b</sup>, into Attica; and thence became a common possession of the religious culture of Greece. The Heliconian worship remained always high in prestige above all others. Attic sculptors of fame in the fourth century were commissioned to embellish it<sup>189 d</sup>, and in the third century the festival of the Muses on Helikon was elaborately reorganized by the city of Thespiiai, and at their invitation was patronized by the communities that gave the tone in culture, such as Athens and the Attalid court, and—what was still more important—by the powerful guild of the 'artists of Dionysos<sup>189 f, g</sup>;' and in the circle of the Heliconian worship a private thiasos still cherished the name of Hesiod, to whom the cult owed much for its propagation<sup>189 h</sup>. The records of the festival show that all the musical and poetic talent of later Greece was consecrated here. A noticeable fact in the evidence concerning the Heliconian worship is the lack of any sign or hint of Apollo's presence; the Muses are worshipped in their own right, as doubtless they were in their aboriginal home. But for the other Greeks it was natural that they should be attached in some way to the greater and older divinity of song; and they came to be usually regarded as his subordinate ministers. We can be sure that Delphoi was answerable for this 'rapprochement.' Nevertheless, the cult of the Muses was usually independent of Apollo's in the Greek States, most of which would possess their *Μουσεία*, places of the higher education of youth. It is from these, in part, that our modern University has grown; and the Mouseion of Alexandria shows us the earliest example of the endowment of pure research, in the form of free meals given to philosophers<sup>205</sup>. The study of this 'minor' cult,

then, may serve to deepen our impression of the immeasurable debt that modern education and culture owes to a religion like that of Hellas, which gave to the arts and sciences a stronger and more direct encouragement than any other religion in the world has ever given. The Muses are unique figures among the various ancient or modern systems of polytheism; and though the popular faith in them may not have been very deep or always real, they bear valuable witness, no less than Apollo, to this special religious gain of Hellenism.

For the study of early ethical-religious ideas, as of the special evolution of Greek religion, no personal forms are of greater significance than those of the *Ἐρινύες*, a name often associated in the later literature with the *Εὐμενίδες* and the *Σεμναὶ Θεαί*<sup>206-214</sup>. But in the state-religions these beings play a subordinate part, as the Erinyes are only found—and that doubtfully—at Sparta and Thera, the *Σεμναὶ Θεαί* are recorded of Attica alone, the Eumenides of Kolonos, Sikyon, Argolis, Arcadia, Boiotia, and Achaia. Certain difficulties arise in the explanation of all these divine groups, the more perplexing in regard to the Erinyes, whose personality and name it is convenient to consider first.

Is the popular and poetical conception of the pursuing 'Fury' the aboriginal idea of *Ἐρινύς*? If so, can we suggest some religious theory that might account for the emergence and persistence of such personages in the popular creed? A view that was prevalent a generation ago, explaining the Erinyes as belonging to the pack of the Wild Huntsman, as shadow-figures of the storm-cloud that became spiritualized into stern guardians of the moral law, is probably held by no one now; not because of its intrinsic improbability, for such transformations of elemental powers into spiritual is a commonplace of comparative religion, but merely because of the entire lack of any evidence for it. Looking at the facts, we might be tempted to regard the *Ἐρινύς* as originally the personal curse, especially the curse of the murdered man that was incarnate in the ghost; but also of the living who, receiving any injury, might utter a formal curse, adding force perhaps to the imprecation by beating on the earth, and thus

setting in motion the agency of an Ἐρινός to avenge him. There is much that may be urged in support of this explanation. In the first place, this attribution of a personal power to the curse accords with a feeling prevalent in old religious thought; the term Ἀπαί is actually used in this personal sense in Greek, and occasionally as a synonym for the Ἐρινός; the ceremony of the ordeal so common among savages and semi-civilized men, the Commination Service observed by some ancient Greek states and still surviving among ourselves, rest on the belief that the imprecation against oneself or against others, being an abnormal ebullition of will-power from the self, acts as a discharge of spiritual electricity, setting in motion certain agencies and potencies of the unseen world: thus thrown off from oneself the curse might become one of these agencies, and, by a slight advance towards definiteness in religious perception, a personal Ἐρινός: at a higher stage still, when "Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord, the personal high god charges himself with the function and the power of the curse, and there is no need for the Ἐρινός, who nevertheless survived in Greece, where the lower always survived by the side of the higher. Thus the Ἐρινός would represent the phase of the personal curse midway between the pre-animistic conception of 'Mana,' formulated by Mr. Marett<sup>a</sup>, and the higher belief in permanent personal deities. Of singular potency would be the dying curse of the murdered man, whose ghost may take up this curse and execute it; but the theory need not identify the ghost and Ἐρινός in respect of origin at least<sup>b</sup>; according to its main idea it would rather explain the Ἐρινός as the curse-force externalized. Therefore one need not be a ghost to rouse an Erinys: Althæa evokes one against her son by striking the earth with her hands: the State in its Commination Service<sup>c</sup>, the Athenian priests and priestesses who took blood-red flags and waved them towards the west, evoke the curse-power against the evil-doer<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Threshold of Religion*, pp. 69, 118, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 270, and Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 215, regard

Ἐρινός originally as the injured ghost.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the public curses of Teos, Röhl, *I. G. A.* 497; Miss Harrison, *ib.* p. 142.

<sup>d</sup> *Lys. Or.* 6, § 51.

The sin that was deeply accursed by the ancient communities was the slaughter of kindred; therefore the 'Ερινύς aroused by the people's hatred and dread of the shedder of kindred blood was specially potent; but we need not assign such weight to the Aeschylean view expressed in the Eumenides as to suppose that the function of the 'Ερινύες was at any stage limited to the avenging of this sin.

Moreover, this theory that traces the origin of the 'Ερινύες to the religious perception of the curse-power as personal explains the intimate association between the 'Ερινύες and the person who thinks he has suffered wrong; it explains also why the more powerful person, the king, the father or mother or elder brother, has the more potent 'Ερινύς, and why Homer doubts if beggars can evoke one at all. It helps us to interpret the interesting cult of the Aigeidai<sup>213</sup>, the Theban tribe who in early days had migrated to Sparta and thence to Thera, and who, alarmed at the abnormal rate of their infant mortality, ascribed this to the curses of Laios and Oidipous still operative against their descendants, and therefore erected shrines to appease the 'Ερινύες Λαίτου τε καὶ Οἰδιποδέω, 'the curse-powers of their ancestral kings<sup>a</sup>.' It would seem to be supported also by philology if we could regard the Macedonian 'Αραντίδες, attested by Hesychios, to be a dialect-variant of 'Ερινύες<sup>206</sup>, and if we followed Pausanias in believing that 'Ερινύς must originally have meant the 'angry one,' because in current Arcadian speech ἐρινύειω signified 'to be angry.' But the scientific philologist might maintain that 'Αραντίδες is an independent word<sup>b</sup>, not possibly a variant of 'Ερινύες, and that to explain the root-meaning of 'Ερινύες from ἐρινύειω is like explaining 'proselyte' from 'proselytise.' We are no nearer to the original etymology of the word 'Ερινύς.

The theory suggested and sketched above certainly agrees well with much of the evidence, especially of the more

<sup>a</sup> It is an interesting corroboration of the story in Herodotos that the cult of the Erinyes in Thera is attested by a very archaic inscription<sup>213</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The word shows that the Macedonians had the conception of personal curse-powers, who may have been naturally identified with the Erinyes.

developed period. But it fails to explain the Tilphousian Erinys of Haliartos and the Demeter 'Ερινύς of Thelpousa; and these certainly have some right to be regarded as showing the aboriginal religious belief from which the later and vaguer conception of 'Ερινύς developed<sup>a</sup>. That is to say, the starting-point may have been the earth-spirit or earth-goddess whom the curser arouses by smiting the hand upon the earth: Ge-Erinys sends forth her power, 'Ερινύς, that becomes detached and then figures as a vague and moralized 'numen', such as Θέμις became when detached from Ge-Themis. The career of the 'Ερινύες in later literature, the lofty functions they fulfil in the view of Homer, Aeschylus, and Herakleitos, could be well explained on this hypothesis. The more shadowy and vindictive they became the less likely they were to win their way into the state-religion; and in this sphere their name is scarcely heard.

With the Erinyes of the popular imagination the Σεμναὶ Θεαί of the Areopagos and the Eumenides of Kolonos and elsewhere have little in common, though the genius of Aeschylus partly succeeded in imposing a fallacious view upon later literature<sup>b</sup>. The Semnai took rank with the great divinities of the Attic state, to whom thank-offerings would be consecrated after victory, and prayers proffered in times of peril<sup>208 f, g, h</sup>. Their worship was of great local prestige, their shrine an asylum for slaves and suppliants<sup>208 a, p</sup>; they have all the reality for the Athenians of concrete goddesses, and were doubtless of ancient establishment; for, though a late record speaks of Epimenides the Cretan as the founder of the shrine in the sixth century<sup>208 b</sup>, we need only interpret this as a reminiscence of some reform or re-organization of the ritual, probably touching matters of purification, effected by the kathartic missionary of Crete. An indirect testimony to their high antiquity is supplied by the citation from Polemon, showing that the Eupatrids had no share in their sacrifice, which was performed by a tribe called the Hesy-

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, vol. 3, pp. 54-56.

<sup>b</sup> This has been well shown by Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 239-242;

but her view that the Semnai were originally ghosts that became goddesses is supported by no evidence.



chidai<sup>208 1</sup>. The Eupatrids represent the Ionic community: therefore we may regard the cult as pre-Ionic. Doubtless the venerable ones were special forms of the earth-goddess. Their shrine is subterranean, their ministrants wore garments of purple<sup>208 d</sup>, the colour of the lower world, as we found in the ritual of Demeter at Syrakuse; they are concerned with the marriage-rite, and prayers are offered to them for children<sup>208 d</sup>; they are guardians of the greatest bulwark of society, the law against bloodshed, for blood sinks into the earth, their divine abode; therefore they are deeply interested in the court of Areopagos, where oath was taken in their name, and the acquitted person must offer sacrifice of thanksgiving or appeasement to them<sup>208 k, m</sup>; the *δευτερόποτμος*, the man who has been reported dead and then has reappeared alive, must avoid their shrine<sup>208 o</sup>, for he has been *ex hypothesi* within the range of their kingdom, and they might claim him as their own, or be induced to claim him in accordance with the law of the magic of speech; at one time their shrine may have been mantic, for Euripides calls it a *χρηστήριον*<sup>208 f</sup>; finally, cereals and 'sober' libations are their due<sup>208 d</sup>. All this accords exactly with the character and cult of the personal Gaia, as exhibited by other records. Nor were the Semnai an indefinite plurality. There is good reason for thinking that once at least they were conceived as two<sup>a</sup>; and if this view is correct we have the same phenomenon here as we find so frequent in the rest of Greece, the duplication of the earth-goddess, which leads to the emergence of Demeter and

<sup>a</sup> We know that Kalamis, the fifth-century Attic sculptor, carved one statue of them, and one image might stand for one divinity, or two, or a plural number; that then in the fourth century Skopas was commissioned to carve two<sup>208 m, n</sup>, not perhaps because the Athenians believed the goddesses to be three, but because they regarded them as two and desired two images from a great contemporary sculptor. Therefore Phylarchos was probably right in maintaining that properly they were two as against

Polemon who asserted they were three. For if they were by tradition three and since there were three images, we cannot understand Phylarchos' assertion; but if they were really in old conception two, we can imagine that Polemon, who probably knew less about old Attic religion than Phylarchos, would be misled by the accident of the existence of three images into the belief that properly they were three; and no doubt the people would be misled also.

Kore. The Semnai, though in the fifth century and after distinguished from these, come near to them in character, and they like Demeter are interested in Oidipous<sup>208 c</sup>. Were the Semnai ever related as mother and daughter, and were they ever worshipped as goddesses of corn and fruit? We might say more about them if we knew more about their idols; but of these we learn nothing save that they had in or upon them no element or emblem of terror. We must then leave those questions unanswered.

We may regard the Eumenides of Kolonos<sup>208 a</sup> as of the same nature and origin as the Semnai, and this is evidently Sophocles' opinion; they also are underground goddesses, and they also demand a 'wineless' libation. Nor can we doubt that the Eumenides of Sikyon were local forms of the earth-goddesses; their oblations appear to have been 'sober,' and their sacrificial victims in their yearly festival were pregnant sheep, the natural and customary offering to Gaia<sup>209</sup>.

More perplexing is the somewhat fuller record about the goddesses called Maniai, worshipped in the country near Megalopolis<sup>211</sup>. Pausanias informs us that this strange name was given both to certain goddesses there and to the ground immediately round their temple, and that near the shrine was a mound with a pillar upon it shaped like a finger, and called *Δάκτυλος*; these deities he conjecturally identifies with the Eumenides. Near this temple was a district called *Ἄκη*, 'healing,' as he interprets the word, and in it was another temple which he explicitly asserts was consecrated to the Eumenides. Both these temples the popular belief associated with the legend of Orestes, which was elsewhere rife in Arcadia: The Eumenides appeared to him in black, and drove him mad; in his madness he bit off his finger, hence the 'finger'-mound; thereupon they appeared to him in white, and, recovering his senses, he offered infernal piacular offerings—*ἐναγίσματα*—to the black goddesses, and an ordinary, more cheerful sacrifice, *θυσία*, to the white. Stripped of legend, these cult-facts emerge. There is a shrine of goddesses called *Μανίαι*, who are regarded as black, and worshipped with a gloomy chthonian ritual; near it another

of the Eumenides called 'the white,' of whom the ritual is more cheerful: the first shrine may have been resorted to in cases of unatoned bloodshed, the second after purification and atonement. There appear to have been no images in either, and the people were able to regard both groups as different phases of one personality. Both may have arisen from aboriginal conceptions concerning Gaia, and the black goddesses recall the black Demeter of Phigaleia<sup>a</sup>. But the name *Mavíai* is strange, and still stranger is it that it should have been given also to the place. Were these goddesses called 'madnesses' because madness was once felt to be a demoniac potency, a 'numen' and then a goddess? Or was a local earth-goddess, having deep concern with the ritual-law of homicide, called *Mavía* as Ge was called *Θέμις*<sup>b</sup>, the abstract word in each case being attached to the personal name to express an effect or function of the divinity's activity? Or were Pausanias and the country-folk misled by the resemblance of some ancient divine name, meaning perhaps 'the mothers' to the later Greek 'mania'? The 'mothers' are *Crefan*; and near the shrine of the Maniai is the mound called *Daktylos*. Is this a forgotten grave-mound with a phallos upon it, as might be found here and there in ancient Greece<sup>c</sup>? Or is it a monument of the Idaean Dactyli, the heroes of Crete, the land of purification? For we find the figure of the Idaean Herakles at Megalopolis, and he had a bias towards association with Demeter the earth-goddess<sup>d</sup>.

Most of these facts so far examined have not yet brought us clearly into the domain of the 'personification of abstract ideas,' but suggest rather the presence in the background of something concrete and divine already there.

And when we review the list of the cults of powers that

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii, pp. 50-62.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. iii, pp. 12-15.

<sup>c</sup> Another possible suggestion that has occurred to me is that *Mavíai* are Phrygian goddesses, feminine forms of *Μήν*, who himself was *καταχθόνιος*. Cf. Athenae, p. 578 B *Mavía* an *ἄνομα Φρυγιάκόν*; Ramsay, *Cities and Bish.*

*Phrygia*, 1, pp. 169, 294. The tomb with a phallos-shaped pillar is known in Phrygia; vide Perrot et Chipier, *Phrygia*, &c., p. 49. Does the name and the legend of Aineas in Arcadia also point to Phrygian influences? (vide vol. 2, p. 738).

<sup>d</sup> Vol. 3, p. 312, Demeter, R. 8.

appear to be purely personified abstractions, we find that many were probably not such in origin. It is at least a tenable view that Nike<sup>245</sup> arose from Athena at Athens or from Artemis at Delos<sup>a</sup>, Peitho<sup>b</sup> from Aphrodite<sup>247</sup>, Nemesis<sup>244</sup> from a goddess such as Aphrodite-Artemis<sup>c</sup>, Themis from Ge<sup>d</sup>. And these are the more real and robust forms that have a stronger hold on cult. Nor can we regard Hebe of Phlious as a mere personification of youthfulness, nor Eros of Thespias and Parion of the emotion of love. Hebe was there an ancient goddess<sup>236</sup>, whose other and probably earlier names were Ganymeda and Dia, and whose cult descended from the aniconic period, perhaps a spring-deity of flowers or the young earth-goddess, who in mythology becomes the daughter of Zeus and Hera. Similarly, the name Eros was attached to a local daimon of reproductive power at Thespias<sup>231 a</sup>; and at Parion<sup>231 a</sup> where the Eros-cult was also powerful, we may suspect the influence of the local Priapos in the background. If so, we have an exact parallel here to what we conjecture was the evolution of the cult of the Charites of Orchomenos. But a different religious phenomenon is presented by such cult-figures as Αἰδώς<sup>216</sup>, \*Ελεος<sup>229</sup>, Γέλως<sup>224</sup>, Φόβος<sup>253</sup>, Reverence, Pity, Laughter, and Fear, and others of this type that occasionally won their way to state-recognition. The cause of the emergence of such forms in religion was that psychologic law described above in the discussion of the personal curse-power. The strong mental emotion is conceived as 'demoniac,' and being projected into the unseen world without is identified with some vague 'numen' of divine causative power. Therefore these 'personifications' are by no means a mark of later reflective thought, but of a primitive habit of mind, and are more naturally thrown off under an unorganized polytheism than under a severe monotheism where one God absorbs all divine functions. Βούβρωστις<sup>223</sup>, 'Ox-hunger,' and Λιμός, 'Famine'<sup>241</sup> at Smyrna and Athens, are primitive demoniac forms, as is

<sup>a</sup> Vide vol. 1, pp. 311-313, and Radet, 'Nike Volante,' in *Ac. d. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1908, p. 221.

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. 2, p. 664.

<sup>c</sup> Vide vol. 2, pp. 488-93.

<sup>d</sup> Vide vol. 3, pp. 12-15.

well illustrated by the public ritual of Chaironeia described by Plutarch<sup>a</sup>: a slave was chosen to personate ox-hunger, and driven out of the city with willow-rods, while the people cried aloud, 'get out Ox-hunger, come in Health and Wealth.' We have here the processes of magic and polydaimonism rather than theistic religion. But usually, as far as the record speaks, the forms of ritual in this special class of worship was the same as in that of the higher divinities.

The catalogue also enlightens us in regard to early Greek psychology and ethics. For we may suppose that only those emotions, faculties, or states of mind which were intense enough to suggest a demoniac force were able to engender these personal numina. It is also ethically interesting to note that evil passions and powers are not thus 'personified' in the state-religion; for the statement that the Athenians erected altars or a fane to 'insolence' and shamelessness<sup>219</sup> is due probably to a misunderstanding<sup>b</sup>, and 'Αρά, to whom it is said that a temple was erected at Athens<sup>220</sup>, was a moral daimoniatic force, the curse-power that protects the law and the state. We should suppose that Φόβος<sup>253</sup> and Ἔρως<sup>231</sup>, Fear and Love, as belonging to the primal deep emotions, would be among the first to evoke this religious sense of mysterious agency<sup>c</sup>. But the silence of Homer, who in more than one place might well have mentioned him, concerning Eros allows us to suppose that the Achaean world was not familiar with him as a personality; his prominence in the poems of the Hesiodic school may be due to the cult of Thespias<sup>231 a</sup>, or it may have been they with their partiality for these daimoniatic abstractions that first applied this fair descriptive

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, 'Hestia,' R. 24, p. 369.

<sup>b</sup> Against the statements and censure of Clemens and Cicero we have the record of Pausanias that by the court of the Areopagos were two stones on which defendants stood, and these were called by the accusers the stones of Ἔβρις and Ἀναίδεια, from the idea, it may be, that the insolence and shamelessness of the denial of the charge infected the stones<sup>219</sup>; the other two

authors, or Istros who was perhaps their authority, may have misconstrued this simple fact.

<sup>c</sup> The Φόβος of Spartan cult may have been a name given to some prehistoric 'Mycenaean' war-demon, vide Deubner, *Ath. Myth.* 1902, p. 253: elsewhere it seems to have been conceived as the demoniac Fear, to whom Alexander offered mystic rites at night, while the army slept. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 31.

name to the local daimon of that fetishistic cult. Great as his figure became in philosophy and literature, he is only faintly and rarely seen in the public religion. Sparta adopted him and gave him a military function, sacrificing to him before the battle joined<sup>231 a</sup>; but Athens, the most hospitable receptacle of all polytheism, never gave him rank among the state-gods<sup>a</sup>. The most attractive among the ethical cults are those of Αἰδώς<sup>216</sup> and Ἐλεος<sup>220</sup>, Shame or Mercy and Pity, at Sparta and Athens. The Athenian cult of Ἐλεος was, according to Pausanias, unique, and it illustrates the claim of the Athenians to the title that Cicero allows them, the 'natio misericors.' We have no clue here as to date, but the statue of Αἰδώς near Sparta was associated with a story of Ikarios and Penelope, and the 'shame' of the bride of Odysseus. But most of such cults of moral ideas are probably of late emergence. We may suspect this in the case of Δίκη and Δικαιοσύνη<sup>227</sup>; and it is clear that Ἀρετή of Pergamon<sup>221</sup>, though it arose too early to be explained as a synonym for the Roman Virtus, is a shadowy product of Hellenistic ethic. Eukleia<sup>233</sup> and Eunomia<sup>234</sup> at Athens may have emerged in the fifth and fourth centuries, but the former name at Plataia may have designated a higher goddess of the older state-religion, probably Artemis<sup>b</sup>.

The most significant omission in this list is the virtue of Truth, personified by certain poets, but too frail in its popular influence to win public recognition as a divine force.

Looking at some of the other figures that do not belong to the ethical sphere, we find some that have a political significance, such as Εἰρήνη, 'Peace<sup>228</sup>,' and Ὁμόνοια, 'Concord<sup>246</sup>,' and others that would appeal naturally to the more primitive sense. The mystery of death easily evokes the sense of a personal power, Death, as the rites and legends of many uncultured races prove; and Homer knows of the figure of Θάνατος; but the religious bias of the civilized Hellenic πόλις was against the recognition of such an ill-omened name in

<sup>a</sup> The Athenian colony at Chalkis sacrificed to him, probably because of the

fame of the contiguous Boeotian cult,<sup>251</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Vide vol. 2, p. 461.

its public worship. Therefore if it is true that the Spartans possessed a shrine of Thanatos, this is a unique fact <sup>237</sup>, although the story of Sisyphos binding Death suggests a prehistoric folk-rite, in which Death was carried out bound <sup>a</sup>. Whatever is mysterious stimulates religion; we are not therefore surprised that the mysterious Φήμη <sup>252</sup> or Rumour, Ὀρμή <sup>216</sup> the unforeseen Impulse that arises in the mind, should here and there become objects of personal worship. Even the abnormal power of memory, highly prized by the ancient poet, suggests a goddess Mnemosyne, who came early into Greek mythology, perhaps early into the religion <sup>242</sup>.

There are other figures of wider range than most of these that reflect Greek beliefs concerning the laws of the Universe, Μοῖρα <sup>243</sup> and Τύχη <sup>250</sup>. The former is of far greater importance for Greek philosophy than Greek religion; yet the cult of the Moirai was evidently not infrequent, and at Sparta and Thebes may have been an ancient heritage. They strike us as more real personalities than many of these other forms that have just been considered; and we may be certain that they did not arise owing to the force of the conception of an over-ruling Fate, but more probably as unpretentious daimones of birth, who gave his luck or his lot to the infant, and who therefore should be invoked at marriage. That they were ever worshipped by the State in any higher, more philosophic sense than this is unlikely; it is reasonable to offer a pig <sup>243 d</sup> or a lamb to a birth-daimon, scarcely so to the Stoic Necessity or Destiny. As to Τύχη, the goddess of the Luck of the State, the first record is from Smyrna, of the sixth century; she became more prevalent in the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, helped probably by the sister-figure of the Roman Fortuna. That such a conception should have become popular shows a degeneracy both in Greek religion and Greek intellectual thought, to both of which it could only be detrimental if it possessed any reality at all. As Demokritos well said, 'Men have feigned an image of Luck, a mask of their own folly.'

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 407, Ares.

## REFERENCES FOR MINOR CULTS

### CULTS OF ELEMENTAL POWERS

<sup>1</sup> Macedonia: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 673 (Pott.) ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης γράφων τοὺς Μακεδόνων ἱερεῖς ἐν ταῖς κατευχαῖς Βέδν κατακαλεῖν ἴλεω αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύουσιν ἀέρα.

<sup>2</sup> Delphoi: Herod. 7. 178 (after battle of Artemision) οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμὸν τε ἀπέδεξαν, ἐν Θυίῃ, τῆπερ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενός ἐστι, . . . καὶ θυσίησί σφεας μετήσαν. Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται.

<sup>3</sup> Koroneia: altar of the winds, vide Hermes, R. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Athens: Herod. 7. 189 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορῆν καὶ τὴν Ὀρειθυίην τιμωρῆσαι σφί καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας . . . καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 229 C βωμὸς αὐτόθι Βορέου (on Ilissos). Hesych. s. v. Βορεασμοί: Ἀθήνησιν οἱ ἄγοντες τῷ Βορέῳ ἑορτὰς καὶ θοίνην . . . ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Βορεασμοί. Paus. 1. 37, 2<sup>o</sup> Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς. *C. I. A.* 3. 77 Ποσειδεῶνος θ' ἀνέμοις πόπανον . . . νηφάλιον (inscr. late period). Arist. *Ran.* 847:

ἄρν', ἄρνα μέλανα παῖδες ἐξενέγκετε,  
τυφῶς γὰρ ἐκβαίνειν παρασκευάζεται.

? Τριτοπάτορες: Hesych. s. v. ἀνέμους ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς γενομένους καὶ γενέσεως ἀρχηγούς (worshipped at Athens merely as ancestral powers. Cf. Photius, s. v. and *C. I. A.* 2. 1062). ? οἱ Εὐδάνεμοι: Arr. *Αναβ.* 3. 16, 8 ἐν Κεραμεικῷ . . . καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρώου, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν Θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι οἶδε τὸν Εὐδανέμον βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα. Hesych. s. v. Εὐδάνεμος· ἄγγελος, παρὰ Ἀθηναίους. Cf. *id.* s. v. Ἀνεμοκοῖται· οἱ ἀνέμους κοιμίζοντες, γένος δὲ τοιοῦτόν φασιν ὑπάρχειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

<sup>5</sup> At Titane in Sikyon: Paus. 2. 12, 1 βωμὸς ἐστὶν ἀνέμων, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὁ ἱερεὺς μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θύει. δρᾶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπόρρητα ἐς βόθρους τέσσαρας, ἡμερούμενος τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ ἄγριον καὶ δὴ καὶ Μηδείας, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐπφδὰς ἐπάδει.



<sup>6</sup> At Methana near Troizen: Paus. 2. 34, 2 "Ανεμος ὁ Λιψ βλαστανούσαις ταῖς ἀμπέλαις ἐπιπτώων . . . τὴν βλάστην σφῶν ἀφαναίνει. κατιόντος οὖν ἔτι τοῦ πνεύματος ἀλεκτρύουνα τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντα διὰ παντὸς λευκὰ διελόντες ἄνδρες δύο περιθέουσι τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἥμισυ ἐκάτερος τοῦ ἀλεκτρύονος φέρων· ἀφικόμενοι δ' ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ὕβεν ὠρήθησαν, κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα. . . . χάλαζάν γε ἤδη θυσίας εἶδον καὶ ἐπωδαῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας.

<sup>7</sup> Kleonai: Clem. *Al. Strom.* 755 (Pott.) φασὶ τοὺς ἐν Κλεωναῖς μάγους φυλάττοντας τὰ μετέωρα τῶν χαλαζοβολήσεων μελλόντων νεφῶν παράγειν τε ὤδαῖς καὶ θύμασι τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν ἀπειλήν. ἀμέλει καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀπορία ζῶου καταλάβοι, τὸν σφέτερον αἰμάξαντες δάκτυλον ἀρκούνται τῷ θύματι.

<sup>8</sup> Arcadia: Paus. 8. 29, 1 (near Trapezous) θύουσιν ἀστραπαῖς αὐτόθι καὶ θυέλλαις τε καὶ βρογαῖς (with legend of gigantomachy). Near Megalopolis, 8. 36, 6 πεποιήται δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Βορέα τῷ ἀνέμῳ τέμενος, καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται θυσίας θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ θεῶν οὐδενὸς Βορέαν ὕστερον ἄγουσιν ἐς τιμὴν.

<sup>9</sup> ? Laconia: Festus, p. 181, horses sacrificed to winds on Taygetos, vol. 4, p. 20, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Tarentum: Hesych. s. v. 'Ανεμώτας' . . . τοῖς ἀνέμοις θυόμενος ἐν Ταραντίνοισι. *Et Mag.* s. v. 'Ανεμύτας' παρὰ Ταραντίνοισι ὁ ὄνος ὁ ἀνέμοις θυόμενος.

<sup>11</sup> Thurioi: Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12. 61 ἐκ δὴ τούτων οἱ Θουρίοι τῷ Βορρᾷ καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι τὸν ἄνεμον πολίτην, καὶ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κλῆρον ἀπεκλήρωσαν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπέτελουν αὐτῷ.

<sup>12</sup> Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 357, archaic inscr. on rock by temple of Apollo Κάρνειος, Βορεαῖος.

## HELIOS AND POWERS OF LIGHT

<sup>13</sup> Homeric cult, vide Ge, R. 1-3.

<sup>14</sup> Plat. *Laws*, 10, p. 887 E ἀνατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἰόντων προκυλίσεις ἅμα καὶ προσκνήσεις ἀκούοντές τε καὶ ὀρώντες Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων.

<sup>15</sup> Lucian, *περὶ ὀρχησ.* 17 Ἴνδοι ἐπειδὴν ἔωθεν ἀναστάντες προσεύχονται τὸν Ἥλιον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες ἡγούμεθα ἐντελῆ ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν εὐχήν.

<sup>16</sup> Plut. p. 1123 A Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην οἷς πάντες ἄνθρωποι θύουσι καὶ προσεύχονται καὶ σέβονται.

<sup>17</sup> Aristoph. *Pax* 410

ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν θύομεν τοῦτοισι δὲ  
οἱ βάρβαροι θύουσι.

<sup>18</sup> Soph. *O. T.* 660 οὐ τὸν πάντων θεῶν θεὸν πρόμον Ἴλιον. *Frag.* 772

Ἡλιος οἰκτείρειέ με  
ὄν οἱ σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν  
καὶ πατέρα πάντων.

<sup>19</sup> Athenae. 693 E-F παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οἱ θύοντες τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, μέλι σπένδουσιν, οἶνον οὐ φέροντες τοῖς βωμοῖς.

<sup>20</sup> Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 100 Ἀθηναῖοι . . . νηφάλια μὲν ἱερὰ θύουσι Μνημοσύνη Μούσαις Ἡοὶ Ἡλίῳ Σελήνῃ Νύμφαις Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ.

<sup>21</sup> Athena, R. 65 (prayer to Helios among other divinities for blessings).

<sup>22</sup> Aitolia. Helios in formula of enfranchisement, *Ath. Mitth.* 4, p. 222 ἀπελευθέρωσεν ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἡλίον . . . κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλῶν νόμους.

<sup>23</sup> Apollonia: Herod. 9. 93 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρὰ Ἡλίου πρόβατα.

<sup>24</sup> Athens: vide Athena, R. 27<sup>a</sup>; Apollo, R. 241<sup>b</sup>. In Athenian oath of alliance with kings of Thrace, vide Poseidon, R. 45<sup>e</sup>. *C. I. A.* 3. 202 (small altar inscribed) Ἡλίῳ (late). *Ib.* 3. 313 (on seat in Attic theatre) ἱερείας Ἡλίου (late). *Ib.* 2. 1651 Ἡλίῳ ἀρεστῆρα κηρίον. *Delt. Arch.* 1889, p. 19 Ἡλίου ἱερίαν (second century A.D.). *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 186, small altar found at Kephissia with inscription Σελήνης (late). Cf. *C. I. A.* iii. 10. 1041, 1042, late inscriptions mentioning the ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιαδός. ? Cult of Ouranos, vide vol. 3, Ge, R. 16<sup>f</sup>, 26.

<sup>25</sup> Corinth: vide Poseidon, R. 55<sup>b</sup> (Paus. 2. 1, 6). Luc. *De Saltat.* 42 εἶθ' ἢ Κόρινθος πλέα καὶ αὕτη μύθων . . . ἔχουσα . . . καὶ Ἡλίου μάχην καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. Paus. 2. 4, 6 (on the ascent to the Akropolis) Ἡλίῳ πεποιήνται βωμοί, καὶ Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐσιέναι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll. Tyana.* 7. 10 Κορίνθου δὲ ἐπιβὰς καὶ τῷ Ἡλίῳ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ὅποσα εἰώθει δράσας. Cf. *C. I. G.* 1104.

<sup>26</sup> Sikyon: Paus. 2. 11, 2 βωμοὺς δὲ ὕψισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου, τὸν μὲν Πανὶ ᾤκοδόμησεν, Ἡλίου δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ.

<sup>27</sup> Troizen: *ib.* 2. 31, 5 Ἡλίου δὲ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότι λόγῳ δοκοῦσί μοι ποιῆσαι βωμόν, ἐκφυγόντες δουλείαν ἀπὸ Ξέρξου τε καὶ Περσῶν.

<sup>28</sup> Hermione: *ib.* 2. 34, 10 Ἡλίῳ ναός, καὶ ἄλλος Χάρισιν.

<sup>29</sup> Epidaurus: *Eph. Arch.* 1883, 3 Σελήνῃ πολυωνύμῳ (late dedication).

<sup>30</sup> Argos: Paus. 2. 18, 3 προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν Ἰναχος καὶ διαβάσιν Ἡλίου βωμός.

<sup>31</sup> Gythion: vide Zeus, R. 110<sup>b</sup> (ιερείς of Helios and Selene in the time of Marcus Aurelius).

<sup>32</sup> Taygetos: Hom. *H. Apoll.* 411

. . . χῶρον τερψιμβρότου Ἡελίοιο  
Ταίναρον, ἔνθα τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ  
Ἡελίοιο ἄνακτος, ἔχει δ' ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον.

Paus. 3. 20, 4 "Ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταυγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἡλίον καλοῦσιν ἱεράν, καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἡλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας.

<sup>33</sup> Thalamai: *ib.* 3. 26, 1 (in the temple of Ino) χαλκᾷ ἕστηκεν ἀγάλματα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασιφάης καὶ Ἡλίου τὸ ἔτερον.

<sup>34</sup> Arcadia: Selene worshipped with Pan on Mount Lykaion, vide 'Pan' R. 152.

<sup>a</sup> Mantinea: Paus. 8. 9, 4 τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἔνθα ὁ τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, καλοῦσιν Ἡλίον βωμούς.

<sup>b</sup> Tegea: *Eph. Arch.* 1906, p. 62, inscr. on altar Ἡλίου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ (circ. 100 B. C.).

<sup>c</sup> Megalopolis: Herme of Helios Σωτήρ, vide Hermes, R. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Kleitor—on coins of third century type of Helios—head radiate. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Peloponnese,' p. 179.

<sup>35</sup> Elis: Olympia, vide vol. 1, Kronos, R. 8<sup>a</sup> (common altar of Helios and Kronos). In city of Elis, Paus. 6. 24, 6 Ἡλίῳ τε πεποιήται καὶ Σελήῃ λίθου τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ τῆς μὲν κέρατα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δὲ αἰ ἀκτῖνες ἀνέχουσιν.

<sup>36</sup> Zakynthos: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Peloponnese,' p. 101, head of Helios on fourth century coins, on rev. crescent.

<sup>37</sup> Tenos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 7, p. 253, stone inscribed Ἡλιοσαρπήδονος (Roman Per.).

<sup>38</sup> Rhodes. Horses sacrificed to Helios (?). Vide vol. 4, p. 20. n. b. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 126:

Βλάστε μὲν ἐξ ἄλδς ὑγρᾶς  
νᾶσος, ἔχει δὲ νιν ὀξειᾶν ὁ γενέθλιος ἀκτίνων πατήρ,  
πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸς ἵππων.

Diod. Sic. 5. 56 νομισθῆναι τὴν νῆσον ἱεράν Ἡλίου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένους Ῥοδίου διατελέσαι περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τιμῶντας τὸν Ἡλίον ὡς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν. Athenae. 561 E Θεσπιεῖς τε τὰ Ἐρωτίδια τιμῶσι καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖα Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ὀλύμπια Ἡλείοι Ῥόδιοί τε τὰ Ἀλία. Strab. 652 ἄριστα δὲ ὅ τε τοῦ Ἡλίου κολοσσός, ὃν φησιν

ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἱαμβεῖον ὅτι 'ἐπτάκις δέκα Χάρης ἐποίηε πήχεων ὁ Λίνδιος.' Vide *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 58, &c., for the 'Ἀλῆια at Rhodes: cf. *ib.* 892 Λάκων 'Υακινθίου τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα 'Αλίφ ἔριφον λευκὸν ἢ πυρρὸν θύεται καὶ χορεύεται. Worshipped with 'Ηλεκτρύωνη at Ialysos, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 349.

<sup>30</sup> Kos: *Arch. Anz.* 1905, p. 12, small shrine dedicated to Helios and Hemera: Helios on coins of Kos second century B. C. Vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Caria,' p. 204.

<sup>40</sup> Crete: *C. I. G.* 2558 (in oath of alliance between Dreros and Knossos) ὀμνῶ . . . τὸν Ἄλιον . . . καὶ κράνας καὶ ποταμούς καὶ θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. Paus. 5. 25, 9 τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεὶ γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάης. Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 6. 60 Gortynam, oppidum Cretae, ubi fuerant aliquando solis armenta.

<sup>41</sup> Sinope: *Amer. J. Arch.* 1905, p. 323, stone found on Akropolis inscribed Θέμις, Ἥλιος, Σελήνη, Ἐρμῆς Ὑδροχόος, Σείριος.

<sup>42</sup> Tralles: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904, p. 81 Ταυρεανὸν ἱερέα Ἡλίου. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 8, p. 332, games called Ἄλεια mentioned in late inscriptions found at Tralles and at Philadelpheia. Cf. *C. I. G.* 3416, 3427, 3428. Vide Apollo, R. 31<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Smyrna: vide Apollo, R. 31<sup>k</sup>. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' p. 293: heads of Helios and Selene on coins of Severus Alexander.

<sup>44</sup> Pergamon: *Ath. Mitth.* 1907, p. 357, cosmic hymn to Helios in style of Euripides.

<sup>45</sup> Erythrai: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' Pl. XV. 20, head of Helios on coins of Rhodian standard (third century B. C.).

<sup>46</sup> Magnesia on Maiandros, *ib.* Pl. XIX. 6 (first century B. C.).

<sup>47</sup> Astyra in Caria: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Caria,' p. 60, Pl. X, 5, 6, head of Helios (? Apollo) 4th cent. B. C.

<sup>48</sup> Knidos: *C. I. G.* 2653 (age of Antonines) ἱερεὺς Ἡλίου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐνφανεστάτου θεοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ δαμιουργοῦ. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Caria,' p. 95, head of Helios [?] on coins of second century B. C.

<sup>49</sup> Halikarnassos: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Caria,' pp. 106-107, Helios on coins of first century B. C.

<sup>50</sup> Aphrodisias: *ib.* p. 38, Helios on coins of Roman period.

<sup>51</sup> Thyateira: vide Apollo, R. 31<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Ankyra: *C. I. G.* 4042 Διὶ Ἡλίφ Μεγάλφ Σαράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς τοὺς σωτήρας Διοσκούρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων σωτηρίας (age of Antonines).

- <sup>53</sup> Patara in Lykia: vide Apollo, R. 31<sup>f</sup>.
- <sup>54</sup> Pisidia: Termessos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 299 *ιερασάμενον πρῶτον Ἡλίου* (late). Oinoanda, *C. I. G.* 4380<sup>t</sup> *μηθεὶς κακουργήσῃ τὸ μνημεῖον, εἰ δέ τις κακουργήσῃ ἤτω ἔνοχος Ἡλίῳ Σελήνῃ.*
- <sup>55</sup> Cilicia: Mopsuestia, *C. I. G.* add. 4443<sup>b</sup> *Φιλοκλής . . . ἀρχιτέκτων θεῶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ.*
- <sup>56</sup> Sicily: Syracuse, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Sicily,'* p. 229. Helios on coins of Roman period (on rev. ? Osiris).
- <sup>57</sup> Italy: Metaponton, vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v. 'Italy.'* *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Italy,'* p. 261. Helios on coins of third century B. C. Tarentum, *ib.* p. 164, head of Helios, B. C. 330-272.

## WORSHIP OF RIVERS

- <sup>58</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20. 4:  
 Ζεὺς δὲ Θέμιστα κέλευσε θεοὺς ἀγορήνδε καλέσσαι  
 . . .  
 οὔτε τις οὖν ποταμῶν ἀπέην, νόσφ' Ὀκεανοῖο,  
 οὔτ' ἄρα Νυμφάων, αἳ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται  
 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεια ποιήεντα.
- Cf. vol. 3, Ge, R. 2. Hom. *Il.* 5. 77:  
 . . . Δολοπίονος, ὅς ῥα Σκαμάνδρου  
 ἀρητήρ ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὧς τίετο δήμῳ.
- ib.* 21. 130:  
 οὐδ' ὑμῖν ποταμός περ εὐρροὸς ἀργυροδίνης  
 ἀρκέσει, ᾗ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους,  
 ζωὸς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.
- Vide vol. 4, Poseidon, R. 112<sup>a</sup> (Pylian sacrifice to Alpheios).
- <sup>59</sup> Hesiod. \*Erg. 737:  
 Μηδέ ποτ' ἀενάων ποταμῶν καλλίρρον ὕδωρ  
 ποσσὶ περᾶν, πρὶν γ' εὔξῃ ἰδῶν ἐς καλὰ ρέεθρα,  
 χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολυηράτῳ ὕδατι λευκῷ.
- <sup>60</sup> Macr. *Sat.* 5. 18, § 6 (quoting Ephoros) τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ποταμοῖς οἱ πλησιόχωροι μόνοι θύουσιν, τὸν δὲ Ἀχελῶον μόνον πάντας ἀνθρώπους συμβέβηκε τιμᾶν . . . σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν ᾗπασιν αὐτοῖς [τοῖς ἐκ Δωδώνης χρησμοῖς] προστάττειν ὁ θεὸς εἴωθεν Ἀχελῶφ θύειν. Cf. Demeter, R. 42<sup>a</sup>, vol. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Max. Tyr. 8. ἰ ἔστι που καὶ ποταμῶν τιμή, ἢ κατ' ὠφέλειαν ὡσπερ Αἴγυπτίους πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον, ἢ κατὰ κάλλος ὡς Θετταλοῖς πρὸς τὸν Πηνειόν, ἢ κατὰ μέγεθος ὡς Σκύθαις πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἢ κατὰ μῦθον ὡς Αἰτωλοῖς πρὸς Ἀχελῶον, ἢ κατὰ νομὸν ὡς Σπαρτιάταις πρὸς τὸν Εὐρώταν, ἢ κατὰ τελετὴν ὡς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Ἴλισσόν.

<sup>62</sup> Euxine and Thrace: Istros, head of river-god bearded and horned on coins before Alexander, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 235. Olbia, on fourth century coins, head of river-god Borysthene bearded and horned, *ib.* p. 233.

<sup>63</sup> Macedonia: Herod. 8. 138 ποταμὸς δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἀργεὸς ἀπόγονοι Σωτήρι. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Macedon,' pp. 12, 47, head of young river-god (? Strymon) with horns and reed-crown on coins of Amphipolis, second century B. C. For cult of Strymon vide vol. 4, Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Macedonia.

<sup>64</sup> Thessaly: Spercheios: Hom. *Il.* 23. 144:

Σπερχεῖ', ἄλλως σοὶ γε πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεΐς,  
κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν  
σοὶ τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην,  
πεντήκοντα δ' ἔνορχα παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν  
ἐς πηγάς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος βωμός τε θυεῖς.

<sup>65</sup> Akarnania: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Thessaly,' pp. 168-169, on coins of fourth century B. C. and later, head and neck of man-headed bull.

<sup>66</sup> Ambrakia: *ib.* p. 95, same type, referring to Acheloös cult.

<sup>67</sup> Delphoi: ? Pleistos, vide vol. 4, Poseidon, R. 33.

<sup>68</sup> Oropos: Paus. 1. 34, 3 (of altar of Amphiaraios) πέμπτη δὲ [μοῖρα] πεποῖται Νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχελῳφὸς καὶ Κηφισῶ.

<sup>69</sup> Attica: Paus. 1. 37, 3 (on banks of Kephisos near Athens) τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κειρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ. Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1261 ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 2. 33 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν ἄνδρα μὲν δεικνύουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, κέρατα δὲ ὑποφαίνοντα. *Ilissos: C. I. A.* 1. 210, inscr. of temple-revenues, fifth century B. C., Ἴλισσοῦ, cf. 273. Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B Νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελῳφὸν ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἕοικεν εἶναι: cult of Acheloös in the cave on Parnes, vide *Erh. Arch.* 1905, p. 113 (cf. Pl. IV, p. 35, cult-monuments of Hermes).

<sup>70</sup> Near Megara: Paus. 1. 41, 2 Θεαγένης, ὃς τότε ἐτυράννει, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐτέρωσε τρέψας βωμὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀχελῳφὸς ἐποίησε. Sikyon and Laconia, vide R. 74.

<sup>71</sup> Argolis: Paus. 2. 20, 6 (in Argos) τῷ Κηφισῷ πεποιήται τὸ ἱερόν. Aesch. *Choeph.* 6 πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον. Herod. 6. 76 τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἦδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασίῳ καλέεσθαι ἀπικόμενος δ' ὢν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον, ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐκαλλιέρεε διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίῳ οὐ προδιδόντος τὰς πολιήτας. Vide 'Elis.'

<sup>72</sup> Arcadia: Paus. 8. 24, 12 Ψωφιδίους δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρμάνθῳ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἐρμάνθου καὶ ἄγαλμα. Ποιεῖται δὲ πλὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου Νείλου ποταμοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα. Cf. R. 74. *Ib.* 8. 41, 3 καθότι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ἡ Νέδα Φιγαλέων τῆς πόλεως γίνεται, κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ Φιγαλέων παῖδες ἀποκείρονται τῷ ποταμῷ τὰς κόμας. Mantinea, Roehl. dedication, *I. G. A.* 104 Ἀχελῷῳ. Cf. 'Elis.'

<sup>73</sup> Messenia: Paus. 4. 3, 10 Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμίσῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον θύειν τὸν βασιλεύοντα.

<sup>74</sup> Elis: vide vol. 2, Artemis, R. 4 (sacrifice to Alpheus and Artemis at Olympia). Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 11. 58 Τιμάσας πορὸν Ἀλφειοῦ μετὰ δώδεκ' ἀνάκτων θεῶν. Schol. *ib.* ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βωμὸς οὐ δύναται ἐξ ἄλλου ὕδατος γενέσθαι (Heynius conj. ράινεσθαι) εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 2. 33 Βουσι μὲν οὖν εἰκάζουσιν οἱ Στυμφάλιοι μὲν τὸν Ἐρασίῳ καὶ τὴν Μετώπην, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὸν Εὐρώταν· Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ καὶ Φλιάσιοι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τὸν Κηφισόν. ἐν εἶδει δὲ ἀνδρῶν Ψωφίδιοι τὸν Ἐρμάνθον τὸν δὲ Ἀλφειὸν Ἡραιεῖς.

<sup>75</sup> Mykonos: Dittenb. *Sylog.* 373. 35 Ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἐβδόμη ἱσταμένου Ἀχελῷῳ τέλειον καὶ δέκα ἄρνες τούτων τρία, τέλειον καὶ ἕτερα δύο πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ θύειν, τὰ ἄλλα εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν (Macedonian period).

<sup>76</sup> Crete: vide supra, R. 40. Plin. *N. H.* 31. 54 In Coryco monte amnis erupit posteaque coeptus est coli.

#### Asia Minor.

<sup>77</sup> Troad: cult of Skamandros, vide supra, R. 58. Cf. Aeschin. *Erist.* 10 νενομίσται δὲ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῆ τὰς γαμουμένας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ λουσαμένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο ὡσπερ ἱερόν τι ἐπιλέγειν· 'λαβέ μου Σκάμανδρε τὴν παρθενίαν.'

<sup>78</sup> Mysia: Kaikos, Aesch. Frag. Μυσοί (Suidas, s. v. Ὀργεῶνες . . . Αἰσχύλος ἐν Μυσοῖς, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Καΐκου προσαγορεύων)

ποταμοῦ Καΐκου χαῖρε πρῶτος ὄργεῶν,  
εὐχαῖς δὲ σφύζοις δεσπότης παιωνίας.

<sup>79</sup> Erythrai: Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, no. 600, l. 21, inscr. mentioning ἱερθεῖαν ποταμοῦ Ἀλέοντος.

<sup>80</sup> Magnesia on Maiandros: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 501, 'bull butting, around a Maeander pattern,' coin-type B. c. 350-300, probably symbol of the river, vide Gardner, *Greek River-Worship* in 'Transactions of Royal Society,' 1878, p. 30.

<sup>81</sup> Smyrna: river Meles, *C. I. G.* 3165 (referring to the pestilence in the time of M. Aurelius)

Ὑμῶ θεὸν Μέλητα, τὸν σωτήρά μου,  
παντός με λοιμοῦ καὶ κακοῦ πεπαυμένου.

<sup>82</sup> Phrygia: river Euros, vide vol. 4, Poseidon, R. 97.

<sup>83</sup> Lykia: river Xanthos, *C. I. G.* 4275, inscr. from Xanthos, ἱερευσάμενος θεοῦ Ξάνθου (? river-god) Rom. Imp.

<sup>84</sup> Sicily: Ael. *Var. Hist.* 2. 33 καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ Συρακούσιοι μὲν τὸν Ἄναπτον ἀνδρὶ εἴκασαν, τὴν δὲ κυανῆν πηγὴν γυναικὸς εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν, Αἰγυσταῖοι δὲ τὸν Πόρπακα καὶ τὸν Κριμισσόν, καὶ τὸν Τελμισσόν ἀνδρῶν εἶδει τιμῶσιν. Ἄκραγαντίοι δὲ τὸν ἐπόνυμιον τῆς πόλεως ποταμὸν παιδὶ ὠραίῳ εἰκάσαντες θύουσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέθεσαν, ἐλέφαντος διαγλύψαντες ἄγαλμα, καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄνομα καὶ παιδὸς ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Himeras: *C. I. G.* 5747 Ἄσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἰμέρα ποταμῶ ὁ δᾶμος . . . Σωτήρσι. Types of river-deities on autonomous coins of Sicily: Adranon, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 103, head of young river-god, horned (fourth century). Alontion, *ib.* p. 111, man-headed bull spouting water from its mouth. Assorus, *ib.* p. 111, river-god Chrysas (inscribed) naked, standing, with amphora and cornucopia (cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 4. 44 Chrysas est amnis qui per Assorinorum agros fluit. Is apud illos habetur deus, et religione maxima colitur. Fanum eius est in agro propter ipsam viam qua Assoro itur Ennam. In eo Chryssae est simulacrum, praeclare factum e marmore). Entella, Head, *ib.* p. 119, man-headed bull = river Hypsas (early fifth century). Gela, *ib.* p. 121, river Gelas as man-headed bull with water-bird, or with youthful or bearded human head with tainia or corn-wreath (on one type with three fishes around). Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 185 τὸν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει δεικνύμενον (ταῦρον) μὴ εἶναι τοῦ Φαλάριδος, καθάπερ ἡ πολλῶν κατέχει δόξα, ἀλλ' εἰκόνα Γέλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ (from Timaios). Leontini, Head, *ib.* p. 131, 'naked river-god, Lissus (?), holding branch and sacrificing at altar, behind corn-grain' (fifth century). Kamarina, *ib.* p. 113, 'horned head of youthful river-god, Hipparis, sometimes facing and surrounded by an undulating border of waves with fish in the field.' Katana, *ib.* p. 114, 'man-headed bull, with one knee bent; beneath, fish, pistrix, or floral ornament; above, sometimes branch, waterfowl, or kneeling Seilenos' (early fifth century) = the river-god Amenanos: human type towards end of



fifth century, p. 116, 'young head of Amenanos horned, with lank loose hair, three-quarter face. Around two river-fishes.' Naxos, *ib.* p. 140, 'young horned head of river-god Assinos' (415-403 B.C.). Piakos (? near Etna), *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Sicily'*, p. 130, young river-god with horns and pointed ears, wearing olive-crown, circ. 420 B.C. Segesta: ? dog on coin-types of fifth century, non-hellenic emblem of river Krimissos, vide Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 36; Head, *op. cit.* p. 145. Selinous, Head, p. 147, 'river-god Selinus, naked, with short horns, holding patera and lustral branch, sacrificing at an altar of Asklepios, in front of which is a cock' (? allusion to the pestilence cured by Empedokles), fifth century B.C. Another type, *ib.* p. 148, 'river-god Hypsas sacrificing before altar around which a serpent twines. He holds branch and patera. Behind him a marsh-bird (stork) is seen departing,' fifth century B.C. On another fifth century type, 'head of young river-god Selinus with bull's ear and horn.' Stiela or Styella, *ib.* p. 150, 'forepart of man-headed bull' (circ. 415-405 B.C.). Tauromenion, *ib.* p. 165, 'bull, often man-headed, walking. Symbol, grapes (more likely a river-god than, as Head supposes, Dionysos).

<sup>85</sup> Italy: Laos, head of young river-god horned, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Italy'*, p. 237 (early fourth century). Kroton, *ib.* p. 356, young head of river-god Aisaros. Metaponton, Head, *op. cit.* p. 63, 'River Acheloüs in human form, bearded, and with bull's horns and ears, standing facing, holding patera and long reed,' inscribed 'Ἀχελῷου ἄεθλον (fifth century B.C.). Pandosia, p. 90, 'river Krathis naked, standing holding patera and olive-branch.' For the man-headed bull on coins of Campania and Magna Graecia, vide 'Dionysos,' p. 251.

## MARINE DIVINITIES

<sup>86</sup> Amphitrite: Arrian, *Κυνηγ.* 35 ὅσοι ναυτίλλονται . . . ἀνασωθέντες χαριστήρια θύουσι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς θαλασσίοις, Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Νηρηΐσιν.

<sup>87</sup> Macedonia, vide vol. 4, Poseidon, R. 16.

<sup>88</sup> Lesbos: Poseidon, R. 111.

<sup>89</sup> Tenos: Poseidon, R. 76; cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, p. 417 Διομήδης καὶ Ἀριστιῶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστέα Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ.

<sup>90</sup> Crete: *C. I. G.* 2554 (in oath of alliance between Latous and Olous) Ὁμνῶ . . . τὰν Ἀμφιτρίταν.

<sup>91</sup> Thetis-cult in Thessaly. Strab. 431 ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετίδειον ἔστι πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἄμφου. Cf. Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 741 (Kayser, vol. 2, p. 208), invocation-hymn to Thetis in hero-cult of Achilles. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 76 Θετίς δὲ κρατεῖ Φθία.

<sup>92</sup> At Erythrai: Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 600. 50 αἶδε ἐπράθησαν ἱερητεῖαι . . . Ἀχιλλέως, Θετίδος, Νηρεΐδων (circ. 278 B.C.).

<sup>93</sup> Glaukos-cult at Chalkis in Euboia: *Eph. Arch.* 1902, p. 31 Γλαύκω ἄμνος (ἱερὸς νόμος concerning Attic colony in Euboea, fifth century).

### CULTS OF NYMPHS

<sup>94</sup> Artemid. 2. 38 Ποταμοὶ δὲ καὶ λίμναι καὶ Νύμφαι (αἱ ἐφνυδριάδες) ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς παῖδων γονήν (cf. vol. 3, Demeter, R. 160<sup>d</sup>, vol. 4, Apollo, R. 5, 44).

<sup>95</sup> Hom. *Od.* 13. 356:

Νύμφαι νηϊάδες, κοῦραι Διός, οὗ ποτ' ἐγὼ γε  
ὄψεσθ' ὕμν' ἐφάμην· νῦν δ' εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσι  
χαίρετ' ἀτὰρ καὶ δῶρα διδώσομεν, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.

<sup>96</sup> Hom. *Od.* 13. 103 (near the harbour of Ithaka):

ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἱεροειδές,  
ἱρὸν νυμφάων αἰ νηϊάδες καλέονται.  
ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τέ καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασι  
λαῖνοι . . .  
ἐν δ' ἴστοι λίθιοι περιμήκεες, ἔνθα τε νύμφαι  
φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα . . .  
. . . δῦω δὲ τέ οἱ θύραι εἰσὶν . . .

<sup>97</sup> Hom. *Od.* 17. 208:

Ἄμφι δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατορρεφέων ἦν ἄλσος,  
πάντοσε κυκλοτερές, κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ  
ὑψόθεν ἐκ πέτρης· βωμὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο  
νυμφάων ὄθι πάντες ἐπιρρέεσκον ὀδίται.

Cf. *Od.* 14. 422 (Hermes, R. 85<sup>c</sup>, swine-sacrifice). *Ib.* 17. 240 Νύμφαι κρηναῖαι. Cf. Dionysos, R. 32, 61<sup>e</sup> for association of Dionysos with water-nymphs.

<sup>98</sup> Thrace: vide vol. 4, Apollo, R. 21. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897, p. 119, shrine of nymphs discovered in Bulgaria on the ancient Hebros, with ex voto dedications Θεαῖς Νύμφαις, Κυρίαῖς Νύμφαις, ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας. Rom. Imp. period.

<sup>99</sup> Apollonia in Illyria: Strab. 316 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν καλεῖται τι νυμφαῖον. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907, p. 434 Νυμφαῖα τὰ ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ, mentioned in lists of 'agones' in Delian inscr. second century B.C. Dio Cass. 41. 45 αὐτό τε Νυμφαῖον ὀνομάζεται καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντεῖον τοῖονδε τι παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν δὴ λαβῶν καὶ προσευξάμενος ὁ, τι ποτὲ καὶ βούλει ῥίπτεις (ἐς τὸ πῦρ) τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα.

<sup>100</sup> Oita in Lokris: Anton. Liber. *Transf.* 32 (from Nikander) Ἀμφισσὸς δὲ . . . ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Νυμφῶν καὶ πρῶτος ἀγῶνα ἐπέτελεσε δρόμον, καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὸν ἀγῶνα διαφυλάσσουσι τοῦτον.

<sup>101</sup> Phokis: cult in the Corycian cave on Parnassos. Paus. 10. 32. 7 ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρυκίων τε εἶναι Νυμφῶν καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἡγούνται. Cf. *C. I. G.* 1728 dedication found there συμπεριπόλῳ Πανὶ Νύμφαις (third century B.C.).

<sup>102</sup> Boiotia.

<sup>a</sup> On Helikon: Strab. 410 ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ τό τε τῶν Μουσῶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἡ Ἴππου κρήνη καὶ τὸ τῶν Λειβηθρίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον. Paus. 9. 34, 4 Κορωνείας δὲ σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ὄρος ἀπέχει τὸ Διβήθριον ἄγαλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Νυμφῶν ἐπίκλησίν ἐστι Διβηθρίων.

<sup>b</sup> On Mt. Kithairon: Plut. Aristid. 11 Ἀριστείδους πέμψαντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς Ἀθηναίους καθυπερτέρους ἔσσεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων εὐχομένους τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Κιθαιρωνίᾳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις Σφραγίτισι. Paus. 9. 3, 9 νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἄντρον Κιθαιρωνίδων Σφραγίδιον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον, μαντεύεσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτόθι ἔχει λόγος. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 1. 10, p. 628 F (after the battle of Plataia) ταῖς Σφραγίτισι Νύμφαις τὴν ἐπιπέδιον καὶ πυθόχρηστον ἀπήγον Αἰαντίδα θυσίαν εἰς Κιθαιρώνα, τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρεχούσης αὐτοῖς.

<sup>c</sup> Kyrtone: Paus. 9. 24, 4 Ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀνερχόμενον νυμφῶν δὲ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ καὶ ἄλλος οὐ μέγα ἐστίν.

<sup>d</sup> Lebadeia: *C. I. G. Sept.* 3092, 3094, private dedications on rock near cave to Pan, Nymphs, Dionysos.

<sup>e</sup> ? Thebes: *C. I. G. Sept.* 2453 inscr. on a pillar ἱερὸν Νυμφῶν.

<sup>103</sup> Korkyra (?): vide vol. 4, Apollo 8 b.

<sup>104</sup> Attica.

<sup>a</sup> Athens (vide supra, R. 20). *C. I. A.* 2. 1671, altar found on south slope of Akropolis, vide Hermes, R. 10. On hill of Nymphs, inscription of fifth century cut on rock. *C. I. A.* 1. 503 ἱερὸν Νυμφ[ῶν] δημό[σιον]. *C. I. A.* 3. 320 (late Roman period), inscr. on seat of theatre Ὑμητριῶν Νύσας Νύμφης, cf. 351. 369 . . . Πανδήμου Νύμφης. Altar of Nymphs with Dionysos Ὀρθός in temple of the Hours, Dionysos, R. 17. Shrine? on banks of Ilissos, vide supra, R. 69.

<sup>b</sup> At Phlye, altar of the Νύμφαι Ἴσμηνίδες, vide Dionysos, R. 21.

<sup>c</sup> On Hymettos, in cave of Vari, vide vol. 4, Apollo, R. 20. Cf. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 10. 21 (legend of Plato's infancy) *θύοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι ἐν Ὑμητῷ ταῖς Μούσαις ἢ ταῖς Νύμφαις.*

<sup>d</sup> Phyle : Harpokrat. *s.v.* Φυλή. Μένανδρος Δυσκόλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς νομίζειτ' εἶναι τὸν τόπον Φυλήν, τὸ Νυμφαῖον δ' ὅθεν προέρχομαι Φυλασίον = the stylactite grotto on Parnes. Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1906, p. 108, dedication on oinochoe found there Ἐργασίον [Πανί? ἀν]έθηκε καὶ Νύμφαις. *C. I. A.* 3. 210, inscr. found by Ross in the Νυμφαῖον on Parnes mentioning the νεῶν τοῦ Πανός (late period).

<sup>e</sup> Oropos : vide supra, R. 68.

<sup>105</sup> Laconia : district of Karyai consecrated to the Nymphs and Artemis, vide vol. 2, Artemis, R. 7.

<sup>106</sup> Elis : Strab. 343 μεστή ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀρτεμισίων τε καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ νυμφαίων ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἀνθέων πλέως τὸ πολὺ διὰ τὴν εὐνδρίαν. Paus. 5. 15, 6 (within the hippodrome of the Alis) Νυμφῶν βωμὸς ἄς Ἀκμηνὰς καλοῦσιν. *Ib.* 5. 14, 10 πρὸς τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος . . . Μουσῶν καὶ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ βωμὸς. Cf. vol. 3, Demeter, R. 118 (wineless offerings to Nymphs). At the village Herakleia : Paus. 6. 22, 7 πηγὴ δὲ ἐκιδούσα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ.

<sup>107</sup> Arcadia : Paus. 8. 38, 9 Τοῦ Λυκαίου τὰ πρὸς τῆς ἄρκτου γῆ ἢ Θεισοαία· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα οἱ ταύτῃ Νύμφην τὴν Θεισοᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ (Theisoa with other Arcadian nymphs carved on the altar of Athena Alea at Tegea).

The islands.

<sup>108</sup> Thasos : sacrifice to the Nymphs, Charites, and Apollo Νυμφηγέτης, vide vol. 4, Apollo, R. 274<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Lesbos : Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐννησιάδες, Νύμφαι παρὰ Λεσβίοις.

<sup>110</sup> Mykonos : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 625 Διὶ Διμερανῷ καὶ θεαῖς Νύμφαις φιλούμενος Νευεκράτης καὶ Φιλοκλῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων κατεσκεύασαν (late period). Dittenb. *Syll.* 373. 35.

<sup>111</sup> Kos : Paton and Hicks, 44 τοῖδε ἐστεφανώθην ἀρχεύσαντες καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἐχθύσαντες κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ταῖς Νύμφαις καὶ δεξάμενοι τὸς φυλέτας ἀξίως τῶν θεῶν.

<sup>112</sup> Astypalaia : *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 3. 199 [Νυμφῶν κ]αὶ νομίοιο θεοῦ, ξένη, τάνδε καλιὰν . . . αἰγυβάτα τοῦδε θεοῦ τέμενος.

<sup>113</sup> Naxos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 9, p. 500 Νυμφέων Μυχιέων (? fourth century B. C.).

<sup>114</sup> Paros: Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.* Add. 828<sup>a</sup> Βωμόν δορποφόρον ταῖς Νύμφαισιν μ' ἀνέθηκεν (Roman period).

<sup>115</sup> Samos: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἄστυ Νυμφέων τὴν Σάμον Ἀνακρέων. Cf. vol. 4, Apollo, R. 21.

<sup>116</sup> Siphnos: *C. I. G.* Add. 2423<sup>c</sup> Νυφέων ἱερόν (sixth century B. C.).

<sup>117</sup> Thera: *C. I. G. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* 'Thera,' 378 Ἰλλέων Νύμφαι . . . δοιαί· οὐκ ἀποφορά (third century B. C.?). Cf. *ib.* 377 Δυμάνων (?) Νύμφαι.

<sup>118</sup> Rhodes: for the Νύμφαι Τελχιαίαι, vide vol. 1, Hera, R. 69.

<sup>119</sup> Crete: vide Hermes, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* 'Crete.' Cf. the cult of the Μητέρες in Crete, vol. 3, p. 385, R. 38<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Cyprus: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐνδηίδες αἱ Νύμφαι, ἐν Κύπρῳ.

Asia Minor.

<sup>121</sup> Troad: vide Hermes, R. 12. Paus. 10. 12, 6 (near the grave of the Sibyl) ὕδωρ τε κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην καὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἔστι τὰ ἀγάλματα.

<sup>122</sup> Pergamon: vide Hermes, R. 13.

<sup>123</sup> Knidos: vide vol. 4, Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* 'Knidos.'

<sup>124</sup> Antiocheia on the Orontes: Liban. *Or.* 11. 202 (p. 339 R.) Νυμφῶν ἱερόν οὐρανόμενες λίθων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κίωνων χρῶαις καὶ γραφῆς αἴγλη καὶ ναμάτων πλοῦτος πάντα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπιστρέφον.

<sup>125</sup> Palestine: *C. I. G.* 4616, inscr. found at village Suweida Ἀυτοκράτορι Νερούα Τραϊανῶ Καίσαρι . . . τὸ Νυμφαῖον ἀφιέρωσεν . . . ἢ πόλις, τὸν ἀγωγὸν τῶν ὑδάτων.

<sup>126</sup> Caesarea-Philippi: Hermes, R. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Kyrene: vide Dionysos, R. 105.

<sup>128</sup> Sicily: Athenae. p. 250 A ἔθους ὄντος κατὰ Σικελίαν θυσίας ποιείσθαι κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ταῖς Νύμφαις καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα παννυχίζειν μεθυσκομένους ὀρχεῖσθαι τε περὶ τὰς θεάς (from Timaios). Types of Nymphs common on coins of Sicily, vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Sicily': e. g. at Thermai Himerai, *ib.* p. 240, female head with short horns bound with reeds, on reverse three simulacra with Pan dancing before them; Gardner, *River-Worship*, p. 44, interprets them as three nymphs of the springs (circ. 400 B. C.).

<sup>129</sup> Italy: Anton. Liber. 31 (from Nikandros) in the land of the Messapioi τὸ ἱερόν τῶν Νυμφῶν (τῶν Ἐπιμηλίων), ὁ δὲ τόπος ὀνομάζεται Νυμφῶν τε καὶ παίδων.

## CULTS OF THE HORAI

<sup>130</sup> Athens: vide vol. 4, Apollo, 241<sup>b</sup> (participation in the Thargelia): Auxo, Thallo, Hegemone, in the oath of the Epheboi, vol. 1, Athena, R. 25<sup>c</sup>: Pandrosos Athena, R. 26. Athenae. 656 A Ἀθηναῖοι δ', ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος, ταῖς Ὠραῖς θύοντες οὐκ ὀπτῶσιν ἀλλ' ἔψουσι τὰ κρέα. Cf. infra, R. 134.

<sup>131</sup> Argos: Paus. 2. 20, 5 Ὠρῶν ἱερόν ἐστιν.

<sup>132</sup> Megalopolis: *ib.* 8. 31, 3, [in the temple of the Μεγάλοι θεαί] κείται τράπεζα . . . ἐπειρασμένοι τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ δύο τέ εἰσιν Ὠραὶ καὶ ἔχων Πὰν σύριγγα καὶ Ἀπόλλων κιθαρίζων. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι σφᾶς θεῶν τῶν πρώτων.

<sup>133</sup> Elis: altar near Aphrodite's in the Altis, vide vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 34<sup>c</sup>. Cf. *ib.* R. 94 for their association with Aphrodite: with Demeter, vol. 3, Demeter, R. 33<sup>a</sup>.

## CULTS OF THE CHARITES

<sup>134</sup> Paus. 9. 35, 1 τὸν δὲ Ἐτεοκλέα λέγουσιν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ Χάρισιν ἀνθρώπων θῦσαι πρῶτον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τρεῖς εἶναι Χάριτας κατεστήσατο ἴσασιν, ὀνόματα δὲ οἷα ἔθετο αὐταῖς οὐ μνημονεύουσιν· ἐπεὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γε εἶναι Χάριτας δύο καὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἰδρύσασθαι τὸν Ταυγέτης φασὶν αὐτάς, καὶ ὀνόματα θέσθαι Κλήταν καὶ Φάενναν. . . . τιμῶσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Χάριτας Αὐξῶ καὶ Ἠγεμόνην· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Καρπούς ἐστὶν οὐ Χάριτος ἀλλ' Ὠρας ὄνομα. τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν Ὠρῶν νέμουσιν ὁμοῦ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ τιμὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Θαλλῶ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζοντες. παρὰ δὲ Ἐτεοκλέους τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου μαθόντες τρισὶν ἤδη νομίζομεν Χάρισιν εὔχεσθαι. . . . καὶ Ἀθήνησι πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκροπολιν ἐσόδου Χάριτές εἰσι καὶ αὐταὶ τρεῖς· παρὰ δὲ αὐταῖς τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπόρητον. Cf. Athena, R. 25<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> Orchomenos in Boiotia, vide vol. 1, p. 17, R. 13. Strab. 414 Ἐτεοκλῆς δέ, τῶν βασιλευσάντων ἐν Ὀρχομενῶ τις, Χαρίτων ἱερόν ἰδρυσάμενος πρῶτος. Pind. *Ol.* 14. 1 Καφισίων ἰδάτων λαχοῖσαι αἶτε ναίετε καλλιπῶλον ἔδραν, ᾧ λιπαρὰς αἰδίμοι βασιλειαὶ Χάριτες Ὀρχομενοῦ, παλαιγόνων Μινυῶν ἐπίσκοποι. Schol. *Il.* 9. 381 πολὺ δὲ τούτῳ [Ὀρχομενῶ] παράκειται πεδίον, εἰ πιστός ἐστιν Ἐφορός, πλήρες πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ταῖς ἐκείσε τιμωμένας Χάρισι πέμπουσιν οἱ περίοικοι. *C. I. G. Serbt.* 3207 Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν τῆς Χαρίτεσσι κατὰ μαντεῖαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος (third century B.C.). Cf. *ib.* 3196–3197, list of victors and contests (all musical or poetical) in the Χαριτήσια (second century B.C.). ? Delphoi: Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14. 16 παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνί φησι καθέζεσθαι τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκίωτητα. ἐν γοῦν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰσὶν ἰδρυμένοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

<sup>135 a</sup> Elateia: vide vol. 4, Poseidon, R. 32 Χάριτες in enfranchisement contract.

<sup>136</sup> Athens: vide supra, R. 134. Cf. Hermes, R. 21<sup>a</sup>, vol. 2, Artemis, R. 73; associated with Hekate and Hermes on the Akropolis, vol. 2, Hekate, R. 15; with Demos, after third century B. C.; temple of Demos and Charites north of Theseum, vide *Delt. Arch.* 1891, p. 43, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, pp. 346, 350. *C. I. A.* 2. 467, epheboi inscr., circ. 100 B. C. *καλλιερήσαντες μετὰ τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων*—their temenos the depository of decrees of thanks, e. g. *C. I. A.* 4. 385<sup>c</sup>, 432<sup>b</sup>, 20. At Eleusis: vide vol. 3, Demeter, R. 176. ? In the cave of Vari on Hymettos, in the dedication of Archidemos, Χάριτο(s), fifth century B. C., vide vol. 4, Apollo, R. 20. Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 109 (late inscr. from Eleusis) *ἱερεὺς συγκλήτου Ῥώμης καὶ Δήμου καὶ Χαρίτων*. Cf. vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 117<sup>i</sup> (Charites associated with Aphrodite Ἡγεμόνη τοῦ Δήμου, circ. 200 B. C.). Inscription, ? from Attica, mentioned in *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 32 *Διονυσία Ἡφαιστιώσος τῇ Ἀρίστη ἱερεία τῆς Ἀθήνας Βουλαίας καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων*.

<sup>137</sup> Argos: vide vol. 1, Hera, R. 17<sup>c</sup>. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. I, xi.

<sup>138</sup> Hermione: vide supra, R. 28.

<sup>139</sup> Sparta: vide supra, R. 134. Paus. 3. 18, 6, on the road to Amyklai (on the bank of the stream Τίασα) Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερόν, Φαέννας καὶ Κλήτας, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ἐποίησεν. ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνα Χάρισιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱερόν καὶ θέσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα ἤγηται. *Ιβ.* 3. 14, 6 *προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκούρων ἱερόν καὶ Χαρίτων*.

<sup>140</sup> Arcadia: (?) Tegea, vide Hermes, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Tegea. Megalopolis, Paus. 8. 34, 3 ὁμοῦ δὲ αὐταῖς (ταῖς Εὐμενίσι) καὶ Χάρισι θύειν νομίζουσι.

<sup>141</sup> Elis: Paus. 6. 24, 6 (vide vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 94) *ἔστι δὲ καὶ Χάρισιν ἱερόν καὶ ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα τὰ ἐς ἐσθῆτα, πρόσωπα δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ πόδες λίθου λευκοῦ· ἔχουσι δὲ ἡ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥόδον, ἀστράγαλον δὲ ἡ μέση, καὶ ἡ τρίτη κλῶνα οὐ μέγαν μυρσίνης . . . τῶν Χαρίτων δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἔρωτος. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ βάρθρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ*. In the Altis altar of Dionysos and the Charites, near one of the Muses and Nymphs. Cf. Dionysos, R. 34<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Pharai in Messenia: Collitz, *Dialect-Inscr.* 4673, rock-inscriptions (a) Πανί, Χαρίτεσσι: (b) Κορφιάτῃ Πανί (sixth century B. C.).

The islands.

<sup>143</sup> Thasos: vide vol. 4, Apollo, R. 274<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> Delos: Apollo, R. 225.

<sup>145</sup> Paros: Apollod. 3. 15, 7 ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο χωρὶς αὐλῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἐν Πάρῳ θύουσι ταῖς Χάρισι (explained by the story of Minos' sacrifice and the death of Androgeos). Cf. *C. I. G.* 2325 Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεῷ Σεβαστῷ . . . Ἀπολλοδώρου ἱερέως τῶν Χαρίτων διὰ βίου (inscr. from the Kyklades, ? from Paros).

<sup>146</sup> Thera: *Arch. Anz.* 1899, p. 182 Καρίτων inscribed on rock near shrine of Apollo Karneios (? seventh century B. C.).

<sup>147</sup> Smyrna: vide vol. 2, Artemis, R. 137<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Caria: vide R. 243<sup>k</sup>. Association of the Charites with Aphrodite, vide vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 94; with Hermes, vide Hermes, R. 81.

### CULTS OF PAN

Arcadia: vide vol. 3, Demeter, R. 39; Hermes, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* 'Arcadia-Kyllene,' vol. 3, p. 379, R. 3, vol. 4, Apollo, R. 5.

<sup>149</sup> Dion. Halic. 1. 32 Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατός τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Πάν.

<sup>150</sup> Theokr. *Id.* 7. 106:

κέι μὲν ταυτ' ἔρδοις, ὦ Πὰν φίλε, μή τί τυ παῖδες  
Ἀρκαδικοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμων  
τανίκα μαστίσδοιεν, ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη.

<sup>151</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 2. 271:

Pana deum pecoris veteres coluisse feruntur  
Arcades; Arcadiis plurimus ille iugis.  
Testis erit Pholoe, testes Stymphalides undae,  
Quique citis Ladon in mare currit aquis,  
Cinctaque pinetis nemoris iuga Nonacrini,  
Altaque Cyllene, Parrhasiaeque nives.

<sup>152</sup> Mount Lykaion: Paus. 8. 38, 5 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερόν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος δένδρων, καὶ ἵππόδρομός τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαίον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα. *Eph. Arch.* 1905, p. 167, inscriptions found in the hippodrome containing list of victors and contests, records dated both ἐπὶ ἱερεί τῷ Πανός and ἐπὶ ἱερεί τοῦ Διός (latter part of fourth century B. C.). *Ath. Mitth.* 1905, p. 66, dedications found in Pan-temple τῷ Πάου. Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* 2. 206 In Lycaeo templum est Panos, in quo natus asseritur. Porph. *De Antr. Nymph.* 20 σπήλαια τοίνυν καὶ ἄντρα τῶν παλαιωτάτων πρὶν καὶ ναοὺς ἐπινοῆσαι θεοῖς ἀφοσιούντων . . . ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ Σελήνῃ καὶ Πανὶ Λυκαίῳ καὶ ἐν Νάξῳ Διονύσῳ. Cf. Schol. Theocr. *Id.* 1. 123 Λυκαίου ὄρος τῆς Ἀρκαδίας . . . ἐν ᾧ μαντεῖον Πανός.



<sup>153</sup> Near Lykosoura: Paus. 8. 37, 11 (from the temple of Despoina) ἀναβήσῃ διὰ κλίμακος ἐς ἱερὸν Πανός· πεποιήται δὲ καὶ στοὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα· θεῶν δὲ ὁμοίως τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τούτῳ μέτεστι τῷ Πανὶ ἀνθρώπων τε εὐχὰς ἄγειν ἐς τέλος καὶ ὅποια ἔοικεν ἀποδοῦναι ποιηροῖς. παρὰ τούτῳ τῷ Πανὶ πῦρ οὐ ποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον καίεται. λέγεται δὲ ὡς τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ μαντεύοιτο οὗτος ὁ θεός. *Ib.* 8. 38, 11 τῆς Λυκοσούρας δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Νόμια ὄρη καλούμενα, καὶ Πανός τε ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστι Νομίον, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι Μέλπειαν, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σύριγγος μέλος ἐνταῦθα Πανὸς εὐρεθῆναι λέγοντες.

<sup>154</sup> Mt. Mainalion: Paus. 8. 36, 8 τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Μαινόλιον ἱερὸν μάλιστα εἶναι Πανὸς νομίζουσι. Cf. *ib.* § 7 ἄλλα τε ἐρείπια Περαιθῶν καὶ ἱερὸν λείπεται Πανός.

<sup>155</sup> Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 30, 3 (in the peribolos of temple of Zeus Lykaïcs) ἄγαλμα Πανὸς λίθου πεποιημένον· ἐπὶ κλησὶ δὲ Σινόεις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, τὴν τε ἐπὶ κλησὶν γενέσθαι τῷ Πανὶ ἀπὸ νύμφης Σινόης λέγουσι (the MS. reading Σινόεις is proved as against the emendation Οἰνόεις by the inscription from Bassai mentioning Πὰν ὁ Σινόεις, vol. 4, Apollo, R. 103; vide Deubner in *Rhein. Mus.* lix, p. 473): *ib.* 8. 30, 7 Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ αὐτόθι ᾠκοδομημένα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀρχαία, ἀριθμὸν οἰκήματα ἕξ . . . καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χαλκοῦς Πὰν πηχυαῖος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σκολείτας· μετεκομισθῆ δὲ ἀπὸ λόφου τοῦ Σκολείτα. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Peloponnese,' p. 188, Pl. XXXV. 10, coin-type B. C. 234-146, obv. head of Zeus: rev. Pan naked, horned, seated on rock with lagobolon, on his knee eagle. *Ib.* p. 173, on coinage of Epaminondas' Arcadian confederacy, Pan horned, naked, seated on rock.

<sup>156</sup> In Tegea: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1901, p. 276 Πανὸς Λυκείου Προκαθηγέτου (? second century A. D.). Paus. 8. 53, 11 Ἐκ Τεγέας δὲ ἰόντι ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἔστι μὲν βωμὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Πανός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Λυκαῖον Διός. λείπεται δὲ καὶ θεμέλια ἱερῶν. *Ib.* 8. 54, 4 (on the road to Thyrea) διαβάντι δὲ τὸν Γαράτην καὶ προελθόντι σταδίου δέκα Πανός ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ δρῦς, ἱερά καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Πανός.

<sup>157</sup> Paus. 8. 54, 6 (on Mount Parthenion) Πανός ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἔνθα Φιλιππίδῃ φανῆναι τὸν Πάνα καὶ εἰπεῖν τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι.

<sup>158</sup> Psophis: Paus. 8. 24, 4 ἔχει δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ Ἐρύμανθος ἐν ὄρει Λαμπεῖα· τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἱερὸν εἶναι Πανός λέγεται. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 101 (Pan on coins, Geta).

<sup>159</sup> Heraia: Paus. 8. 26, 2 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῇ Ἡραίᾳ Πανός . . . Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Pelop.' p. 182, young Pan, horned, standing with hand on hip and foot on rock, holding spear.

<sup>100</sup> Aule: Ael. *Nat. An.* 11. 6 'Εν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ χώρα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Πανός· Αἰλλή τῷ χώρῳ τὸ ὄνομα. Οἰκοῦν ὅσα ἂν ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν ζώων καταφύγη ὥσπερ οὖν ἰκέτας ὁ θεὸς δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγων εἶτα μέντοι σώζει τὴν μεγίστην σωτηρίαν αὐτά.

<sup>101</sup> Elis: in the Altis of Olympia. Paus. 5. 15, 6 Τύχης ἐστὶν Ἀγαθῆς βωμὸς καὶ Πανός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. *Ιβ.* § 8 "Ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Θεγκολεῶνος οἴκημα· τούτου δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τοῦ οἴκηματος Πανὸς ἰδρυταὶ βωμὸς. *Ιβ.* § 9 (within the Prytaneion) Πανός ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμὸς.

Messene: vide supra, R. 142.

<sup>102</sup> Laconia (?). Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 61, coin-type (Roman Imp.). Pan on basis beside Apollo Κάρνειος.

<sup>103</sup> Argolis: vide Dionysos, 103 g. Cf. Kratinos, *Frag. Inc.* 22

χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσόκερος βάβακτα κήλων  
Πᾶν Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἐμβατεύων.

<sup>104</sup> Epidauros: Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*. no. 56 Ἴαρεὺς Ἀρίσταρχος πυρφόρος Δαμοκλῆς Πανὶ ἀνέθηκεν (? first century B.C.).

<sup>105</sup> Troizen: Paus. 2. 32, 6 Κατιόντων δὲ αὐτόθεν Λυτηρίου Πανός ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· Τροιζηνίων γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἔδειξεν ὄνειράτα, ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ πιέσαντος.

<sup>106</sup> Sikyon: vide supra 'Helios,' R. 26. Paus. 2. 10, 2 ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιοῦσι καθ' ἑκάτερον τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθήμενον ἀγαλμά ἐστι, τῇ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἕστηκεν.

<sup>107</sup> Attica: Athens (vide Hermes, R. 10: Dionysos 69 f).

a Herod. 6. 105 (referring to story of Pheidippides and his meeting with Pan) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὐ ἤδη τῶν πρηγματῶν, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίησι ἐπετείησι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται.

b Eur. *Ion*, 492 ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ παραλίζουσα πέτρα μυχῶδεσι Μακραιῖς, ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγωνοι . . . *Ιβ.* 938 οἶδ' ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτα καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας (for the exact position of the cave of Pan on the Akropolis, vide *Eph. Arch.* 1897, p. 18: cf. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 128-129, Pl. Z. III-VII, cave of Pan indicated on coins of Antonine period showing Akropolis).

c Lucian, *Δις κατηγορ.* 10 δις ἢ τρις τοῦ ἔτους ἀνιόντες ἐπιλεξάμενοι τράγον ἔνορχιν θύουσί μοι . . . εἶτα εὐωχοῦνται τὰ κρέα.

d Θεῶν *Διαλ.* 4. 1 θύομέν γε αὐτῷ [Πανί] ἔνορχιν τράγον ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ἄγοντες ἔνθα ἕστηκεν.

<sup>e</sup> Clem. Alex. 675 Pott. Θέσπις . . . ὁ τραγικός . . . φησὶν ᾧδέ πως γράφων (sacrifice of milk, cheese, honey, wine) κατὰ τῶν σῶν Πάν δίκερως τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἀγίων. ? Worshipped with Mother of the Gods, vol. 3, p. 383, R. 19 P.

<sup>f</sup> Suidas s.v. Πανικῶ Δείματι . . . τῶ δὲ Πανὶ εἰώθεσαν ὀργιάζειν αἱ γυναῖκες μετὰ κραυγῆς. καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Δυσκόλῳ σιωπῇ φησι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ | οὐ δεῖν προσιέναι.

<sup>168</sup> In Psyttaleia: Paus. 1. 36, 2 Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα. *El. Mag.* s.v. Ἄκτιος (p. 54) ἄκτιον τὸν Πάνα Θεόκριτος εἴρηκεν . . . ἢ ὁ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιέων ἰδρυμένος. ἀγρευτῆς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις τιμώμενος (doubtful titles). Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 447.

<sup>169</sup> ? On the banks of the Ilissos: Plat. *Phaedr.* 279 B Ὡ φίλε Πάν τε καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆδε θεοί, δοιγτέ μοι καλῶ γενέσθαι τάνδοθεν.

<sup>170</sup> In cave of Vari on Hymettos: *C. I. A.* 1. 429 Πανός (fifth century inscr.). Strab. p. 398 περὶ δὲ Ἀνάφλυστον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Πανείον.

<sup>171</sup> On Parnes: vide Hermes, *Geogr. Reg. s.v.* Attica. Cf. Aelian, Ἀγροικ. Ἐπιστ. 15 θύω τοίνυν τῷ Πανὶ καὶ Φυλασίων τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους ἐς τὴν ἱερουργίαν παρακαλῶ.

Oropos: vide supra, R. 68.

<sup>172</sup> Boiotia: Thebes, vide vol. 3, p. 379, R. 2, 3. ? On Mt. Kithairon: vide supra, R. 102<sup>b</sup>. Lebadeia: supra R. 102<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Phokis: the Corycian cave, vide supra, R. 101. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 581, Πρυτάνιες Πανί (inscr. third century B.C.).

<sup>174</sup> Akarnania: Anaktorion, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Corinth,'* p. 115, Pan as subordinate figure with Athena on fourth-century coins. Cf. the φαλλός on coins of Alyzia behind the head of Athene, *ib.* p. 114.

<sup>175</sup> Macedonia: on coins of Aigai (392-390 B.C.) young Pan horned, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Macedon,'* p. 168; on coins of Pella, *ib.* p. 90 (second century B.C.); of Thessalonika, p. 109 (second century B.C.).

<sup>176</sup> Pantikapaion: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Thrace,'* p. 4, wild bearded head of Pan with pointed ears on fourth century coins; p. 5, youthful head of Pan. Phanagoria: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Pontus,'* p. 3, Pan on third century B.C. coins.

<sup>177</sup> Thasos: Conze, *Reise*, p. 11, Taf. vii. 2, artificial grotto cut in the Akropolis with representation of Pan and goats, proving state-cult, fourth century B.C.

<sup>178</sup> Kos: Schol. Theokr. 7. 130 ἢ Πύξα ὄνομα πόλεως, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πύξιος Ἀπόλλων καὶ Πάν. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 199 Γνατία Σέκονδα τὸν Πάνα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἰππατίων ἀνέθηκε.

<sup>179</sup> Rhodes: *C. I. G. Ins.* I, n. 24 τὸ Πάνειον τὸ παρὰ τῇ Θερμιά Ἀρτέμιτι. *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1886, p. 155, terra-cotta of ithyphallic daimon with cloven hoof and head of ox or goat holding drinking-cup or cornucopia found in grave in Rhodes, ? Pan.

<sup>180</sup> Amorgos: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 409, coin-type of Aigiale, fourth century B. C., Aigipan seated, cross-legged, playing the syrinx.

<sup>181</sup> Astypalaia: vide supra, R. 112.

Asia Minor.

<sup>182</sup> Phokaia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Ionia,' pp. 408-409, youthful Pan, head with short horns, pointed ears, and ivy-wreath, fourth century B. C.

<sup>183</sup> Magnesia ad Maeandrum: *ib.* p. 167, Pan with kalathos and branch in each hand before lighted altar (coin-type of Caracalla).

<sup>184</sup> ? Ephesos: Achill. Tat. 8. 6 Ὅρᾶς τουτὶ τὸ ἄλσος τὸ κατόπιν τοῦ νεώ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶ σπήλαιον ἀπόρρητον γυναιξί, καθαραῖς δ' εἰσελθούσαις οὐκ ἀπόρρητον παρθένοις. Ἀνάκειται δὲ σῦριγξ . . . ταύτην οὖν τὴν σύριγγά φασιν ἀναθεῖναι μὲν ἐνθάδε τὸν Πᾶνα . . . χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον χαρίζεται τὸ χωρίον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι (the syrinx used in an ordeal of chastity). Altar from Ephesos in British Museum with Pan armed carved in relief.

<sup>184a</sup> Caria: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Caria,' p. 127, coin-type 437-400 B. C., head with pointed ears and horns. ? Pan or local daimon.

<sup>184b</sup> Lykia: *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Lykia,' p. 36, youthful horned head of Pan on fourth century coins.

<sup>184c</sup> Cilicia, in Corycian cave: vide Hermes, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Cilicia.

<sup>185</sup> Palestine. Caesarea-Panias, near the source of the Jordan: Joseph. Ἀρχαιολ. 15. 10, 3. *C. I. G.* 4537 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων . . . Οὐαλέριος . . . ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Πανός, τὴν κυρίαν Νέμεσιν καὶ τὸν . . . τελεσιουργηθέντα σηκὸν αὐτῆς. Cf. Hermes, R. 11.

<sup>186</sup> Sicily. Messana: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 135, coin-type 420-396 B. C., Pan seated on rock, holding a lagobolon and caressing a hare.

<sup>187</sup> Italy. Pandosia: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 90, coin-type circ. 400 B. C., Pan (?) seated naked on rock, carrying two spears?, with dog lying below, before a Herme. On coins of Salapia, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Italy,' p. 145; Metaponton, p. 264. ? Temple of Pan on the Krathis river. Philostephanos, *Frag.* 25 (Müller, *F. H. G.* vol. 3) Ἄκτιον . . . ὧς φησι Φιλοστέφανος ἐστὶ Πανὸς ἱερὸν πλησίον Κράθιδος.

<sup>188</sup> Macedonia: Schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 347 (from Marsyas ἐν τοῖς Μακεδονικοῖς) ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τῆς Κλειοῦς ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἰδρυθὲν ἀπέναντα τοῦ Ῥήσου μνημείου ἐπὶ λόφου τινός.

## CULTS OF THE MUSES

(Vide Apollo, R. 228, vol. 4.)

<sup>189</sup> Helikon.

a Strab. p. 410 (vide supra, R. 102<sup>a</sup>) ἐξ οὗ τεκμαίροιτ' ἄν τις Θρῆκας εἶναι τοὺς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ταῖς Μούσαις καθιερώσαντας, οἳ καὶ τὴν Πιερίδα καὶ τὸ Λεῖβηθρον καὶ τὴν Πίμπλειαν ταῖς αὐταῖς θεαῖς ἀνέδειξαν.

b Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 52

Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κούραι Διὸς Αἰγιόχοιο,  
Τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρὶ μεγάισα  
Μνημοσύνη, γούνοισιν Ἑλευθῆρος μεδέουσα.

ἦ δ' ἔτεκ' ἐννέα κούρας ὁμόφρονας. . . .

c Paus. 9. 29, 1 θῦσαι δὲ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μούσαις πρώτους καὶ ἐπονομάσαι τὸ ὄρος ἱερὸν εἶναι Μουσῶν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Ὠτον λέγουσι.

c *Ib.* § 5 ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἰόντι τῶν Μουσῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀγανίπη πηγὴ.

d *Ib.* ch. 30, § 1, nine statues of the Muses there, three by Kephisodotos, three by Strongylion, three by Olympiosthenes.

e *Ib.* ch. 31, § 3 Περιουκοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες τὸ ἄλσος καὶ ἑορτὴν τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσπιεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι Μουσεία ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἐρωτι, ἄθλα οὐ μουσικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς τιθέντες.

f Plut. p. 748 F Ἐν Ἑλικῶνι παρὰ ταῖς Μούσαις . . . τὰ Ἐρωτικὰ Θεσπιέων ἀγόντων ἄγουσι γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρῆκόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις, καὶ τῷ Ἐρωτι φιλοτιμίως πάνυ καὶ λαμπρῶς.

g *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, pp. 314-316 (decree of the artists of Dionysos concerning the reorganization of the Μουσεία, circ. 250 B.C.) Ὁ θυμελικὸς ἀγὼν στεφανίτης πρῶτον ἐγένετο . . . τῆς πόλεως τῶν Θεσπιέων προκεχειρισμένης τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι γενόμενον ταῖς Μούσαις στεφανίτην εἶναι τὸν θυμελικόν, τὸν τε τῶν αὐλητῶν καὶ αὐλῶδων καὶ κιθαριστῶν καὶ κιθαρῶδων καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητῆ καὶ ὕπως . . . συνπρεσβεύσωσι περὶ τούτων . . . καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις. Cf. *ib.* p. 324, inscr. containing reply of Athenian state [= *C. I. G.* 1735] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀποδέχεται τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν θυμελικόν ὃν τίθησιν ἡ πόλις τῶν Θεσπιέων ταῖς Μούσαις στεφανίτην ἰσοπύθιον. Vide pp. 328-346, series of inscriptions concerning the ἀγῶνες from third century B.C. to third century A.D. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, pp. 129-133, bases of statues of nine muses with distiches by the poet Honestus containing their names and functions, and with dedication Θεσιπίεες Μώσης Ἑλικωνιάδεσσι (first century B.C.). Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1796-1805. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1788 Φιλέτηρος Ἀττάλω Περγαμεὺς ἀνέθεικε

τὰν γὰν τῆς Μώσης τῆς Ἑλικωνιάδεσσι ἱερὰν εἶμεν ἐμ τὸν πάντα χρόνον (earlier part of second century B. C.). Cf. inscr., *C. I. G.* 3067, of the Διονύσου τεχνῆται of Teos mentioning their services τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν τῶν Ἑλικωνιάδων . . . ἐν Θεσπιάσι δὲ τοῖς Μουσείοις (second century B. C.).

<sup>188</sup> Larfeld, *Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* 243 ὄρος τὰς γὰς τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν συνθυτάων τᾶμ Μωσάων Εἰσιοδείων.

<sup>190</sup> Near Chaironeia: Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 17 τὸ Μουσεῖον. Koroneia: vide supra, R. 102<sup>a</sup>. ? Orchomenos: vide Dionysos, R. 75.

<sup>191</sup> Delphi: vide Apollo, R. 229, vol. 4. Plut. 402 C Μουσῶν γὰρ ἦν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν τοῦ νάματος, ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τε τὰς λοιβάς τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης

Ἔνθα χερνίβεσσιν ἀρύεται

Μουσῶν καλλικόμων ὑπένερθεν ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ.

Cf. pp. 744-745 (*Quaest. Convin.* 9. 14, §§ 2-4, three Muses at Delphi, ? νῆτη, μέση, ὑπάτη).

<sup>192</sup> Athens (vide supra, R. 20) on the Ilissos: Paus. 1. 19, 5 Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστὶν Εἰλισσιάδων (so also Apollodoros, vide Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἴλισσός). *Ib.* 1. 25, 8 ἐστὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος. In Akademeia: vide Hermes, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Athens. Aesch. κ. Τιμαρχ. § 10 (ὁ νομοθέτης προστάττει) περὶ Μουσεῖων ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις. *C. I. A.* 1. 273 (inscr. fifth century B. C. concerning temple accounts) Μουσῶν. *C. I. A.* 3. 286 (on seat in theatre) ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν.

<sup>193</sup> Megara: vide Apollo, R. 227, vol. 4. Paus. 1. 44, 6 καὶ ἐν τῷ ναφί τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.

<sup>194</sup> Sikyon: Plut. 746 E Σικυνῶνιοι τῶν τριῶν Μουσῶν μίαν Πολυμάθειαν καλοῦσι.

<sup>195</sup> Troizen: Plut. p. 150 A ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἀρδαλίων Μουσῶν, ἃς ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀρδαλος ἰδρύσατο ὁ Τροιζήμιος. Paus. 2. 31, 3 οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἱερὸν Μουσῶν ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι δὲ ἔλεγον αὐτὸ Ἀρδαλον παῖδα Ἡφαίστου καὶ αἰλὸν τε εὐρέϊν νομίζουσι τὸν Ἀρδαλον τοῦτον καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἀρδαλίδας . . . τοῦ Μουσεῖου δὲ οὐ πόρρω βωμὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος, Ἀρδάλου καὶ τοῦτον, ὡς φασιν, ἀναθεντος. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Μούσας καὶ Ὑπνω θύουσι.

<sup>196</sup> Arcadia: Megalopolis, vide Apollo, R. 230 A (vol. 4). Trapezous, vide Apollo, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.* Arcadia.

<sup>197</sup> Sparta: Plut. *Vit. Lysk.* 21 ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθέτο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεὺς.

<sup>198</sup> Elis: Olympia, vide supra, p. 14.

<sup>199</sup> Chios: *C. I. G.* 2214 οἶδε ἐνίκων τῶν τε παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων τοὺς τιθεμένους ἀγῶνας καὶ ἔσπεισαν ταῖς τε Μούσαις καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς προσόδου τῆς δεδομένης κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου.

<sup>200</sup> Thera?: *C. I. G.* 2448 τὸ Μουσεῖον in will of Epikteta.

<sup>201</sup> Lesbos: Clem. *Protrept.* 27 Pott. (legend about Megaklo, daughter of Makar).

<sup>202</sup> Crete: Aptera, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ Σειρήνων ἔριδος τῆς ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως . . . γενομένης.

<sup>203</sup> Lydia: Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τόρρηβος . . . Νυμφῶν ἄς καὶ Μούσας Λυδοὶ καλοῦσι. Caria, vide R. 243 K.

<sup>204</sup> Teos: vide Hermes, R. 74.

<sup>205</sup> Alexandria: *C. I. G.* 4724 νεωκόρος τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαράπιδος τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν φιλοσόφων. Cf. 4748 and 5914.

## CULTS OF ERINYES, EUMENIDES, SEMNAI THEAI

(Vide vol. 3, p. 307, Ge, R. 3: vol. 3, p. 333, R. 110.)

<sup>206</sup> Macedon: Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀραντίσιν Ἐρινύσι, Μακεδόνης.

<sup>207</sup> Boiotia: Haliartos-cult of Πραξιδικαί, legend of Τιλφῶσσα Ἐρινύς, on Mt. Tilphousion, vide Demeter, R. 41, vol. 3, p. 321; cf. p. 55. Photius, *s.v.* Πραξιδική θεὸς ἧς κεφαλὴν μόνον ἰδρύνοντο. . . Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν κτίσεισιν, Ὠγύγου θυγατέρας, Ἀλκομενίαν, Θελξιαν, Αὐλίδα. Hesych. *s.v.* Πραξιδική . . . τὰ ἀγάλματα κεφαλὰς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ θύματα ὁμοίως. Paus. 9. 33, 3 Ἀλιάρτιος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θεῶν ἱερὸν ἄς Πραξιδικὰς καλοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ὀμνύουσι μὲν, ποιοῦνται δὲ οὐκ ἐπίδρομον τὸν ὄρκον. ταύταις μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῷ Τιλφουσίῳ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ εἰσι ναοί, καὶ σφισιν οὐκ ἀγάλματα ἔνεστιν, οὐκ ὄροφος ἔπεστι. Cf. Paus. 3. 22, 2 (near Gythion in Laconia) Μενέλαος δὲ Ἴλιον ἐλὼν . . . ἄγαλμα Θέτιδος καὶ θεᾶς Πραξιδικὰς ἰδρύσατο ἐγγὺς τῆς Μιγωνίτιδος. Thespiai: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1783, inscription on stone Εὐμενίδων.

<sup>208</sup> Attica: Athens, cult of Σεμναὶ θεαί.

<sup>a</sup> Thuc. 1. 126 καθεζομένους δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. Cf. Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 12.

<sup>b</sup> Diog. Laert. 1, § 112 [Ἐπιμενίδης] ἰδρύσατο καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Σεμνῶν θεῶν.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. 1. 28, 6 (vol. 3, p. 377, Hades-Plouton, R. 13) τοῖς δὲ ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερόν, οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κέεται θεῶν

τῶν ὑπογαίων. . . . *Ib.* § 7 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνῆμα Οἰδίποδος.  
*Ib.* 7. 25, 1 (Dodonaean χρησμός reputed ancient)

Φράζω δ' Ἄρειόν τε πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις  
 Εὐμενίδων.

d Aesch. *Eum.* 834 :

πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἀκροθίνα  
 θύη πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους  
 ἔχουσ' ἐς αἰὶ τόνδ' ἐπαιέσεις λόγον.

1028 φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι  
 τιμᾶτε καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πυρός,  
 ὄπως ἂν εὐφρων ἦδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς  
 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδρῳσι συμφοραῖς πρέπη.

106 ἦ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε  
 χάος τ' αἰόινους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα,  
 καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρός  
 ἔθνον, ὦραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν.

e Soph. *Aj.* 836 :

καλῶ δ' ἀρωγὸς τὰς αἰὶ τε παρθένους  
 αἰὶ θ' ὀρώσας ἅπαντα τῶν βροτοῖς πάθη,  
 σεμνὰς Ἐρινῦς. . . .

f Eur. *Elec.* 1270 :

δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεαὶ τῶδ' ἄχει πεπληγμέναι  
 πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονὸς  
 σεμνὸν βροτοῖσιν εὐσεβεῖς χρηστήριον.

Vide Apollo, R. 98 (thank-offering after victory of Arginousai).

g *C. I. A.* 2. 57 περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ ἦκοντες δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ  
 Ποτειδαίας ἐψηφίσθαι τῶ δῆμῳ εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μάλα τοῖς  
 δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς Σεμναῖς θεαῖς καὶ τῶ Ἡρακλεῖ (362 B. C.).

h *C. I. A.* 2. 57<sup>b</sup> (prayer to the Semnai with Zeus, Athena Polias,  
 Demeter Kore, and the Twelve θεοί before battle of Mantinea).

i Demosth. *Or.* 23, § 66 (ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ τῶ δικαστηρίῳ) . . . δικάσαι  
 (ἡξίωσαν) Εὐμενίσι καὶ Ὀρέστη οἱ δώδεκα θεοί.

k Deinarch. *Or.* 1, § 47 ἐπιωρκηκὸς μὲν τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οὓς ἐκεῖ διόμνυσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστι.

l Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 39 Φύλαρχός φησι δύο αὐτὰς εἶναι, τὰ τε Ἀθήνησιν  
 ἀγάλματα δύο, Πολέμων δὲ τρεῖς αὐτάς φησι . . . τότε γὰρ πρῶτον Εὐμενίδας  
 κληθῆναι (ἔνιοί φασι) εὐμενεῖς αὐτῶ γενομένας κριθέντι νικᾶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις,  
 καὶ ὀλοκαυτήσαντι αὐταῖς ὄιν μελαιναν ἐν Καρνεῖα τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Φιλήμων  
 δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς ἐτέρας φησὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς τῶν Εὐμενίδων. *Ib.* 489 ἄπυστα



φωνῶν . . . μετὰ γὰρ ἡσυχίας τὰ ἱερά δρῶσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑσυχίου  
 θύουσιν αὐταῖς καθάπερ Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην φησὶν οὕτω 'τὸ  
 δὲ τῶν Εὐπατριδῶν γένος οὐ μετέχει τῆς θυσίας ταύτης.' εἶτα ἐξῆς 'τῆς δὲ  
 πομπῆς ταύτης Ἑσυχίαι, ὃ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ παρὰ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καὶ τὴν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν ἔχει, καὶ προθύονται πρὸ τῆς θυσίας κριὸν Ἑσυχῶ' . . . καὶ Καλλιμάχος  
 'Νηφάλια [em. νηφαλίας?] καὶ τῆσιν ἀεὶ μελιθεάας ὄμπας λήτειραι καίειν  
 ἔλλαχον Ἑσυχίδες.

<sup>m</sup> Aesch. κ. Τιμαρχ. § 188 γράψει δ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς πόλεως ταῖς Σεμναῖς θεαῖς. Schol. *ib.* τρεῖς ἦσαν αὐταὶ αἱ λεγόμεναι  
 σεμναὶ θεαὶ ἢ Εὐμενίδες ἢ Ἐρινυῖες, ὧν τὰς μὲν δύο τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν Σκοπᾶς ὁ  
 Πάριος πεποίηκεν, τὴν δὲ μέσην Κάλωμι. οἱ δὲ Ἀρεοπαγίται τρεῖς τοῦ μηνὸς  
 ἡμέρας τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἐδίκασον ἐκάστη τῶν θεῶν μίαν ἡμέραν ἀπονέμοντες, ἦν  
 δὲ τὰ πεμπόμενα αὐταῖς ἱερά πόπανα καὶ γάλα ἐν ἄγγεσι κεραμικοῖς. φασὶ  
 μέντοι αὐτὰς οἱ μὲν Γῆς εἶναι καὶ Σκότους, οἱ δὲ Σκότους καὶ Εὐωνύμης, ἦν καὶ  
 Γῆν ὀνομάζεσθαι.

<sup>n</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 41 (Pott.) τῶν σεμνῶν Ἀθήνησιν καλουμένων  
 θεῶν τὰς μὲν δύο Σκοπᾶς ἐποίησεν ὁ Πάριος, Κάλως δέ, ἦν μέσην αὐταῖν  
 ἰστοροῦνται ἔχουσαι, Πολέμωνα δεικνύουσαι ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον.

<sup>o</sup> Hesych. s. v. δευτερόποτος· ἀπείρηται τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εἰσιεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν  
 τῶν σεμνῶν φασὶ θεῶν.

<sup>p</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Eqm.* 1309 τὸ τῶν Ἐρινύων ἱερόν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ  
 οἰκέται ἔφευγον.

<sup>q</sup> Kolonos: Soph. *O. C.* 42 τὰς πάνθ' ὀρώσας Εὐμενίδας ὃ γ' ἐνθάδ' ἄν  
 εἴποι λέως νιν· ἄλλα δ' ἀλλαχοῦ καλά (cf. 486). *ib.* 89 ὅπου θεῶν Σεμνῶν  
 εἶδραν λάβοιμι. *ib.* 481 νηφάλια offerings.

<sup>r</sup> Phlye: altar of Σεμναὶ θεαί, vide Demeter, R. 26 (vol. 3).

<sup>200</sup> Sikyon: Paus. 2. 11, 4 (on road to Phlious) διαβάσει τὸν Ἀσωπὸν  
 ἐστὶν ἄλσος πρίνων καὶ ναὸς θεῶν ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυώνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας  
 ὀνομάζουσι· κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐορτὴν ἡμέρα μὴ σφίσιν ἄγουσι θύοντες  
 πρόβρατα ἐγκύμονα, μελικράτῳ δὲ σπονδῇ καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι  
 νομίζουσιν. εἰκότα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῶν Μοιρῶν δρῶσιν. ὁ δὲ σφίσιν ἐν  
 ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλσους ἐστίν.

<sup>210</sup> Argos: *Ath. Mitth.* 4, 1879, Pl. IX, p. 176, three votive-reliefs  
 by women: one inscribed Εὐμενίσιν εὐχάν (Collitz, *Dialect.-Inscr.* 3280,  
 late period), with three figures of goddesses holding snakes and  
 flowers. Vide Miss Harrison, *Prolegom.* p. 255.

<sup>211</sup> Arcadia: Megalopolis (on road to Messene), Paus. 8. 34, 1  
 θεῶν ἱερόν· καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς θεὰς καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερόν  
 Μανίας· δοκεῖν δέ μοι, θεῶν τῶν Εὐμενίδων ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησις, καὶ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ  
 τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρὸς φασὶν αὐτόθι μανῆναι. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς χῶμά

ἔστιν οὐ μέγα, ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθου πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χώματι ἔστι Δακτύλου μνήμα. ἐνταῦθα ἔκφρονα Ὀρέστην γενόμενον λέγουσιν ἓνα τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν χειρῶν ἀποφαγεῖν δάκτυλον. τούτῳ δέ ἐστιν ἕτερον συνεχές χωρίον Ἄκη καλούμενον, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ ἰάματα. πεποιῆται δὲ Εὐμενίσι καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἱερόν. ταύτας τὰς θεάς, ἠνίκα τὸν Ὀρέστην ἔκφρονα ἔμελλον ποιήσῃν, φασὶν αὐτῷ φανῆναι μελαίνας ὡς δὲ ἀπέφαγε τὸν δάκτυλον, τὰς δὲ αἰθῖς δοκεῖν οἱ λευκὰς εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν σωφρονῆσαι ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ, καὶ οὕτω ταῖς μὲν ἐνήγισεν ἀποτρέπων τὸ μῆνιμα αὐτῶν, ταῖς δὲ ἔθυσσε ταῖς λευκαῖς.

<sup>212</sup> Achaia: at Keryneia, Paus. 7. 25, 7 ἔστιν ἱερόν Εὐμενίδων ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Ὀρέστην λέγουσι ὅς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἦ αἵματι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ μιάσματι ἔνοχος ἦ καὶ ἀσεβῆς ἐσέλθη θέλων θεάσασθαι, αὐτίκα λέγεται δείμασιν ἐκτὸς τῶν φρενῶν γίνεσθαι.

<sup>213</sup> Thera and Sparta (cf. supra, R. 207): Herod. 4. 149 Αἰγεῖδαι καλεῦνται, φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι, οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαῖου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμεινε τῶντὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγυόσι. Cf. *C. I. G. Ins.* 3. 367, archaic inscr. on rock near temple of Apollo Κάρνειος-ΞΡΣΙΓΞΜ = Ἐρινύες.

<sup>214</sup> Erythrai: ? Dittenb. *Syll.* 2. 600, 67 Ἀβλαβίων . . . ἐπόνοιον (inscr. concerning sale of priesthoods third century B. C.). ? = Eumenides.

## CULTS OF ABSTRACT IDEAS

(Animate or personified.)

<sup>215</sup> Ἀδηφαγία: vide Demeter, R. 22. Aelian. *Var. Hist.* 1. 27 λέγεται ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀδηφαγίας ἱερόν εἶναι, καὶ Σιτοῦς Δήμητρος.

<sup>216</sup> Αἰδώς (cf. R. 227). Sparta: Paus. 3. 20, 10 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Αἰδοῦς, τριάκοντά πον στάδια ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως, Ἰκαρίου μὲν ἀνάθημα εἶναι. Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 367 ἱερεῖα Αἰδοῦς (late inscr. on seat in theatre). Paus. 1. 17, 1 Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμός, ᾧ . . . μόνοι τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. Τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον. καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς σφίσι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὀρμῆς. Hesych. *s. v.* Αἰδοῦς βωμός. Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. *s. v.* Αἰδοῦς καὶ Φιλίας. εἰσὶ βωμοὶ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ. Eustath. *Il.* 22. 451, p. 1279 Ἀθήνησιν Αἰδοῦς καὶ Ἀφελείας ἦν βωμός περὶ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηναῖς νεών.

<sup>217</sup> Αἰών, statue at Eleusis: Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 757 εἰς κράτος Ῥώμης καὶ διαμονὴν μυστηρίων.

<sup>218</sup> Ἀνάγκη. Altar of Ἀνάγκη and Βία at Corinth: vide Helios, R. 25.

<sup>219</sup> Ἀναΐδεια. Clem. *Protr.* p. 22, Pott. Ἐπιμενίδης ὕβρεως καὶ Ἀναΐδειας Ἀθήνησιν ἀναστήσας τοὺς βωμούς. Cic. *De Leg.* 2. 11, 28 Illud vitiosum Athenis quod, Cylonio scelere expiato, Epimenide Crete suadente, fecerunt Contumelie fanum et Impudentiae. Suidas, s. v. θεός. ἐπιμᾶτο δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ Ἀναΐδεια, καὶ ἱερὸν ἦν αὐτῆς, ὡς Ἰστρος. Paus. 1. 28, 5 (by the court of the Areopagos) τοὺς ἀργοὺς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν ὕβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναΐδειας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι.

<sup>220</sup> Ἀρά. ? Cult at Athens: Hesych. s. v. Ἀρᾶς ἱερὸν ἱερὸν Ἀρᾶς Ἀθήνησιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ὀραις. ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν βλάβην λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐνόμισαν.

<sup>221</sup> Ἀρετή. State-cult at Pergamon: *Ath. Mitth.* 1907, p. 312 τὸν διὰ βίου ἱερέα τῆς Ἀρετῆς γυμνασιάρχῆσαντα (pre-Roman). Cf. *Insch. v. Pergamon*, 310. ? Smyrna: Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 54. 4 (Kays.) οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἱεροῦ ταφῆναι αὐτὸν Πολέμωνα λέγουσι.

<sup>222</sup> Βία: vide supra, R. 218.

<sup>223</sup> Βούβρωστις. At Smyrna: Eustath. *Il.* 1363, 62 οἱ δὲ δαίμονα, ἥπερ κατηρῶντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἧς ἱερὸν φασιν ἐν Σμύρνῃ. Plut. p. 694 A–B (*Quaest. Conv.* 6. 8, 1) ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρου Ἰωνικῶν ἱστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι Βουβρώστει ταῦρον μέλανα καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτόδορον ὀλοκαντῶσιν.

<sup>224</sup> Γέλως. At Sparta: vide Ares, R. 17<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>225</sup> Δημοκρατία (vide Athena *Δημοκρατία*, vol. 1, Athena, R. 43). *C. I. A.* 2. 741 (Lycurgean accounts, B. C. 334–333) ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῆς Δημοκρατίας παρὰ στρατηγῶν.

<sup>226</sup> Δῆμος. Cult at Athens: vide supra, R. 136. At Magnesia on Maeander, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, no. 208 Θεόφιλος . . . ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Δήμου ἀνέθηκε. Cf. Ὁμόνοια, infra, R. 246.

<sup>227</sup> Δίκη, Δικαιοσύνη. Demosth. κ. Ἀριστογείτ. § 35 καὶ Δίκης γε καὶ Εὐνομίας καὶ Αἰδοῦς εἰσι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις βωμοί, οἱ μὲν κάλλιστοι καὶ ἀγιώτατοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ ἐκάστου καὶ τῇ φύσει, οἱ δὲ καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πᾶσι τιμᾶν ἰδρυμένοι. Athenae. p. 546 παρ' ἐνίοις καὶ βωμούς καὶ θυσίας γίνεσθαι Δίκης. ? Shrine in Nisaia, port of Megara: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1. 95 ἀμφὶ Δίκης τεμένει (late). Epidaurus, *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 28 πυροφορήσας Δικαιοσύνης (Roman period). Olymos in Caria: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 394 ἱερέα Δικαιοσύνης (? first century B. C.). Dikaiosyne as goddess, with scales, very common on coins of Alexandria, *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Alexandria'*, pp. 10, 18, 30, &c. (Imper. period). Prymnessos in Phrygia: *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Phrygia'*, pp. 365–368 Dikaiosyne as city-goddess, with kalathos, fruits, and scales, standing or enthroned inside temple, on coins Imper. period.

<sup>228</sup> Εἰρήνη: Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 13 (after the peace of Kallias) φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν Εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἰδρύσασθαι. Isokrat. περὶ Ἀντιδόξ. § 110 (in consequence of the victories of Timotheos) ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν αὐτῇ [Εἰρήνῃ] καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἑνιαυτόν: bloodless sacrifice in the Συνοικία, vide vol. 1, Athena, R. 37. *C. I. A.* 2. 741 (Lycurgean statement of accounts) ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῇ Εἰρήνῃ παρὰ στρατηγῶν. Paus. 1. 18, 3 vide supra 'Hestia,' R. 30. *Ib.* 1. 8, 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἔστιν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσι Πλούτον παῖδα (by Kephissodotos, Paus. 9. 16, 2). Erythrai: Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 600, l. 140 Εἰρήνης' ἐπώνιον (sale of priesthoods, third century B.C.).

<sup>229</sup> Ἐλεος: vide supra, R. 216. Schol. Aesch. *Paraprosb.* 2, § 15 ἰκετηρία δὲ οὕτως ἐγίνετο· ῥάβδον θαλλῶ ἐλαίᾳ στέψας καθῆστο κατέχων εἰς τὸν Ἐλέου βωμόν, μέχρις οὐτινος ἔτυχε τῶν δικαίων. Sext. Emp. πρὸς φυσικ. Α 187 παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ἐλέου βωμοὶ τινές εἰσι.

<sup>230</sup> Ἐλευθερία. At Kyaneai in Lykia: vide Ares, R. 31 (? a special form of Artemis, vide *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Caria,' p. 80. Cf. *Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* 1906, p. 128, inscr. from Aphrodisias ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ζώϊλον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς Ἐλευθερίας διὰ βίου. At Sardes: Kaibel, *Ep. Graec.* 903 τεύξεν Ἐλευθερίας ἐνναεταῖς τέμενος (late Imperial).

<sup>231</sup> Ἐρως: vide vol. 2, Aphrodite, R. 97, 119 K. Athenae. p. 561 E ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσει σπονδαῖς ὡς ἐπίπαν ὁ Ἐρως τιμᾶται.

<sup>a</sup> At Thespiiai and Parion: Paus. 9. 27, 1 (vol. 1, p. 17, R. 12) Σέβονται δὲ [Ἐρωτα] οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν καὶ Ἐλλησποντίων Παριανοί. Vide supra, R. 189. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902, pp. 298–299 Ἡ πόλις . . . ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Ἐρωτιδῶν καὶ Καισαρήων καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Σεβαστῆς Ἰουλίας. Cf. *C. I. G. Sept.* 48. Vide supra, R. 38.

<sup>b</sup> Chalkis: *Eph. Arch.* 1902, p. 31 Ἐριφον Ἐρωτι in a ἱερὸς νόμος of the fifth century. Cf. *Class. Rev.* 1906, p. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Megara in temple of Aphrodite: Paus. 1. 43, 6 Σκόπα δὲ Ἐρως καὶ Ἰμερος καὶ Πόθος.

<sup>d</sup> Laconia at Leuktra: Paus. 3. 26, 5 καὶ Ἐρωτός ἐστιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος. Athenae. p. 562 E Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν παρατάξεων Ἐρωτι προθύονται . . . καὶ Κρήτες δὲ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοσμήσαντες διὰ τούτων θύουσι τῷ Ἐρωτι, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἱστορεῖ.

<sup>e</sup> Elis: Paus. 6. 23, 3 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ βωμοί, Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, Παραστάτου δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ Ἐρωτος καὶ ὃν Ἠλείοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ ταῦτα Ἠλείους Ἀντέρωτα ὀνομάζουσι. Cf. Athenae. p. 561 D ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου (Ζήνωνος) πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σεμνὸν τινα τὸν Ἐρωτα

καὶ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ κεχωρισμένον ἤδεσαν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ γυμνάσια αὐτὸν συνιδρῦσθαι Ἐρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>f</sup> Samos: Athenae. 561 F Σάμιοι δέ, ὡς φησιν Ἐρξίας ἐν Κολοφωνιακοῖς, γυμνάσιον ἀναθέντες τῷ Ἐρωτι τὴν διὰ τοῦτον ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν ἐλευθέρια προσηγόρευσαν.

Crete: vide supra, R. 231 d.

<sup>g</sup> Smyrna: *C. I. G.* 3156 (inscr. on sepulcral relief in Verona) ὁ δῆμος Σμυρναίων Μαγνήτων, Ἐρωτι Οὐρανίῳ Οὐλπία Μαρκελλείνα . . . ἀρχιέρεια Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. Cf. *C. I. G.* 3940, add. 4373<sup>b</sup>, dedications in later period of statues of Eros by officials to their cities.

<sup>232</sup> Εὐετηρία at Corinth, vide Demeter, R. 34, vol. 3.

<sup>233</sup> Εὐκλεία at Athens and Plateia, vide vol. 2, p. 575. Artemis, R. 66. *C. I. A.* 3. 733 ἱερατεύσαντα Εὐκλεία καὶ Εὐνο[μ]ία (wrongly given in vol. 2, loc. cit. as Εὐνοία). Cf. *Éph. Arch.* 1884, pp. 169-170, l. 53 (inscr. from Akropolis). Maroneia: *C. I. G.* 5954 Ἀφροδίτη θεῶν Παναγάθῃ καὶ Σωτήρι καὶ Εὐκλείᾳ Εὐεργέτῃ οἱ Μαρωνῖται ἀνέθηκαν (? Maroneia in Thrace).

<sup>234</sup> Εὐνομία: vide supra, R. 227, 223. Vide Demeter, R. 63, vol. 3.

<sup>235</sup> Εὐσέβεια: Roman Pietas-type on coins of Caesarea (Cappadocia), with hand above altar, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Galatia,' p. 64.

<sup>236</sup> Ἡβη.

<sup>a</sup> At Phlious: Paus. 2. 13, 3 ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Φλιασίῳ ἀκρόπολει κυπαρίσσω ἀλσος καὶ ἱερὸν ἀγώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἥς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι Φλιασίων Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἡβην ὀνομάζουσι . . . παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τῇ θεῶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ καὶ μέγιστον τὸ ἐς τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐστί. δεδώκασιν γὰρ δὴ ἄδειαν ἐνταῦθα ἱκετεύουσι, λυθέντες δὲ οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς πέδας πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει δένδρα ἀνατιθέασιν. ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴ σφισιν ἐπέτειος, ἣν καλοῦσιν κισσοτόμους. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσιν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἐστὶν ἐν φανερῷ δεικνύμενον. Cf. Strab. p. 382 τιμᾶται δ' ἐν Φλιούντι καὶ Σικυῶνι τὸ τῆς Δίας ἱερὸν καλοῦσιν δ' οὕτω τὴν Ἡβην.

<sup>b</sup> At Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 370, 374, priestess of Hebe mentioned on seat of Attic theatre, late period.

<sup>c</sup> From deme Aixone: *C. I. A.* 2. 581 (inscr. circ. 319 B. C.) ἐπειδὴ οἱ λαχόντες ἱεροποιοὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἡβης ἱερὸν δικαίως καὶ φιλοτιμῶς ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς θυσίας τῆς Ἡβης . . . ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἡβης καὶ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης.

<sup>d</sup> Kynosarges: Paus. 1. 19, 3 Ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες . . . βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἡβης . . . Ἀλκμήνης δὲ βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολάου πεποιήται.

<sup>e</sup> ? Kos: *Cornut.* 31 Οἰκείως δὲ παρέδωσαν αὐτὸν (Ἡρακλέα) Κῶοι τῇ

"Ηβη συνοικούντα. . . Aelian, *Nat. An.* 17. 46 Λέγει Μνασέας ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ τῆς τούτου γαμετῆς . . . sacred cocks and hens in the enclosure, τῶν θεῶν ἀναθήματα.

<sup>237</sup> Θάνατος at Sparta, Ares, R. 17<sup>b</sup>. Paus. 3. 18, 1 ἄλλα δὲ (ἀγάλματα) Ὑπνου καὶ Θανάτου.

<sup>238</sup> Καιρός at Olympia: vide Hermes, R. 47<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>239</sup> Κληδών: vide Apollo, R. 186, vol. 4.

<sup>240</sup> Λήθη at Athens in the Erechtheion: vide Athena, R. 17<sup>a, 2</sup>, vol. 1. Cf. *Berl. Wochenschr.* 1906, p. 54, sepulchral dedication to Λήθη.

<sup>241</sup> Λιμός: Zenob. 4. 93 (*Paroem. Graec.* Gaisford, p. 336) λέγουσιν ὅτι λιμοῦ ποτε κατασχόντος ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἱκετηρίαν θέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λιμὸν ἐξιλέωσασθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήκαν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Πρυτανείου πεδίου. Cf. Polyaen. 2. 15 (picture of Limos in temple of Athena Χαλκίοικος at Sparta). Cf. Βούβρωστις, supra, R. 223.

<sup>242</sup> Μνημοσύνη: Athens, vide supra, R. 20. *C. I. A.* 2. 1651 Μνημοσύνη ἀρεστήρα κηρίον (fourth century B. C.). ? At Thespiæ: *C. I. G. Sept.* 1782, on headless herme found near shrine of Muses on Helikon, Μναμοσύνας (third century B. C.). Stratonikeia in Caria: vide R. 243 K.

<sup>243</sup> Μοῖραι as marriage-goddesses: vide vol. 1, Hera, 17<sup>o, s</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> At Thebes: vide vol. 1, Zeus, R. 113<sup>e</sup> = Paus. 9. 25, 4 ταῖς Μοῖραις δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάλματα. Delphi, vide vol. 1, Zeus, R. 153<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 357, inscr. on seat in theatre Μοιρῶν (late). *C. I. A.* 2. 1662, inscr. on altar found in Peiraieus Μοῖραις ἀρεστήρα κηρία.

<sup>c</sup> Eleusis: *Eph. Arch.* 1900, p. 79 ἱερεία Μοιρῶν (inscr. circa 200 A. D.).

<sup>d</sup> Marathon: Prott-Ziehen, *Leg. Graec. Sacr.* 26 Θαρρηλιῶνος . . . Μοῖραις χοῖρος, fourth century B. C.

<sup>e</sup> Corinth: vide vol. 3, Demeter, R. 144.

<sup>f</sup> Sikyon: vide supra, R. 209.

<sup>g</sup> Sparta: Paus. 3. 11, 10 καὶ Μοιρῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστιν ἱερὸν, Ὅρέστου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρὸς αὐτῷ τάφος. Vide Artemis, R. 53<sup>e</sup>; Aphrodite, R. 25<sup>b</sup>, vol. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Olympia: Paus. 5. 15, 5 (near the altar of Zeus Μοιραγέτης) Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης.

<sup>i</sup> Amorgos (Aigiale): *C. I. G. Ins.* vol. xii, Suppl. vii, n. 432, inscr. on marble base Τύχης, Μοιρῶν Μητρὸς θεῶν.

<sup>k</sup> Caria: *Hell. Journ.* 1896, p. 234. Vide Apollo, R. 202, vol. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Stratonikeia : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 12. 272 Διὶ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ Μοίραις καὶ Τύχῃ καὶ Χάρισι καὶ Μούσαις καὶ Μνημοσύνῃ ἱερεὺς ἐν Κομυρίοις.

<sup>244</sup> Νέμεσις : vide Artemis, R. 137, 138, vol. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Thasos : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900, p. 271, inscr. on marble altar "Εγλεκτος καὶ Πινυτὴ Νεμέσειω εὐχὴν (? second century B. C.). Cf. *Hell. Journ.* 1887, p. 417, inscriptions published by Hicks, *ex voto* dedications to Nemesis, one found near theatre.

<sup>b</sup> Kos : Paton and Hicks, no. 29, ὀφειλόντω δραχμὰς ἱεράς Ἀδραστείας καὶ Νεμέσεως (inscr. concerning sale of priesthood).

<sup>c</sup> Stratonikeia in Caria : *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, pp. 424-425, dedications of στρατηγοὶ (late).

<sup>d</sup> ? Lykia : *Hell. Journ.* 1895, p. 128 (ὁ δεῖνα) εἰρήναρχος Νεμέσει Ἀδραστεία.

<sup>e</sup> ? Mysia, Miletopolis : *Ath. Mitt.* 1904, p. 311 θεᾷ Νεμέσει τὸ ἄγαλμα (dedication, Roman period).

<sup>f</sup> ? Constantinopolis : Io. Lyd. *De Mens.* 3, p. 43, the pyramid in the circus there Νεμέσεως εἶναι νομίζεται.

<sup>g</sup> Nikopolis in Seleukis : *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Galatia,' p. 265, coin-type of Sever. Alex. Nemesis with griffin by wheel inside a shrine. Mylasa : vide 247<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Caesarea Paneas : vide supra, R. 185.

<sup>245</sup> Νίκη : vide vol. 1, Athena, R. 36<sup>z</sup>, 96, 125<sup>a</sup>, b.

<sup>a</sup> Athens : *C. I. A.* 3. 245 ἱερέως Ὀλυμπίας Νίκης (late inscr. on seat in theatre), distinct from the ἱερέως Νίκης ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως, *ib.* 659.

<sup>b</sup> At Olympia : vide vol. 1, Zeus, R. 142<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Ilion : vide Apollo, R. 63, vol. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Tralles : Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 47 ἐν γὰρ ἱερῷ Νίκης, αὐριμὸς εἰσθηκεὶ Καίσαρος.

<sup>e</sup> Aphrodisias : *C. I. G.* 2810 ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Νίκης (second century A. D.).

<sup>f</sup> Terina : wingless Nike holding branch on coins (early fifth century), *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Italy,' p. 383.

<sup>246</sup> Ὀμόνοια.

<sup>a</sup> At Thebes (? statue) : vide vol. 1, Zeus, R. 131 b. *C. I. G. Sept.* 1784 (inscr. from Thebes) Ὀμόνοια Θεσπιέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων (first century A. D.).

<sup>b</sup> Lebadeia : *ib.* 3426 Ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ὀμονομίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τῷ Τροφονίῳ (late).

c Olympia: Paus. 5. 14, 9 Ὀμονοίας βωμός (but vide inscr. found on altar *Φαλείων περὶ ὁμονοίᾳ*: *Ath. Mitth.* 1878, p. 226).

d Thera: *C. I. G. Ins.* vol. xii, Fasc. iii, Suppl. 1336, inscr. second century B. C. (?):

Ἀθάνατον βωμὸν πόλει εἴσατο τῆδε Ὀμονοίας  
πατρίδος ὧν Πέργης κατ' ἐνύπνιον Ἀρτεμιδώρος.  
Ἡ δ' Ὀμόνοια θεὰ βωμοῦ χάριν ἀνταπέδωκεν  
τὸν στέφανον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως μέγαν Ἀρτεμιδώρφ.

(Cult probably taken over by state.)

e Kos: Paton and Hicks, 61 Πάμφιλος τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ὀμονοίᾳ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ (second century B. C.). *Ib.* 401, inscr. containing ritual-calendar τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμέρᾳ Ὑγιείᾳ . . . Ὀμονοίᾳ ὄιν.

f In the island Thynias off Bithynia: Apoll. Rhod. 2. 719 (shrine built by Argonauts):

καὶ τ' εἰσέτι νῦν γε τέτυκται  
κεῖσ' Ὀμονοίης ἱρὸν εὐφρονος, ὃ ῥ' ἐκάμοντο  
αὐτοὶ κυδίστην τότε δαίμονα πορσαίνοντες.

Cf. inscr. from Kyzikos, *Ath. Mitt.* 6. 130 Θεὸν Ὀμόνοϊαν τῇ πατρίδι Φλ[άβιος] Ἀρισταγόρας ἱερώμενος τῆς κόρης.

g Miletos: Chariton, *Erot.* 3. 2 περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ὀμονοίας ἠθροίσθη τὸ πλῆθος, ἔπου πάτριον ἦν τοῖς γαμοῦσι τὰς νύμφας παραλαμβάνειν.

h Tralles: Appian, *Mithrid.* 23 ὁ Θεόφιλος αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ὀμονοίας νεὸν ἤπτετο τοῦ φόνου.

i Iasos: *Gr. Inscr. Brit. Mus.* (Hicks), no. 443 οἱ αἰρεθέντες τοῦ τε βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχείου ἐπιμεληταὶ . . . καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων . . . τῇ Ὀμονοίᾳ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ.

k Metaponton: Ὀμόνοια inscribed by female head on fifth century coins, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Italy,' p. 244; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 62, probably = Demeter. Cf. vol. 3, Demeter, R. 63.

<sup>247</sup> Πειθῶ: vide vol. 1, Zeus, R. 96<sup>a</sup> (among divinities of marriage). (Cf. Ἀφροδίτη-Πειθῶ cult at Pharsalos, vol. 2, p. 731, R. 2. Lesbos: *ib.* p. 742, R. 73<sup>a</sup>. Ἀρτεμις-Πειθῶ at Argos, vol. 2, p. 576, R. 68.)

<sup>a</sup> Athens: vide Aphrodite, R. 11<sup>c</sup>, vol. 2. *C. I. A.* 3. 351 (on seat of theatre) Πειθοῦς. Isokrat. περὶ Ἀντιδόξ. § 249 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πειθῶ μίαν τῶν θεῶν νομίζουσιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶσι καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐναντὸν θυσίαν αὐτῇ ποιουμένην.

<sup>b</sup> ? Cult at Megara: vide vol. 2, p. 733, R. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Sikyon: vide vol. 4, p. 439, s.v. Sikyon.

<sup>d</sup> Thasos: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 443 Πειθοῦς ἱερόν (archaic inscr.).



<sup>e</sup> Mylasa : *ib.* 1881, p. 39 Ἀρτεμεισία . . . ἱέρηα Νεμέσεως, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς . . . ἱερέως Πειθοῦς.

<sup>248</sup> Πίστις : Diogen. Prov. 2. 80 (Gaisford, *Paroem. Graec.* p. 172), *s. v.* Ἀττικὴ πίστις . . . ἰδρύσαντο γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἱερόν Πίστεως.

<sup>249</sup> Σωτηρία.

<sup>a</sup> Aigion in Achaia : vol. 3, p. 69 ; Demeter, R. 59.

<sup>b</sup> Patrai : Paus. 7. 21, 7 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου κατωτέρω ἰόντι ἄλλο ἱερόν καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου· καλεῖται μὲν Σωτηρίας, ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποφυγόντα φασὶ τὴν μανίαν Εὐρύπυλον (on coins of Metaponton Σωτηρία inscribed above head of Demeter. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 65).

<sup>250</sup> Τύχη, Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Simplicius, *Ausc.* 11. 74<sup>b</sup> Τὸ δὲ καὶ τινες τῶν πόλεων Τύχας τιμᾶν καὶ ναοὺς οἰκοδομεῖν, ὕστερον ἔοικε νομισθῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς Τυχῶν πόλεων ἱερὰ ἱστορούμενα ἢ ἑορτᾶς ἀναγεγραμμένας, καίτοι τὸ τῆς Τύχης ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τιμώμενον ἴσμεν. Demokritos ap. Euseb. 14. 27, 5 Ἄνθρωποι Τύχης εἰδῶλον ἐπλάσαντο, πρόφασιν ἰδίης ἀνοίης.

North Greece.

<sup>a</sup> Thebes : Paus. 9. 16, 1 Πλησίον Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· φέρει μὲν δὴ Πλούτον παῖδα (part of the work by Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος).

<sup>b</sup> Lebadeia : Paus. 9. 39, 5 ἐπειδὴν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τοῦ Τροφωνίου κατιέναι δόξῃ, πρῶτα μὲν τεταγμένων ἡμερῶν δίαταν ἐν οἰκίματι ἔχει· τὸ δὲ οἴκημα Δαίμονος τε Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀγαθῆς.

<sup>c</sup> Thespiai : vide Dionysos, *Geogr. Reg. s. v.*

<sup>d</sup> Stephanepolis in Epeiros : Ael. *Nat. An.* 12. 30 ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἣν ἐκάλουον πάλαι Στεφανήπολις, ἐν τῷ νεφῷ τῆς Τύχης.

<sup>e</sup> Athens : Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2. 1, 5 (p. 59 Kays.) τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ σταδίου νεῶς ἐπέχει Τύχης καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐλεφάντινον ὡς κυβερνώσης πάντα. *C. I. A.* 2. 162 c, l. 20 τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης (circ. 335 B. C.). Cf. 741 A, 12 ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῇ Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ (Lycurgean accounts).

<sup>f</sup> Megara : Paus. 1. 43, 6 Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὐτῆς τέχνη.

<sup>g</sup> Corinth : Paus. 2. 2, 8 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναός· ἄγαλμα ὄρθον Παρίου λίθου· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἱερόν.

<sup>h</sup> Sikyon : Paus. 2. 7, 5 ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκοῦρων. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 'Peloponnese,' p. 56 Τύχη with turret and cornucopia (Rom. Imp.).

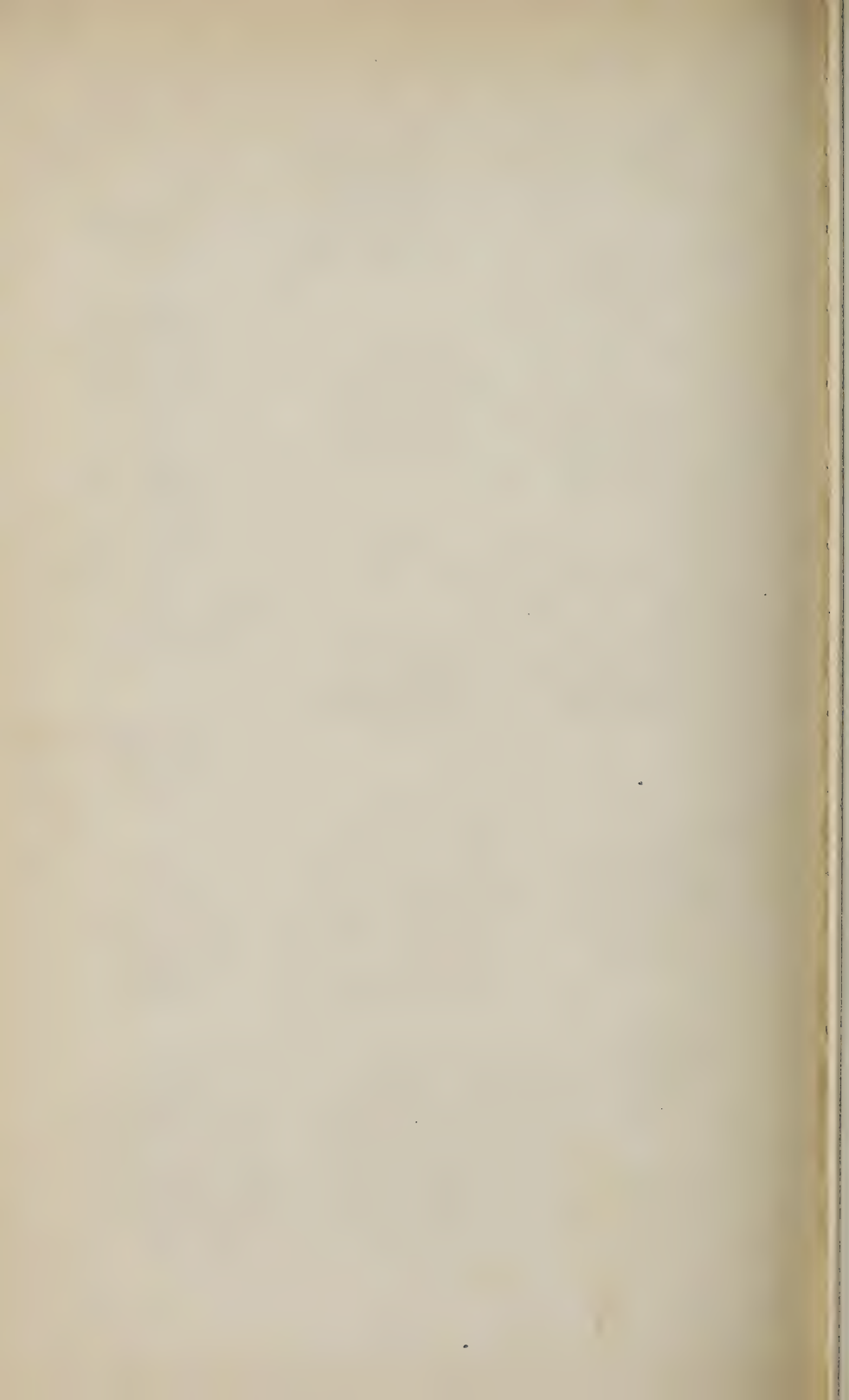


<sup>2a</sup> Syracuse : Cic. *In Verr.* 2. 4, 53 Tertia est urbs quae, quod in ea parte Fortunae fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est.

<sup>251</sup> Ὑπνος at Troizen : vide supra, R. 195. Sparta : R. 237.

<sup>2:2</sup> Φήμη. Athens : vide supra, R. 216. Aesch. *Or.* 1, § 128 εὐρήσετε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους Φήμης ὡς θεοῦ μεγίστης βωμὸν ἰδρυμένους (connected by Scholiast *ib.* with the rumour of victories of Kimon).

<sup>253</sup> Φόβος at Sparta : vide Ares, R. 17<sup>b</sup>. Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 8 ἔλαθεν εἰς τι δωμάτιον εἰσερπύσας μικρόν, ὃ Φόβον μὲν ἦν ἱερόν, ἄλλως δὲ κεκλεισμένον αἰεί. *Ib.* 9 τιμῶσι δὲ τὸν Φόβον οὐχ ὥσπερ οὓς ἀποτρέπονται δαίμονας, ἡγούμενοι βλαβερόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν μάλιστα συνέχεσθαι Φόβῳ νομίζοντες . . . καὶ παρὰ τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων συσσίτιον τὸν Φόβον ἴδρυνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ? At Athens : Ares, R. 12<sup>b</sup>. At Selinous : vide Ares, R. 33.





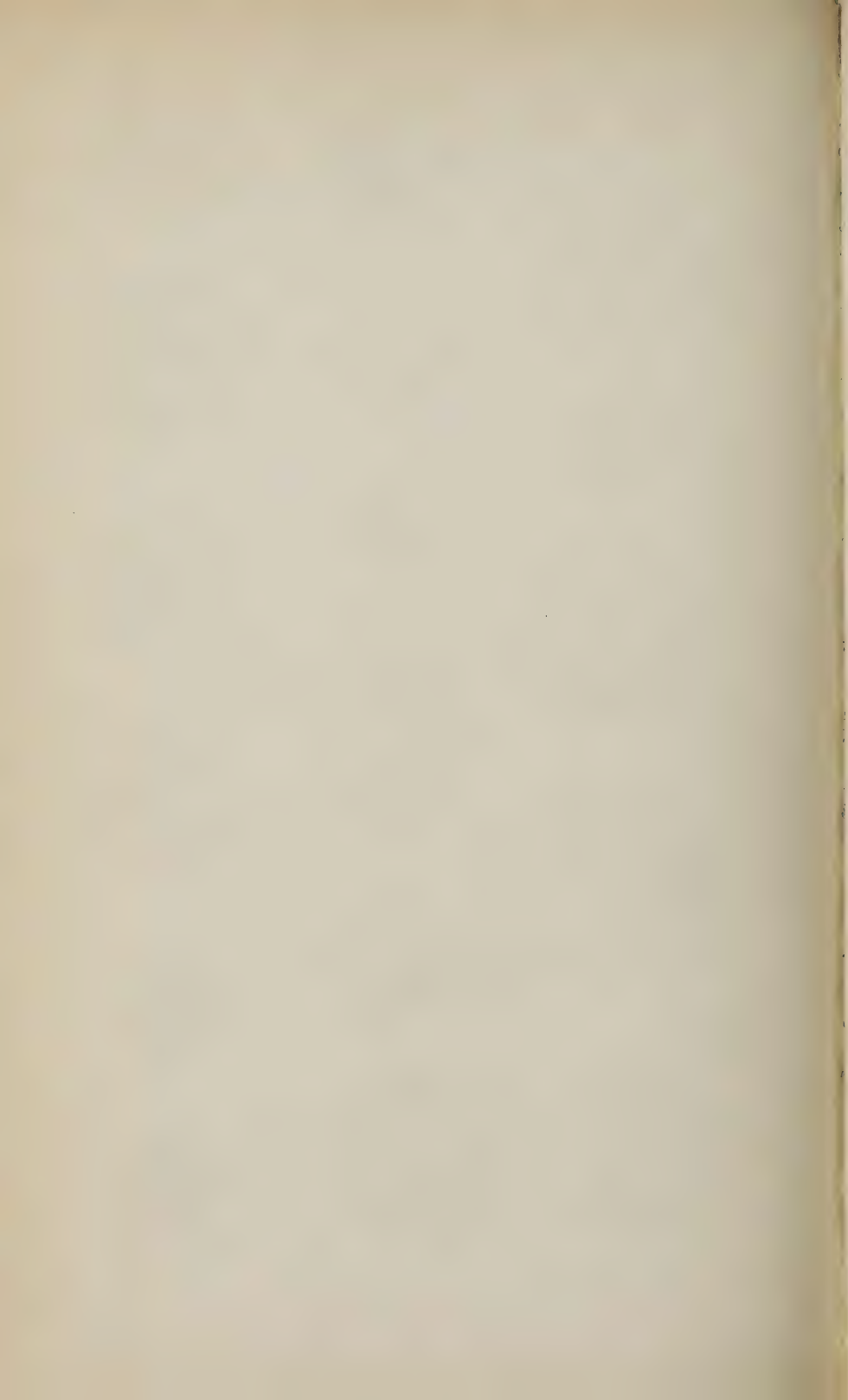


PLATE B



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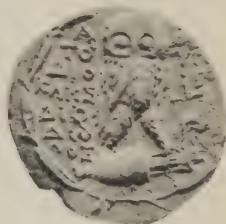
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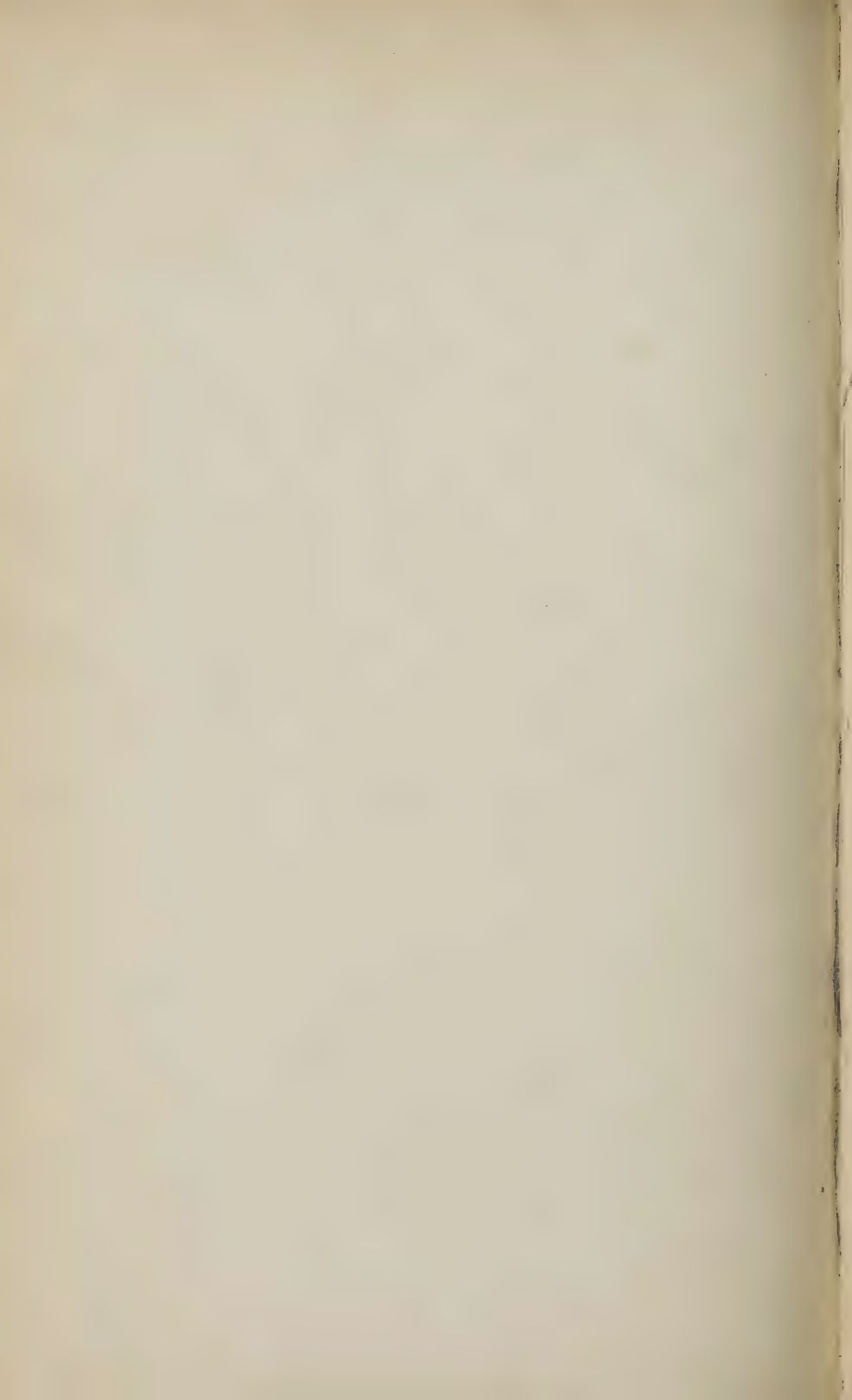


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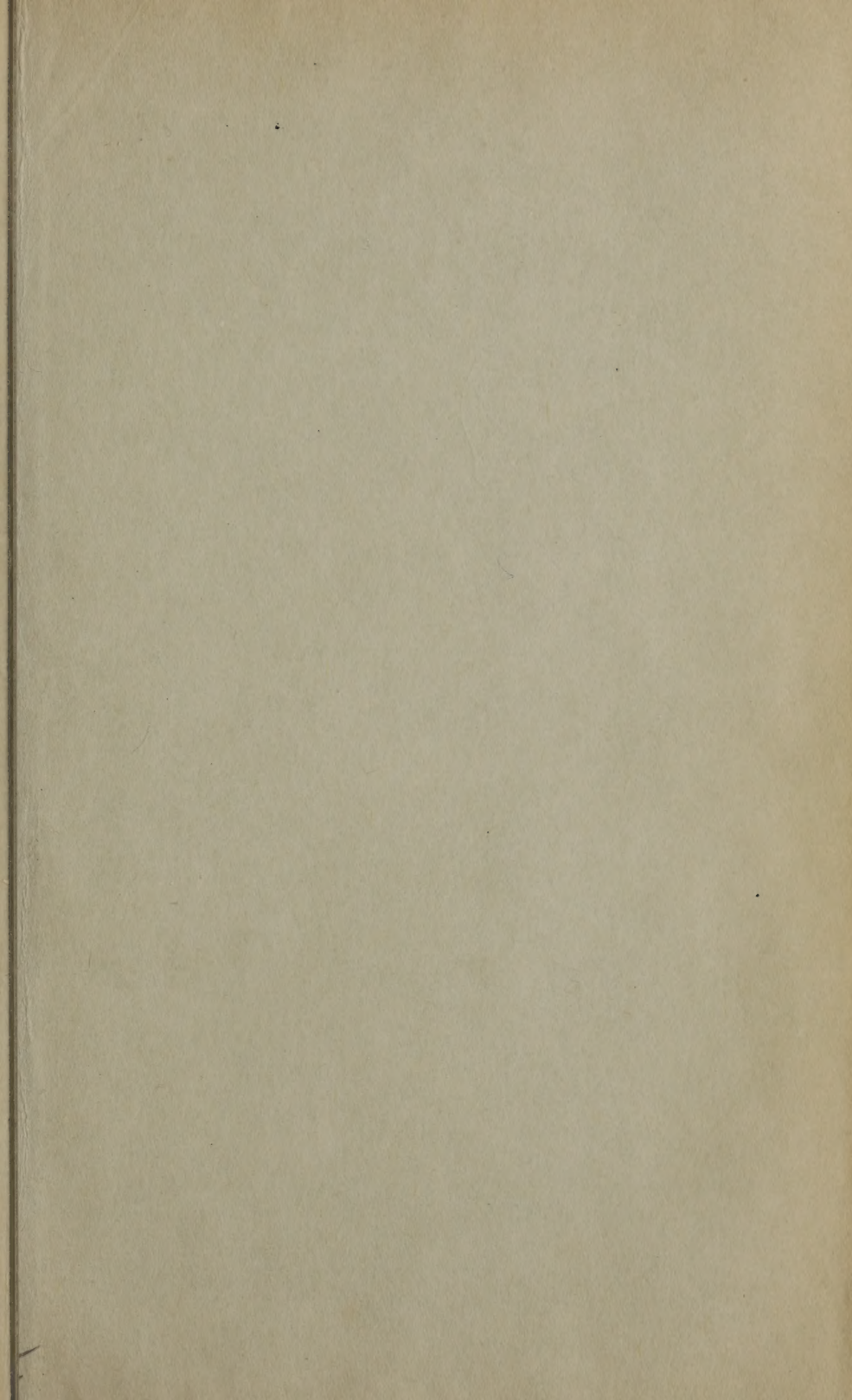
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